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A G E
LOUIS XIV.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, AN
A B S T R A C T
OF THE
AGE of LOUIS XV.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST GENEVA EDITION OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE,
WITH
NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY,
By R. GRIFFITH, Esq.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED FOR FIELDING AND WALKER, PATERNOSTER-ROW.
MDCCLXXXIX.

T H E

AUTHOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

IT has been judged proper to begin this New Edition of the AGE of LOUIS XIV. with a list of the Royal Family, and of all the Princes of the Blood of his time. This is followed by one of all the cotemporary Sovereigns, the Marshals of France, the Admirals and Generals of the Gallies, and of the Ministers and Secretaries of State who served under this Monarch.

After these is given an Alphabetical Catalogue of the learned Men and Artists in every branch. This preliminary information is a kind of Dictionary, in which the reader may select the subjects he chooses to render himself master of the great events which happened in this reign.

T H E A G E of L O U I S X I V

An AUTHENTIC LIST of the CHILDREN
of LOUIS XIV.

*Of the PRINCES of the ROYAL FAMILY of FRANCE,
• in his Time, the cotemporary SOVEREIGNS, the MAR-
SHALS, the MINISTERS, and the most distinguished
WRITERS and ARTISTS that flourished in that Age.*

L OUIS XIV. had but one wife, Maria-Theresa of Austria, born in 1638, (the same year with her husband) only daughter of Philip IV. King of Spain, of his first marriage with Elizabeth of France, and sister to Charles II. and Margaret-Theresa, whom Philip IV. had by his second alliance with Mary-Anne of Austria. This second marriage of Philip IV. is somewhat remarkable. Mary-Anne of Austria was his niece, and had been affianced in 1648, to Philip-Balthazar, Infant of Spain; so that he wedded at once both his niece, and the betrothed of his own son.

The nuptials of Louis XIV. were celebrated the ninth of June 1660. Maria-Theresa died in 1683. The Historians of that time strained hard to say something extraordinary of this princess. They have invented a story, that a Nun having asked her, if she had not laid
a herself

herself out to attract the admiration of the young men of distinction at her father's Court, she replied, "No, " for there were no Kings among them."

They have not given us the name of this same Nun, whom they have thus represented as both impertinent, and indiscreet. The Infantas were not permitted to converse with any of the young men of the Court; and when Charles I. King of England, then Prince of Wales, went to Madrid to espouse the daughter of Philip III. he was not allowed even to speak to her. This answer of Maria Theresa seems besides to suppose, that if there had been Kings at her father's Court, she would have taken pains to attach their affections. Such a reply might have suited the sister of Alexander, but corresponded not with the modest simplicity of Maria-Theresa*. Historians often take the liberty of making princes say things ~~they~~ never either said, or ought to have said.

The only issue of this marriage, that lived, was Louis the Dauphin, intitled *Monseigneur*, who was born November 1, 1661, and died April 14, 1711. For a long time before his death, the following prophecy about him was current in France: "Son of a King, father of a King, but never a King himself." The event appeared to favour the credulity of those who lend faith to predictions; but this sentence was nothing more than a repetition of what had been said before of the father of Philip de Valois, and was founded, besides, on the health and vigour of Louis XIV. which promised fairer for long life, than those of his son.

* A similar story is recorded of Alexander, who being interrogated, why he did not engage in the Olympic games? answered, He would do so, *if there were Kings to cope with him.* This must have been Voltaire's reason for supposing a *supposed* sister of Alexander's to Maria-Theresa, which of course would have been absurd, as he had no sister. Quintus Curtius, his historian, was one of those inventive Biographers whom our Author hints at in this passage. Lyf Machus hearing some redoubted exploits reported of Alexander, cried out, "Where was I, while such fine feats were performing?"

Truth requires it to be affirmed, that no credit is to be given to the scandalous anecdotes that have been so often repeated with regard to the private life of this prince. The Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon compiled by L. a Beaumelle, are full of these ridiculous stories. One of the most extravagant is, that *Monseigneur* was in love with his own sister, and that he married Mademoiselle Chouin. Such nonsense only requires to be refuted, because it has been published in print.

He espoused Maria-Anna-Christina-Victoria of Bavaria, March 8, 1680, who died April 20, 1690; by whom he had issue,

1. LOUIS, Duke of Burgundy, who was born August 6, 1682, and died February 18, 1712, of an epidemical measles. He had by Maria-Adelaide of Savoy, daughter of the first King of Sardinia, who died February 12, 1712, the Duke of Brittany, who died in 1705:

LOUIS, Duke of Brittany, who died in 1712: And

- LOUIS XV. born February 15, 1710.

The premature death of the Duke of Burgundy was regretted by all France, and Europe too. He had been well-educated, was just, pacific, an enemy to all vain-glory, and a pupil worthy of the Duke of Beauvilliers and the celebrated Fenelon. We have, to the reproach of human nature, a number of volumes written against Louis XIV. his son *Monseigneur*, and the Duke of Orleans his nephew, but not one to record the merits and virtues of this Prince, whose character deserved to be handed down to posterity, had he been only a private man.

2. PHILIP, Duke of Anjou, King of Spain, who was born December 19, 1683, and died July 9, 1746.
 3. CHARLES, Duke of Berry, who was born August 31, 1686, and died May 4, 1714.
- Louis XIV. had also two sons, and three daughters, who all died young.

LEGITIMATED *and* NATURAL CHILDREN.

LOUIS XIV. had by the Duchefs of La Valière, who became a Reclufe of the Carmelite order, June 2, 1674; professed herself June 4, 1675, and died June 6, 1710, aged fixty-fix,

LOUIS of Bourbon, Count of Vermandois, who was born October 2, 1667, and died in 1683.

MARY-ANNE, filed *Mademoiselle de Blois*, who was born in 1666, married to Lewis-Armand, Prince of Conti, and died in 1739.

Other NATURAL CHILDREN LEGITIMATED.

LOUIS-AUGUSTUS of Bourbon, Duke of Maine, who was born March 31, 1670, and died in 1736.

LOUIS-CÆSAR, Count of Mexin, Abbé of St. Denis, and of St. Germain des Prés, who was born in 1672, and died in 1683.

LOUIS-ALEXANDER of Bourbon, Count of Toulouse, who was born June 6, 1678, and died in 1737.

LOUISA-FRANCES of Bourbon, filed *Mademoiselle de Nantes*, who was born in 1673, married to Louis III. Duke of Bourbon-Condé, and died in 1743.

LOUISA-MARIA of Bourbon, filed *Mademoiselle de Tours*, who died in 1681.

FRANCES-MARIA of Bourbon, filed *Mademoiselle de Blois*, who was born in 1677, married to Philip II.

Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, and died in 1749. He had two other fons alfo, who both died young.

PRINCES *and* PRINCESSES of the BLOOD ROYAL, who lived in the AGE of LOUIS XIV.

JOHN-BAPTIST-GASTON, Duke of Orleans, fecond fon of Henry IV. and of Mary of Medicis, who was born at Fontainebleau, in 1608; almoft ever unfortunate, hated by his brother, perfecuted by Cardinal Richelieu; engaging in all the political parties of the Court,

Court, and frequently forsaking his confederates. He was the cause of the death of the Duke of Montmorency, of Cinq-Mars, and of the virtuous De Thou. Jealous of his rank, and the etiquette of precedence himself, he yet broke through the forms, one day, with regard to all the Nobility of the Court, at an entertainment which he gave them; and taking the Duke of Montbazou by the hand, to lead him down stairs, the Duke of Montbazou said to him, "I am the first of your friends that ever you assisted to descend from the scaffold." He acted a considerable part, but an unhappy one, during the Regency, and died in banishment at Blois, in 1660.

ELIZABETH, daughter of Henry IV. who was born in 1602, married to Philip IV. very unhappy in Spain, where she lived without credit or comfort, and died in 1644.

CHRISTINA, second daughter of Henry IV. wife to Victor-Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. Her life was passed in a perfect storm, both at Court, and in her family. They disputed with her the guardianship of her son, opposed her power, and attacked her reputation. She died in 1663.

HENRIETTA-MARIA, wife to Charles I. King of Great-Britain, the most unhappy Princess of this House. She possessed almost all the qualities of her father. She died in 1669.

MADemoiselle DE MONTPENSIER, named the *Great Mademoiselle*, daughter of Gaston, and of Maria de Bourbon Montpensier, whose Memoirs are published, and who is much spoken of in this history. She died in the year 1693.

MARGARETTA-LOUISA, wife to Cosmo de Medicis, who quitted her husband, and retired into France.

FRANCES-MAGDALEN, wife of Charles-Emanuel, Duke of Savoy.

PHILIP, *Monsieur*, only brother of Louis XIV. He espoused Henrietta, daughter of Charles I. King of England, and grand-daughter to Henry IV. a Princess dear to France by her wit and accomplishments, and who died in the flower of her age, in 1670. *Monsieur* survived till the year 1701.

It was he who commenced the new House of Orleans.

He had, by the daughter of the Elector Palatine, who died in 1722,

PHILIP of ORLEANS, Regent of France, famous for his courage, his wit, and his pleasures, born for social life even more than for public business, and one of the most amiable men that ever lived. His sister was the last Duchess of Lorraine. He died in 1723.

The House of CONDE were a distinguished Branch, in this Class.

HENRY, Prince of CONDE, the second of the name, first Prince of the Blood, was held in much esteem during the Regency, and had a character of remarkable probity in those troublesome times. His income was computed at about two millions of livres a-year, according to our present reckoning*. He gave an example, in the management of his household, of an œconomy that Cardinal Mazarin should have copied, if it had been possible: but his greatest glory was to have been the father of the Great Condé. He died in 1646.

THE GREAT CONDE LOUIS II. of that name, son of the former, and of Charlotta-Margaretta of Montmorency, nephew to the illustrious and unfortunate Duke of Montmorency beheaded at Toulouse, who reunited in his person every quality that had characterised, during so many ages, both these houses of heroes, was born September 8th, 1621, and died December 11th, 1686.

He had issue by Clemence de Maillé de Brezé, niece to Cardinal Richelieu,

HENRY JULIUS, commonly called *Monsieur the Prince*, who died in 1709.

Henry-Julius had, by Anne of Bavaria, Palatine of the Rhine,

* About two hundred thousand pounds English.

LOUIS of Bourbon, styled *Monsieur the Duke*, father of him who was Prime Minister under Louis XV. He died in 1710.

The Branch of CONTI.

The first Prince of Conti, ARMAND, was brother to the Great Condé; he had a part in the *Fronde*†, and died in 1666.

He left issue, by Anne Martinozzi, niece to Cardinal Mazarin,

LOUIS, who married Mary-Anne, daughter of Louis XIV. by the Duchesse of Valiere, and died without issue, in 1685.

FRANCIS LOUIS, Prince of Roche-sur-Yon, afterwards Conti, who was elected King of Poland in 1697; a Prince whose memory was long held in esteem in France, resembling the Great Condé in his wit and courage, and always animated with a desire of pleasing, a quality which was often deficient in the Great Condé. He died in 1709.

He had issue by Adelaide of Bourbon, his cousin, LOUIS-ARMAND, born in 1695, who survived Louis XIV.

The Branch of BOURBON-SOISSONS.

There was of this branch only LOUIS, Count of Soissons, killed at the battle of La Marfée, in 1641. All the other branches were extinct.

The COURTENAYS were not acknowledged for Princes of the Blood, but, by the Courtesy of the Public, and they held not the rank. They were descended from *Lewis the Grey*; but when their ancestors assumed the arms of the heiress of Courtenay, they had not taken the precaution to attach themselves to the Royal Family, at the time when the great land-holders acknowledged no prerogative, except what was annexed to the great feudal tenures, or the Peerage.

An antiministerial League, in the Minority of Louis XIV. so called.

This branch had given Emperors to Constantinople, but could not furnish an acknowledged Prince of the Blood. Cardinal Mazarin, in order to mortify the House of Condé, endeavoured to confer on them the rank and honours they had been aiming at so long; but he found that they had not sufficient consequence in themselves, to second his intention.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

POPE S.

BARBERINI, URBAN VIII. It was he who first gave to Cardinals the title of *Eminence*. He abolished the order of female Jesuits. The time was not ripe enough for abolishing the male ones. We have a large collection of his Latin verses. The poetry of Ariosto and Tasso is preferred before them. He died in 1644.

Pamphile, INNOCENT X. Noted for having banished from Rome the two Nephews of Urban VIII. to whom he owed his rise; for having condemned the five propositions of Jansenius, without having ever taken the trouble of reading the book; and for having been governed by Donna Olympia, his sister-in-law, who sold, under his Pontificate, every thing that was vendible. He died in 1655.

Chigi, ALEXANDER VII. It was he that assid pardon of Louis XIV. by a *Legation d'Amice*. He was even a worse pontiff than Urban VIII. Long time commended for having neglected Neapolitan, he concluded with placing it on his throne. He died in 1667.

Rospigliosi, CLEMENT IX. A patron of literature, without writing verses; pacific, and nominal, liberal, and a father of his people. He had two objects at heart, which he was not able to compass; to hinder the Turks from taking Candia, and to preserve peace in the Gallican church. He died in 1669.

Aldobrandini, CLEMENT X. An honest man, and of a pacific disposition, like his predecessor; but governed too much. He died in 1676.

Odescalqui,

Odescalqui, INNOCENT XI. A violent enemy to Louis XIV. forgetting the interests of the Church in favour of the league formed against that Monarch. He is often mentioned in this history. He died in 1689.

Ottoboni, a Venetian, ALEXANDER VIII. Few men ever distributed more charity, or shewed more liberality to his relations. He died in 1691.

Pignatelli, INNOCENT XII. He condemned the illustrious Fénelon. Excepting this, he was loved and esteemed. He died in 1700.

Albani, CLIMENT XI. His bull against Quesnel, which is only a single sheet, is more generally read than his works in six folio volumes. He died in 1721.

Of the OTTOMAN RACE.

IBRAHIM. 'Tis him of whom Racine said very justly,

“ This foolish Prince dreads not impending fate * ;
 But spends his thoughtless hours in childish prate.”

Raised from a prison to a throne, on the death of his brother Amurath. But notwithstanding his weakness, the Turks conquered Candia under his reign. He was strangled in 1649.

MAHOMET IV. son of Ibrahim. He was deposed, and died in 1687.

SOLIMAN III. son of Ibrahim, and brother to Mahomet IV. after various successes in his wars against Germany, died a natural death, in 1691.

ACHMET II. brother to the former; a poet and musician. His army was beaten at Salankamen by Prince Louis of Baden. He died in 1695.

MUSTAPHA II. son to Mahomet IV. conqueror at Temeswar, conquered by Prince Eugene, at the battle of Zenta on the 11th of September 1697, deposed

* Alluding to the custom of the Sultans, of imprisoning all their brothers, and putting those of them to death, who are distinguished for sense, spirit, or other talents dangerous to despotism:

“ Bears like the Turk his brother near the throne.”

in Adrianople, and died in the seraglio at Constantinople, in 1703.

ACHMET III. brother to the former; defeated also by Prince Eugene, at Peterwaradin and at Belgrade, and deposed in 1730.

EMPEROR *of* GERMANY.

Nothing particular of them need be mentioned here, as they are fully spoken of in the body of this history.

FERDINAND III. died in 1657.

LEOPOLD I. died in 1705.

JOSEPH I. died in 1711.

CHARLES VI. died in 1740.

KINGS *of* SPAIN.

The same silence is observed here, and for the same reason.

PHILIP IV. died in 1665.

CHARLES II. died in 1700.

PHILIP V. died in 1746.

KINGS *of* PORTUGAL.

JOHN IV. Duke of Braganza, surnamed *the Fortunate*.

His wife Louisa de Gusman made him King of Portugal. He died in 1656.

ALPHONSO, son of the former. If John was made King by his wife, Alphonso was dethroned by his. He was confined in the Island of Tercera, where he died in 1683.

DON PEDRO, brother to the former, whom he deprived both of his crown and wife; and in order to render his marriage with her legitimate, he had his brother pronounced impotent, and profligate as he was. He died in 1706.

JOHN V. died in 1750.

KINGS

KINGS *of* ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
and IRELAND, *of whom mention is made in the*
Age of Louis XIV.

CHARLES I. assassinated, according to forms of law, on a scaffold, in 1649.

CROMWELL (Oliver) Protector December 22, 1653; more powerful than a King. He died September 15, 1658.

CROMWELL (Richard) Protector immediately after the death of his father. He was peaceably dispossessed, in the month of June 1659, and died in 1685.

CHARLES II. died in 1685.

JAMES II. dethroned in 1688, and died in 1701.

WILLIAM III. died in 1702.

ANNE STUART, died in 1714.

GEORGE I. died in 1727.

KINGS *of* DENMARK.

CHRISTIAN IV. died in 1648.

FREDERIC III. acknowledged in 1661, by the Clergy and the Burghers as an absolute sovereign, superior to the laws, having authority to enact, to abrogate, or infringe them, at his sole will and pleasure. The Nobles were obliged to comply with the determination of the two other Orders of the State. By this strange constitution the Kings of Denmark are the only Princes who are despotic by law; and yet, what is still more extraordinary, is, that neither that King, nor any of his successors, have ever since made any unjustifiable use of such boundless controul. He died in 1667.

CHRISTIAN V. died in 1699.

FREDERIC IV. died in 1730.

KINGS *of* SWEDEN.

CHRISTINA. She is much spoken of in the Age of Louis XIV. She abdicated in 1654; and died at Rome, in 1689.

CHARLES

CHARLES X. GUSTAVUS, who attempted to establish the despotism of the Crown, and died in 1660.

CHARLES XI. who confirmed it, and died in 1697.

CHARLES XII. who abused it, and was therefore the cause of the people's recovering their liberty again. He died in 1718.

KINGS of POLAND

LADISLAUS-SIGISMOND, conqueror of the Turks. It was he who, in 1645, sent a magnificent embassy to espouse by proxy the Princess Maria de Gonzaga de Nevers. The suite, the dresses, the horses, and the coaches of the Polish Ambassadors, eclipsed the splendour of the Court of France, on which Louis XIV. had not yet bestowed that magnificence that has since out-shone all the other Courts in the world. He died in 1648.

JOHN-CASIMIR, brother to the former, a Jesuit afterwards a Cardinal, and then King. He espoused his brother's widow, grew tired of Poland, retired to Paris, was made Abbé of St. Germain des Prés, lived much with Ninon de L'Enclos, and died in 1672.

MICHAEL WIENOWSKI, elected in 1670. He suffered Kamienieck to be taken by the Turks, the only fortified town he had, and the key of his kingdom, and submitted to be their tributary. He died in 1673.

JOHN SOBIESKI, elected in 1674, conqueror of the Turks, and restorer of the liberty of Vienna. His life has been written by the Abbé Coyer, a man of sense and philosophy. He married a French woman, as well as Ladislaus and Casimir. She was Mademoiselle d'Arquen. He died in 1696.

AUGUSTUS I. Elector of Saxony, elected in 1697, by one party of the Nobles, while the Prince of Conti was chosen by the other. He soon became sole King, was dethroned by Charles XII. re-established by the Czar **Peter I.** and died in 1733.

STANISLAUS, established, on the contrary, by Charles XII. and dethroned by Peter I. He died in 1765.

KINGS of PRUSSIA.

FREDERIC, the first King, died in 1700.

FREDERIC-WILLIAM, the first that ever had a great army, and who disciplined it; father of Frederic the Great, who was the first that conquered with this army. He died in 1740.

CZARS of RUSSIA, *since styled* EMPERORS.

MICHAEL ROMANOFF, son to Philarete, Archbishop of Moscow, elected in 1613, at the age of fifteen. In his time the Czars chose a wife among their own subjects. They summoned to their Court a number of young women, and chose any one they liked. These were the ancient Asiatic manners. Thus did Michael espouse the daughter of a poor gentleman, who tilled his own land himself. He died in 1645.

ALEXIS, son of Michael, who fought against the Ottomans with success, and died in 1676.

FEDOR, son of Alexis, who attempted to civilize the Russians, a work reserved for Peter the Great. He died in 1682.

IVAN, brother to Fedor, and the elder brother of Peter, but incapable of the throne. He died in 1688.

PETER THE GREAT, a real founder. He died in 1725.

GOVERNORS of FLANDERS.

The Low-COUNTRIES having been generally the Theatre of the War, in the Time of Louis XIV. it may be useful here to give the Succession of the Governors of this Province, who never saw the Faces of any of their Kings since Philip II.

THE Marquis FRANCISCO DE MELLO D'ASSUMAR; the same who was beaten by the Great Condé. He was dismissed in 1644.

The great Commander CASTEL RODRIGO, who died in 1647.

LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, Arch-Duke of Austria, that is to say, only bearing the title, without any of the possessions of that principality, brother to Ferdinand II. It was he who sent a deputation to the Parliament of Paris, to join with him in a league against Cardinal Mazarin. He died in 1655.

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA, natural son to Phil'p IV. a powerful enemy to the Jesuit Nithar, Prime Minister of Spain, as the Prince of Condé was to Cardinal Mazarin; but more successful than the latter, as he banished Nithar out of the kingdom for life. It was he who was beaten by Turenne at the battle of Dunes. He died in 1659.

The Marquis of CARACENE, who died in 1664.

The Marquis of CASTEL RODRIGO, who ill sustained the war against Louis XIV. and who indeed could not sustain it well. He died in 1668.

FERNANDES DE VESASCO, Constable of Castille, who died in 1669.

The Count of MONTEREY, who privately succoured the Dutch against Louis XIV. He died in 1675.

The Duke of VILLA HERMOSA, the most liberal man of his time. He died in 1678.

ALEXANDER FARNESE, second son to the Duke of Parma. This name of Alexander Farnese was difficult to support. He was dismissed in 1682.

The Marquis of GRANA, who died in 1685.

The Marquis of CASTANAGA, who died in 1692.

MAXIMILIAN-EMMANUEL, Elector of Bavaria, after the battle of Hochstet. He held the title till the peace of Utrecht, in 1714, and died the same year.

Prince EUGENE, Vicar-General of the Low-Countries. He never resided there, and died in 1736.

MARSHALS of FRANCE who died or who served under Louis XIV.

D'ALBRET, (Cesar Phœbuſ) of the family of the Kings of Navarre, Marshal of France in 1653. He condescended to espouse the daughter of Guenegaud, Treasurer of the Exchequer, who was a Lady of great

merit. St. Evremond has celebrated her. He had been a lover of Madame Maintenon, and of the famous Ninon; loved in private life, and respected in war. He died in 1676.

D'ALEGRE (Yves) having served near sixty years under Louis XIV. was not made a Marshal till 1724. He died in 1733.

D'ASFELD (Claude-François-Vidal) acquired a great reputation for the attack and defence of places. He contributed much to the success of the battle of Almanza. He was created a Marshal in 1734, and died in 1743.

D'AUBUSSON (François de la Feuillade) Marshal in 1675. It was he who, out of gratitude, set up a statue of Louis XIV. in the Place des Victoires. He died in 1691. His son was not made a Marshal, till a long time after, in 1725.

D'AUMONT, (Antony) grandson of the famous John Marshal d'Aumont, one of the great Captains of Henry IV. Antony contributed much to the gaining the battle of Rethel in 1650. He received the Marshal's staff upon that occasion, and died in 1669.

DE BALINCOURT, Marshal in 1746.

BERWICK, (James Fitzjames Duke of) natural son to James II. King of England, by a sister to the Duke of Marlborough. James created him Duke of Berwick in England. He was likewise a Duke in Spain, and one in France also. He was made a Marshal in 1706, and slain at the siege of Philipsburgh, in 1734.

BASSOMPIERRE (Francis de) born in 1579, Colonel-General of the Swiss. A Marshal in 1622; prisoner in the Bastille, from the year 1631 to the death of Cardinal Richelieu. He there composed his Memoirs, which are made up of the intrigues of the Court, and his own gallantries. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, never mentions a word of his amours. It is said, that he faced the fossé of the Cours-là-Reine with stone, at his own expence. He died in 1646.

BELLEFONDS

BELLEFONDS (Bernardin Gigaut de) Marshal in 1698. He gained a battle in Catalonia, in 1684, and died in 1699.

DE BELLE-ISLE (Louis-Charles-Augustus de Fouquet) Grand-son of the Superintendant, distinguished in the wars of 1701, Duke and Peer, Prince of the Empire, Marshal in 1741. He concerted with his brother all the plan of the war against the Queen of Hungary, in which his brother was killed. He died Minister of State.

BEZONS (James Bazin de) Marshal in 1699, and died in 1733.

BIRON (Armand-Charles de Gontaut, Duke of) who revived the Duchy in his family. Having served in all the wars of Louis XIV. and lost an arm at the siege of Landau, he was not made a Marshal till 1734.

BOUFFLERS (Lewis-Francis, Duke of) one of the best officers of Louis XIV. Marshal in 1693, and died in 1711.

BOURG (Eleanor-Maria du Maine, Count Du) gained an important battle under Louis XIV. but was not made a Marshal till 1725. He died the same year.

BRANCAS (Henry de Villars de Sarselt) having served a long time under Louis XIV. was made a Marshal in 1734.

BREZE (Urban de Maillé, Marquis of) brother-in-law to Cardinal Richelieu, Marshal in 1632, Viceroy of Catalonia, and died in 1650.

BROGLIO (Victor-Maurice) having served in all the wars of Louis XIV. was created a Marshal in 1724, and died in 1727.

BROGLIO (Francis-Maria, Duke of) son to the former. One of the best Lieutenant-Generals in the armies of Louis XIV; was made a Marshal in 1734, father of another Marshal Broglio, who united the talents of his ancestors.

CASTELNAU (James de) Marshal in 1658, and killed the same year, at the siege of Calais.

CATINAT (Nicholas de) Marshal in 1693. He joined philosophy to the talents for war. The last day he commanded in Italy, he gave the parole *Paris & St.*

Gardes

Gassien, which latter was the name of his own country-house. To this place he immediately retired, spent the remainder of his life in reading and reflection, and died in 1712, after having refused the blue ribband *.

CHAMILLI (Noel Bouton de). He had served at the siege of Candia. A Marshal in 1703, and died in 1715.

CHATEAU-RENAUD (Francis-Louis Rousselet de) Vice-Admiral of France, served equally well by sea and land; cleared the sea of pirates, defeated the English in Bantry-bay, bombarded Algiers, and placed the Isles of America in safety. He was a Marshal in 1703, and died in 1716.

CHAULNES (Honore d'Albret, Duke of) Marshal in 1620, and died in 1649.

CHOISEUL (Claude de) third Marshal of France of the same name, in 1693, and died in 1711.

CLAIRAMBAULT (Philippe de Palluau de) Marshal in 1653, and died in 1665.

DE CLERMONT-TONNERRE, having served in the war of 1741, was made a Marshal in 1747.

COIGNI (Francis de Franquetot) a long time one of the General Officers under Louis XIV. was created a Marshal in 1734, and gained two battles in Italy.

COLIGNI (Gaspard de) Grandson of the Admiral of that name; a Marshal in 1622, Commander against the rebel forces of the Count of Soissons, and was slain at the battle of Marfée. He died in 1646.

CREQUI (Francis de) a Marshal in 1668, and one who died in 1687, with the reputation of a Commander who was fit to succeed Marshal Turenne.

D'ÉTAMPES (James de la Ferté-Imbaut) a Marshal in 1651, and died in 1668.

D'ÉTRÉES (Francis-Hannibal, Duke) Marshal in 1626. What is very singular with regard to this person, is, that at the age of ninety-three, he married for his second wife Mademoiselle de Manican, who had just before miscarried by a former amour. He died above a hundred years of age, in 1670.

* The Order of the Holy-Ghost.

D'ETREES (John) Vice-Admiral in 1670, a Marshal in 1681, and died in 1707.

D'ETREES (Victor-Maria) son of John D'Etrées, Vice-Admiral of France, as his father was, before he had been created a Marshal. It is to be remarked, that in this quality of Vice-Admiral of France, he commanded the united fleets of France and Spain; in 1701, and was made a Marshal in 1703. He died in 1737.

DURAS (James Henry de Durfort de) nephew to the Viscount Turenne, made Marshal in 1675, immediately after the death of his uncle, and died in 1704.

DURAS (John de Durfort, Duke of) Field-Marshal under Louis XIV. and Marshal of France in 1741.

FABERT (Abraham) Marshal in 1658. Some have imputed both his fortune and his death to supernatural causes: but there was nothing extraordinary in his life, except his having deserved his success by his merit, and his having refused the ribband of *The Order*, though the proofs of his title to it were offered to be dispensed with*. 'Tis said that Cardinal Mazarin proposed to him to act as a spy in the army, and that his answer was, "Perhaps it may be necessary for a Minister to make use of scoundrels, as well as men of honour, but I chuse only to serve in the latter character." He died in 1662.

FARE (de la) son of the Marquis de la Fare, celebrated for his ingenious pieces of poetry: an Officer in the war of 1701, and made a Marshal in 1746.

FERTE SENNETERRE (Henry, Duke de la) made Field-Marshal at the siege of Hesdin, commanded the left wing at the battle of Rocroi, appointed a Marshal in 1651, and died in 1681.

FORCE (James Nompar de Caumont de la) Marshal in 1622. He was one of those who happened to escape at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and wrote an

* Voltaire does not mention *The Order* here hinted at; but it must be supposed to be some particular distinction, which those only were intitled to, who could prove a genealogical succession, for a certain term, untainted with Plebeian blood.

account of it, in the Memoirs preserved in his family. He died at ninety-seven years of age, in 1652.

FOUCAULT (Louis) Count of Daugnon, Marshal in 1653, and died in 1659.

GASSION (John de) pupil of the great Gustavus. A Marshal in 1643. He was a Calvinist. He never would marry, saying, that "he thought life a thing of too little value to share it with any one." He was killed at the siege of Lens, in 1647.

GRAMONT (Anthony de) Marshal in 1641, and died in 1678.

GRAMONT (Anthony de) grandson of the former, a Marshal in 1724, father of the Duke of Gramont who was killed at the battle of Fontenoy, and died in 1725.

GRANCEI (James-Rouxel, Count of) Marshal in 1651, and died in 1680.

GUEBRIANT (John-Baptist de Budes) Marshal in 1642. One of the best warriors of his time. Slain at the Siege of Rotweil, and interred with pomp at Notre-Dame.

HARCOURT (Henry, Duke of). It may be said, that it was he who put an end to the old enmity between the French and Spanish nations, while he was Ambassador at Madrid. His address and arts of pleasing won so much on the Court of Spain, that Charles II. consented to adopt a grandson of Louis XIV. as heir to his dominions. It was his place to have commanded, instead of Marshal Villars, the year of the successful campaign of Denain; but he could hardly have acquitted himself in that charge with more glory. He was made a Marshal in 1703, and died in 1718. His son was made a Marshal in 1746.

HOCQUINCOURT (Charles de Mouchi) Marshal in 1651. He was killed in pursuing the enemy before Dunkirk, in 1658.

HOPITAL (Nicholas de L') Captain of the Guards under Louis XIII. Marshal in 1617, for having slain the Marshal d'Ancre; but he other-ways deserved this dignity, on account of his general bravery. He is

numbered among the Marshals of this age, as dying in the reign of Louis XIV. in 1644.

HUMIERES (Louis de Crevan, Marquis D') Marshal in 1668, and died in 1694.

JOYEUSE (John Armand de) Marshal of France in 1693, and died in 1710.

D'ISENGHIEN, an Officer under Louis XIV. and Marshal in 1741

LORGE (Guy-Alphonse de Dyrfort, de) nephew to the Viscount Turenne. Marshal in 1676, and died in 1702.

LUXEMBOURG (Francis-Henry de Montmorenci, Duke of) The pupil of the Great Condé. Marshal in 1675. There were seven Marshals of this name, besides the Constables; and since the eleventh century, there has hardly been a reign without some of the family at the head of armies. He died in 1695.

LUXEMBOURG (Christian Louis de Montmorenci) grandson of the former, signalized himself in the war of 1701, and was made a Marshal in 1747.

DE MAILLEBOIS, son to the Minister of State Desmarêts, having signalized himself on all occasions during the war of 1701, was made a Marshal in 1741*.

MARSIN, or MARCHIN (Ferdinand, Count of) passed from the Austrian service into that of France, was made a Marshal in 1703, and was killed at Turin, in 1706.

DE MATIGNON (Charles-Augustus-Gaillon de Gacé) Marshal in 1708, and died in 1729.

MAULLVRIER-LANGERON, Marshal in 1745.

MEDAVI (James-Léonoi Rouxel de Grancei, Count of) was not made a Marshal till 1724, though he had gained a complete victory in 1706. He died in 1725.

DE LA MEILLERAYE (Charles de la Porte) made Marshal in 1620, under Louis XIII. who presented him with the Marshal's staff at the siege of Heildin. He

* Persons of merit must have ~~long~~ hopes in France, at this rate. How many Pimps, Parasites, and *Putains*, were preferred, or provided for, in that forty years interval!

was Grand Master of the Ordnance, and had the reputation of being an expert commander at sieges. He died in 1664.

MONTESQUIOU (Peter Count of Artagnan) Marshal in 1709, and died in 1725.

MONTREVEL (Nicholas-Augustus de la Baume) Marshal in 1703, and died in 1716.

MOTTE-HOUDANCOURT (Philip de la) Marshal in 1642. He was sent to the Castle of Pierre-en-Cise in 1643; and it is remarkable that there was no General who had not been imprisoned or exiled during the administrations of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. He died in 1657. His Grand-son was made a Marshal in 1747.

NANGIS (Louis-Armand de Brichanteau) served with distinction under Marshal Villars in the war of 1701. He was made a Marshal under Louis XV.

NAVAILLES (Philip de Montaud de Bénéac, Duke of) a Marshal in 1675, commanded at Candia under the Duke of Beaufort, and after him. He died in 1684.

NOAILLES (Anne-Julius Duke of) Marshal in 1693. He signalized himself in Spain, where he won the battle of Ter. He died in 1708.

NOAILLES (Adrian-Maurice) son to the former, a General in the army in Roussillon in 1706, a Grandée of Spain in 1711, after having taken Gironne. He was not made a Marshal of France till the year 1734. He presided over the Finances in 1715, and has been since Minister of State. Nobody wrote dispatches better than he. He died in 1766.

PLESSIS-PRASLIN (Cæsar Duke of Choiseul, Count of) a Marshal in 1645. He had the glory of defeating Viscount Turenne at Rethel in 1650. He died in 1675.

PUISEGUR (James de Chastenet de) a Marshal in 1734, son of James, Lieutenant-General under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. who acquired great reputation, and has left us some Memoirs. The Marshal has written on the subject of war. He was a person whom the Minister always consulted in critical situations.

RIEHLIEU (Louis-Francis-Armand du Pleffis, Duke of) a Brigadier under Louis XIV. a General in the army at Gènes, a Marshal in 1748, and took the Island of Minorca from the English, in 1756.

ROCHEFORT (Henry-Louis, Marquis of Alongni, and Marquis of) Marshal in 1675, and died in 1676.

ROQUILLAURE (Anthony-Gaston-John-Baptist, Duke of) Marshal in 1724.

ROSEN, or ROSE (Conrad de) of an ancient family in Livonia, served first a volunteer in the Regiment de Brinon; but his birth and merit having been soon known, he was raised step by step. James II. made him General of his troops in Ireland. He was made a Marshal of France in 1703, and died at the age of eighty-seven, in 1715.

SAINT-LUC (Timoléon d'Epinaï de) son of the brave Saint-Luc, whose elogy is made by Biantôme. He was made a Marshal in 1628, and died in 1644.

SCHOMBERG (Frederic-Armand) pupil of Frederic-Henry, Prince of Orange. A Marshal in 1675, Duke of Mertola in Portugal, Governor and Generalissimo of Prussia, Duke and General in England. He was a zealous Protestant, quitted France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and was slain at the battle of the Boyne, in 1690.

SCHULEMBERG (John de) Count of Mondejeu, originally from Prussia. Marshal in 1658, and died in 1671.

TALLARD (Camillo d'Ostun, Duke of) It was he who concluded the two Treaties of Partition. Marshal in 1703, Minister of State in 1726, and died in 1728.

TESSE (René de Froullai) Marshal in 1703, and died in 1725.

TURENNE (Henry de la Tour, Viscount of) born in 1611. Marshal of France in 1644, Marshal-General in 1660, and died in 1675.

VAUBAN (Sebastian le Prêtre, Marquis of) Marshal in 1703, and died in 1707.

VILLARS (Louis-Claude, Duke of) who took the name of *Hedor*. Marshal in 1702. President of the Council of

of War in 1718, represented the Constable at the Coronation of Louis XV. in 1722, and died in 1734. He is mentioned in this history, as well as Turenne.

VILLEROY (Nicholas de Neuville, Duke of) Governor to Louis XIV. in 1646; Marshal the same year, and died in 1685.

VILLEROY (Francis de Neuville, Duke of) son of the former, Governor of Louis XV. Marshal in 1693. His father and he were Chiefs of the Council of Finances, a title without any office annexed, but only as a form to have them admitted of the Council-Board. He died in 1730.

VIVONNE (Louis-Victor de Rochechouart, Duke of) Standard-Bearer of the Church, General of the Marines, Viceroy of Messina, and Marshal of France in 1675. He is not reckoned as the first Marshal of the Marines, because he was in the land-service a considerable time. He died in 1688.

UXELLES (Nicholas Châlon du Blé, Marquis D') Marshal in 1703, President of the Council for foreign affairs in 1718, and died in 1730.

GRAND ADMIRALS of FRANCE during the Reign of LOUIS XIV.

ARMAND DE MAILLE, Marquis de Brezé, Grand-Master, Principal and Superintendant-General of the Navigation and the Commerce of France in 1643. Killed at sea by a cannon-shot, June 14, 1646.

ANNE of Austria, Queen Regent, Superintendant of the Marine of France in 1646. She resigned the command in 1650.

CÆSAR Duke of VENDÔME, and of Beaufort, Grand-Master and Superintendant-General of the Navigation and Commerce of France, in 1650.

FRANCIS of VENDÔME, Duke of Beaufort, son to Cæsar, slain at the battle of Candia, June 25, 1669.

LOUIS DE BOURBON, Count of VERMANDOIS, legitimated son of Louis XIV. Admiral in the month of August 1669, at two years old, and died in 1683.

LOUIS-ALEXANDER of BOURBON, Count of Toulouse, legitimated also; Admiral in 1683, and died in 1737.

GENERALS of the GALLEYS of FRANCE, during the Reign of Louis XIV.

ARMAND-JOHN DU PLESSIS, Duke of RICHELIEU; made a Peer of France in 1643, during the life of Francis his father, and resigned in 1661.

FRANCIS Marquis of CREQUI succeeded him, and resigned the office in 1669, a year after he had been made a Marshal of France.

LOUIS-VICTOR DE ROCHECHOUART, Count, and afterwards Duke of VIVONNE, Prince of Tonnai-Charente, in 1669.

LOUIS of ROCHECHOUART, Duke of MORTEMAR, on surviving his father. Died April 3, 1688.

LOUIS-AUGUSTUS of Bourbon, legitimated son of Louis XIV. Prince of Dombes, Duke of MAINE and Aumale, in 1688, and resigned in 1694.

LOUIS-JOSEPH Duke of VENDÔME in 1694, and died in 1712.

RENE SIRE DE FROULLAI, Count of TESSE, Marshal of France in 1712, and resigned in 1716.

The Chevalier of ORLEANS, in 1716, and died in 1748. After him this dignity was reunited to the Board of Admiralty.

MINISTERS

MINISTERS of STATE.

JULIUS-MAZARIN, Cardinal, first Minister, of an ancient family in Sicily transplanted to Rome, son of Peter Mazarin and of Hortensia Bufalini; born in 1602; employed at first by Cardinal Sacchetti. He put a stop to the motions of the two armies, French and Spanish, just ready to engage near Casal, and concluded the peace of Querasque, in 1631. Vice-Legat at Avignon, and Nuncio extraordinary in France, in 1634. He appeased the troubles in Savoy in 1640, in quality of Ambassador-Extraordinary from the King. Made Cardinal in 1641, at the recommendation of Louis XIII. He was intirely attached to France from that time. Admitted to the Supreme Council, December 5, 1642, under the distinction of *Special Counsellor*, which gave him precedence before the Chancellor. Declared sole Counsellor to the Queen Regent for Ecclesiastical affairs by the Will and Testament of Louis XIII.; and Godfather to Louis XIV. with the Princess of Condé-Montmorenci. He at first refrained from challenging precedence of the Princes of the Blood, which Cardinal Richelieu had before usurped; but he preceded the houses of Vendôme and Longueville. But after the Treaty of the Pyrenees, he assumed the place, in the third step, above the Prince of Condé. He never had any letters patent for the post of Prime Minister, though he executed all the functions of it. They were afterwards granted to Cardinal Dubois. Philip of Orleans, too, grandson of France, deigned also to accept them, after his regency had expired. Cardinal Fleury neither had the Patent nor the Title.

Cardinal Mazarin died in 1661.

CHANCELLORS

C H A N C E L L O R S.

CHARLES D'AUBEPINE, Marquis of Châteauneuf, a long time employed on Embassies. Keeper of the seals in 1630, sent to prison in 1633 to the Castle of Angoulême, where he was confined for ten years. Keeper of the Seals again in 1650, resigned them in 1651, spent the remainder of his life amidst the dissensions of the Court, and died in 1653.

PETER SEQUIER, Chancellor, Duke of Villemur, Peer of France. He appeased the troubles of Normandy in 1639. Hazarded his life at the battle of the Barricades. He was always loyal, even in times when it was thought a merit to be otherwise. He contested not the precedence with the father of the Great Condé, in the ceremonies, when he assisted in them with Parliament. He was a man of probity, of learning, and a patron of men of letters. He was the Protector of the French Academy, before this liberal Society, composed of the principal Nobles of the Kingdom, and the best Writers, was arrived to the state of needing no other patron but the King. He died at eighty-four years of age, in 1672.

MATTHEW MOLE, first President of the Parliament of Paris in 1641. Keeper of the Seals in 1651. A just and spirited Magistrate. It is not true, though inserted in two new Dictionaries, that the populace attempted to assassinate him; but it is true that he always awed the seditious by his well-tempered courage and resolution. He died in 1656.

STEPHEN D'ALIGRE, Chancellor in 1674, son of another Stephen, Chancellor under Louis XIII. He died in 1677.

MICHAEL LE TELLIER, Chancellor in 1677, father of the illustrious Marquis of Louvois. His memory was honoured with a funeral oration by the great Bossuet. He died in 1687.

LOUIS BOUCHERAT, Chancellor in 1685. His device was a Cock beneath a Sun, in allusion to the device of Louis XIV. The motto was, *Sol reperit vigilem*. "The Sun found him watchful." He died in 1699.

LOUIS

LOUIS PHÉLIPEAUX, Count of Pontchartrain, descendant of many Secretaries of State, Chancellor in 1699. He retired to the *Institutes* * in 1714, and died in 1727.

DANIEL-FRANCIS VOISIN, who died in 1717, was the predecessor of the celebrated D'AGUESSEAU.

SUPERINTENDANTS of the FINANCES.

The place of Superintendent was the first in Council, when there was no Prime Minister: from whence it proceeded, that Cardinal Richelieu was obliged to solicit the favour, in 1623 and 1624, of the Marquis since Duke of Vieuxville, then Superintendent, to be admitted into the Council.

CLAUDE LE BOUTILLIER, at first Superintendent conjointly with CLAUDE DE BULLION, in 1632, sole in 1640. He was the first who gave a power to the Intendants of the Finances to impose taxes. He retired in 1643, and died in 1652.

NICHOLAS BAILLEUL, Marquis of Château-Gontier, President of the Parliament, Superintendent of the Finances from 1643 to 1648. He died in 1652, better skilled in the science of the Law, than that of Finances. He had under him, as Comptroller General, PARTICELLI, called EMERI, distinguished for his extortions.

* He was the son of a Peasant of Sienna, placed in that station by Cardinal Mazarin. He used to say, that the Ministers of Finances were only made to be abused. He was Superintendent in 1648, exiled to appease the people, and afterwards appointed Superintendent for six months.

EMERI invented various kinds of imposts; sworn officers, measurers and carriers of charcoal; meters,

* A convent in France so called.

pillers, and porters of wood; principal clerks of the coppices, the bridges, and mounds; perquisites for the books of accompts, augmentations of salaries, comptrollers of fines, the twentieth penny, fees, &c.

The same EMERI was Superintendant in 1648; but some months after was exiled by way of sacrifice to the public resentment.

The Marshal Duke of LA MELLERAYE, Superintendant in 1648, during the exile of Emeri. There had been military men before in this office. He had the probity of the Duke of Sully, but not his resources. He came in at the most difficult crisis; and the Duke of Sully was not Superintendant till after the Civil Wars were over. He taxed all the Financiers, and all the Farmers of the Revenues. The greatest part of them became Bankrupts, and no more money was to be had. He quitted the office of Superintendant in 1649, and died in 1664. Emeri assumed the Superintendancy, as soon as the Marshal resigned it. An Italian named *Tonti*, then invented a new Loan, upon Life Annuities, chargeable on the National Revenues, which were distinguished into several different classes, the income of each proprietor that died to be shared among the Survivors*. This amounted to a million and twenty-five thousand Livres per annum, which became a prodigious sum to the last survivor. This was a heavy charge upon the State for a few years, but not so burthensome, on the whole, as those that are to remain for ever. He died in 1650.

CLAUDE DE MESME, Count d'AVAUX, of an ancient family in Guienne, a man of letters who united Wit and the Graces to Science. He was appointed Plenipotentiary, along with Servien; and was loved by all the Negotiators, as much as his Colleague was hated. He was Superintendant in 1650, and died the same year.

CHARLES, Marquis Duke de la VIEUVILLE, the same whom Cardinal Richelieu had dismissed from the Council, and shut up in the castle of Amboise, in 1624. He escaped from his confinement, and fled into England;

* This species of Loan is called *Tontin*, from the inventor's name.
in

in consequence of which, sentence of death was passed upon him for contumacy. Notwithstanding this, he was afterwards created Duke and Peer, in 1651, and Superintendant the same year. He died in 1653.

RENE DE LONGUEIL, Marquis DE MAISONS, President à Mortier*, Superintendant in 1651, which he held only a year. It is said, that in the space of that one year he built the Castle de Maisons, which is one of the noblest edifices in Europe; but he had raised it the year before. It was the first attempt, and the master-piece, of Francis Mansard, who was then a young man, and a simple mason. A singular anecdote is told upon this occasion, which many people have heard as well as myself, from the Grandson of the Superintendant: One day, as he stood over some labourers clearing out a well, or vault, he happened to discover a hidden treasure, of forty thousand pieces of gold, of the coin of Charles IX.; with which money he erected this palace. He died in 1677.

We may observe that the Superintendants succeeded one another very rapidly, during these troubles.

ABEL SERVIEN, after having negotiated the Peace of Westphalia with the Duke of Longueville and the Count d'Avaux, and having had the principal honour, in that transaction, was made Superintendant in 1653, jointly with Nicholas Fouquet; and continued in it till his death, which happened in 1659; but M. Fouquet had always the principal direction in that department.

NICHOLAS FOUQUET, Marquis of BELLE-ISLE, was Superintendant in 1653, though he was Attorney-General in the Parliament of Paris. They have printed by mistake, in the Age of Louis XIV. that he expended eighteen hundred thousand *Francs* † in building his Palace at Vaux, now called Villars; but it is an error of the press; he laid out eighteen millions of the currency of that time, which make about thirty-six of ours.

A President of Parliament à mortier—so called from a sort of cap they wear.

* † *Francs* are *Livres*.

CARDINAL MAZARIN, after his return in 1653, obliged the Superintendant to pay him three millions a year for secret services. He purchased for a small value the old cried-down Bills, and paid himself the full sums *. This ruined Fouquet. Never was a squanderer of the Royal Finances more princely generous than this Superintendant. Never had man in office more personal friends, and never was a person under persecution so faithfully served in his misfortunes. He was, however, sentenced to perpetual banishment by the Commissioners who sat on his trial, and died forgotten, in 1680.

After his disgrace, the post of Superintendant was suppressed.

Under the Superintendants there were Comptrollers General. Cardinal Mazarin named to this office a Foreigner, a Calvinist of Augsburgh, named Bartholomew Hewart, who was his banker. This Hewart had, in effect, rendered great services to the Crown. It was he who, after the death of Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weymar, gave his army to France, by advancing all their pay before-hand. It was he who retained this same army, and some other regiments, in the service of the King, when Viscount Turenne would have tempted them to revolt, in 1648. He advanced two millions five hundred thousand livres of the then currency, to keep them staunch to their engagement : two very important pieces of service, which prove that there is neither commanding or governing without money.

When the Superintendant Fouquet was arrested, he yet lent the King two millions. He played deep, and would often lose a hundred thousand crowns at a sitting. This extravagance prevented his having the first place in the Ministry. The King with good reason preferred M. Colbert. Hewart died only Counsellor of State, in 1676.

* The nature of this fraud I do not know, as I am not versed in the nature of the French Funds or Actions; but suppose it to be something like a Ministerial jobb here of publishing some false piece of bad news to sink the Stocks and buy in, and then contradict it again, to sell out.

His family quitted the Kingdom, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and carried away their immense treasures into foreign countries.

SECRETARIES of STATE, and COMPTROLLERS-GENERAL of the FINANCES.

HENRY-AUGUSTUS DE LOMENIE, Count of BRIENNE, had the department of Foreign Affairs during the minority of Louis XIV. His haughtiness was no disadvantage to him, as it was founded upon sentiments of honour. He has left us some instructive Memoirs, and died in 1666.

CLAUDE LE BOUTILLIER DE CHAVIGNI had the War department, and died in 1652.

LOUIS PHELIPEAUX, Marquis de la VRILLIERE, had the Domestic Affairs under his inspection, and died in 1681.

His son of the same name, Secretary of State, died in 1700. Both of them were esteemed for their virtues, and loved for their mildness of manners.

HENRY-LOUIS DE LOMENIE, Count of BRIENNE, son to Henry-Augustus, had the vivacity of his father, but was deficient in his other qualities. Being Counsellor of State at the age of sixteen, and appointed to the department of Foreign Affairs, he was sent into Germany to instruct himself. He travelled as far as Finland, and wrote his Tour in Latin. He executed the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for twenty three-years; but having lost his wife Henrietta de Chavigni, he was so much affected, that his mind wandered from all worldly business, and he retired into solitude. The remainder of his life was very miserable. They have struck out his name in the latter historical dictionaries; but should have shewn greater compassion to his unhappy condition, and more respect to his memory.

HUGH

HUGH, Marquis of LYONNE, of an ancient family in Dauphiné, had the management of Foreign Affairs to the year 1670. We have some Memoirs of his. He was a man of great application, and extremely amiable. He died in 1671.

JOHN-BAPTIST COLBERT advanced himself solely by his merit. He rose to be Intendant to Cardinal Mazarin. Being perfectly instructed in all the parts of government, and particularly in the science of Finances, he became a very necessary assistant in the ruinous state to which Cardinal Mazarin, the Superintendant Fouquet, and, still more, the unhappiness of the times had reduced the public revenues. Louis XIV. consulted privately with him, in order to instruct himself. He ruined Fouquet, in concert with the Chancellor Le Tellier; but such an animosity might well be pardoned him, on account of the order and œconomy he introduced into the Finances, and of his other services, the memory of which ought never to be forgotten. He was Comptroller-General in 1664. He may be considered as the Founder of Commerce and Architecture, and the Protector of all the Arts; nor did he neglect Agriculture, as is said in all the late publications of that time. His genius and his attentions could not have suffered him to overlook so essential an article. The only thing he can be reproached with, on that account, is his not suffering the grain to be exported out of the kingdom*. He died in 1683.

JOHN-BAPTIST COLBERT, Marquis of SEIGNELAI, son to the former, with a greater genius even than his father, and more penetrating and better cultivated, was made Secretary of State for the Marine department, which he raised to the most respectable situation of any in Europe, and died in 1690.

CHARLES COLBERT DE CROISSI, brother to the great Colbert, was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in 1679, after several glorious and successful Embassies. He succeeded to Arnold de Pomponne, Secretary of

* Which certainly is not the way to encourage tillage.

State, but he is placed before him here, not to interrupt the list of the Colberts. He died in 1696.

JOHN-BAPTIST COLBERT, Marquis of Torci, son of the former, was appointed Secretary of State for foreign affairs, on the death of his father. He joined dexterity to probity; never made a promise which he did not fulfil; was loved and respected by all strangers; and died in 1746.

SIMON ARNOLD DE POMPONE was Secretary of State for foreign affairs, in 1671; a man of wit and letters, as were most of the Arnolds; loved in social life, and often preferring the pleasures of company to public business. He was dismissed in 1679, and replaced by the Marquis de Crosti. He did not continue Secretary of State for life, as is said in the new Historical Dictionaries; but the King left him still the title of Minister of State, with the permission of sitting in Council, which, however, he never made use of. He died in 1699.

MICHAEL LE TELLIER, the Chancellor, was Secretary of State until the year 1666.

FRANCIS-MICHAEL LE TELLIER, Marquis de Louvois, the greatest Minister in the War department that ever had been in France. He was appointed Secretary of State in 1666. He was more esteemed than loved by the King, the Court and the People. He had the good fortune, as well as Colbert, to have descendants who have done honour to his family, and some of whom have been Marshals of France. It is not true that he died suddenly, on coming out from Council, as is repeated in books and Dictionaries. He drank the waters of Balaruc, and would proceed upon a journey at the same time, which indiscretion occasioned his death in 1691.

LOUIS-FRANCIS LE TELLIER, Marquis de BARBEZIEUX, son to the Marquis de Louvois, was made Secretary of War affairs, after the death of his father. He was a young man who preferred his pleasures and parade to the business of his employ. He died at the age of thirty three, in 1701.

BALTHAZAR-PHELIPPEAUX DE CHATEAUNEUF succeeded

ceeded his father the Marquis of Vrillière in 1669, exercised the functions in 1676, and died in 1700.

CLAUDE LE PELLETIER, President of the Inquests, Provost of the Merchants, an honest man, modest, and retired. He studied the Canon law, which did not much recommend him as a successor to the great Colbert, and yet he was appointed so, in 1683. The King was told that he was unfit for the place, as he was of too easy a disposition. "It is for that very reason I have chosen him," replied Louis XIV. He quitted the Ministry and the Court in about six years after. All his family have been remarkable, like himself, for their integrity. He died in 1711.

LOUIS PHELIPPEAUX, Count of Pontchartrain, the same that had been Chancellor, entered into public service as first President of the Parliament of Brittany; was made Comptroller General in 1690, after the retiring of the Comptroller General Le Pelletier; and Secretary of State after the death of the Marquis de Seignelai, in the same year 1690. It was he who placed all the Academies under the guardianship of the Secretaries of State, by the assistance of the Abbé Bignon, except the French Academy, which acknowledged no Patron but the King.

JEROME PHELIPPEAUX, Count of Pontchartrain, son of the former, Secretary of State during the life of his father, the Chancellor; dismissed by the Duke of Orleans, on the death of Louis XIV.

MICHAEL CHAMILLART, Counsellor of State and Comptroller-General in 1699; Secretary of State for the War department in 1707; a man of mildness and moderation. He could not long sustain the weight of two such laborious employs, in such difficult times, and was soon obliged to resign them. He died in 1721.

NICHOLAS DESMARETS, Comptroller-General in 1708, zealous, indefatigable, and intelligent; but could not remedy the evils occasioned by the War. He resigned after the death of Louis XIV. and died in 1721.

C A T A L O G U E

Of the greatest Part of the FRENCH WRITERS who appeared in the Age of Louis XIV. intended to serve as a Literary History of that Era.

A BADIE (James), born at Berne, in 1658, celebrated for his Treatise *on the Christian Religion*; but who afterwards did an injury to that work, by another intitled, *The Opening of the Seven Seals*. He died in Ireland, in 1727.

ABADIE, or LABADIE (John), born in Guienne, in 1610. First a Jesuit, then a Jansenist, and last a Protestant. He endeavoured to found a Sect, and to join with La Bourignon; who answered him, that every man had his own peculiar holy spirit, and that his was much superior to that of Abadie. He left behind him thirty-one volumes of Fanaticism. He is mentioned here, only to shew the weakness of the human mind. He had some disciples, and died at Altona, in 1674.

ABLANCOURT (Nicholas Perrot d'), of an ancient family of the Parliament of Paris, born at Vitri, in 1606. An elegant translator, whose versions were stiled *les belles infidèles* *. He died poor, in 1664.

ACHERI (Luke d'), a Benedictine, a great and judicious compiler; born in 1608, and died in 1685.

ALEXANDER (Noel), born at Rouen, in 1639; a Dominican. He wrote several theological works, and disputed much about the customs of the Chinese, against the Jesuits who had been Missionaries there.

AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE (Nicholas), born at Orleans, in 1634. His translations, with political notes, and his Histories, are much sought after. His Memoirs in an alphabetical order are very defective. He was the first that explained the government of Venice. His History gave offence to the Senate, which remained then

The charming Deceptions. The canvas of this picture is too much strained.

under the old prejudice, that there are certain political mysteries which ought not to be revealed. The World has since discovered that there are no mysteries in government, and that true policy consists in being rich, and keeping good armies on foot. Amelot translated and commented on *The Prince* of Machiavel; a work long a favourite with little Princes, who were quarrelling about small States badly governed, but now of no value, since great Potentates, always well armed, have put an end to the hopes and ambition of the lesser powers. Amelot thought himself the greatest politician in Europe, yet was never able to raise himself into the least consideration in life, and died in extreme poverty; which might arise from his being a politician in theory, rather than practice. He died in 1706.

AMELOTTE (Denis), born in Saintonge, in 1606. He was of the Oratory. He is chiefly known by a tolerable good translation of the New Testament. He died in 1678.

AMONTONS (William), born at Paris, in 1663; an excellent mechanist; and died in 1699.

ANCILLON (David), born at Metz, in 1617; a Calvinist. He and his son Charles, who died at Berlin, in 1725, had some reputation for literature.

ANSELM, an Augustine Monk, the first who made a genealogical history of the Great Officers of the Crown, since continued, and augmented, by Du Fourni, Auditor of Accompts. There is no determinate notion of what constitutes the Great Officers. It is generally imagined, that they are those to whose office the title of Grand, or Great, is annexed; as the Great Master of the Horse, the Great Cup-Bearer, &c. But the Constable, the Marshals, the Chancellor, &c. are Great Officers, and yet bear not the title of Great; and others who have it, are not always Great Officers. The Captains of the Guards, the First Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, &c. are since become Great Officers; but they are not entered in Anselm's list. Nothing has ever been decided in this matter, and there remains as much uncertainty and confusion

fusion in all the rights, and in all the titles, in France, as there is of order and regulation in the Administration. He died in 1694.

ARNOLD (Anthony), twentieth son of him who pleaded against the Jesuits, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and born in 1612. Nothing is better known than his eloquence, his erudition, and his disputes, which rendered him so celebrated, but at the same time so unhappy, according to the vulgar notions, which place unhappiness in poverty and exile, without balancing the account with the glory, the friends, and the healthy old age, that were the portion of this famous man. It is said, in the Supplement to Moréri, that Arnold, in 1689, with the view of recommending himself at Court, wrote a Libel against William III. intitled, *The true Portrait of William-Henry of Nassau, the modern Absalom, the modern Herod, the modern Cromwell, and the modern Nero*. This title is not in the stile of Arnold, but rather resembles that of Pere Garasse. He never condescended to flatter the Court. Louis XIV. would have scorned to have received a book with so gross a title; and those who attribute either the Libel, or the design of it, to the great Arnold, appear to be ignorant that writing of books was not the method of recommending one's self at Court. He died at Brussels, in 1694.

The author of the Historical, Literary, Critical, and Jansenist Dictionary says, under the article Arnold, that as soon as his book upon frequent Communion appeared, "Hell trembled, and the Jesuit Nouet made the first attack upon it." Now it is difficult to know exactly what sort of opinion the Devils may have formed of a book just published; and as to men, they have intirely forgotten Father Nouet. It is very true, that the greatest part of Arnold's polemical writings are equally unknown at this day. It is the general fate of most disputes. The author of the Historical, Literary, Critical, and Jansenist Dictionary is up in arms against this truth. He has his reasons; but then he ought to know, that the abuse thrown out on the subject of

theological disputes, is, at present, as much despised as the squabbles themselves; and one need say no more.

ARNOLD-D'ANDILLY (Robert), elder brother to the former, born in 1588, and one of the distinguished writers of Port-Royal. He presented to Louis XIV. at the age of eighty-five, his translation of Josephus, which of all his works is held in the most esteem. He was father to Simon Arnold, Marquis of Pomponne, Minister of State; but this Minister could neither prevent the disputes nor the disgrace of his Uncle the Doctor of the Sorbonne. He died in 1674.

AUBIGNAC (Francis d'), born in 1604. He never had any instructor but himself. Being attached to Cardinal Richelieu, he was of course an enemy to Cernille. His *Practice of the Theatre* is yet read; but he has proved by his Tragedy of Zenobia, that neither sense or learning are capable of conferring talents. He died in 1676.

AUBRI (Anthony), born in 1616. He left behind him the lives of the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, which, though indifferent performances, are capable of communicating good instruction. He died in 1695. It was he who first detected the forgery of the Political Testament of Cardinal Richelieu.

THE COUNTESS D'AUNOIS. Her Travels and her Memoirs of Spain, with some slight Novels, have given her some reputation. She died in 1705.

D'AVRIGNI, a Jesuit, Author of a new method of writing history. He has left us the *Chronological Annals from 1601 to 1715*. He has there given us every thing of consequence that happened in that interval in Europe, fairly discussed, and in few words. No writer has ever shewn more discernment in distinguishing the true, the false, and the doubtful. He has written, also, some Ecclesiastical Memoirs; but they are unluckily infected with the spirit of party. Marcel and he have been both excelled by the *Chronological History of France* of the President Henault; a work at the same time the fullest and yet most concise, that
ever

ever was published of the kind, and the most useful also for the Readers.

BAILLET (Adrian), born near Beauvois, in 1649; famous Critic; and died in 1706.

BALZE (Stephen), of the Limosin, born in 1631. He made a collection of the Manuscripts contained in the Library of Colbert. He laboured in his studies to the age of eighty-eight. He left us seven volumes on ancient monuments. He was exiled for having supported the pretensions of Cardinal Bouillon, who imagined himself independent of the King, founding his plea upon his having been born of a sovereign family, at the time that the compensation for the loss of Sedan had not yet been perfected. He died in 1718.

BALZAC (John-Louis), born in 1594. A man of eloquence, and the first that instituted a prize for eloquence. He was appointed Historiographer of France, and a Counsellor of State, which he used to call magnificent trifles. The French language is much indebted to him. He first gave number and harmony to prose. He possessed so distinguished a reputation in his lifetime, that a person named Goulu, General, or Superior, of the White-Friars, wrote two volumes of abuse against him. He died in 1654*.

BARATIER, the most singular genius, perhaps, that ever appeared in Literature. He ought to be classed among the French, though he was born a German. His father was a Refugee preacher. He understood Greek at six years old, and Hebrew at nine. He made a translation of the Travels of the Jew *Benjamin* of Tudelle, with critical annotations. This young Baratier was well skilled in History, in Philosophy, and in Mathematics. He astonished all those who knew him when alive, and was much regretted at his death. He was not more than nineteen years of age, when he was snatched from the world.

* It appears extraordinary that M. Voltaire has not mentioned a collection of Letters which are replete with wit and good sense, and are the only writings by which this author is known at present.

BARBEIRAC (John), born at Beziers, in 1674, a Calvinist, Professor of Law and History at Lausanne, a Translator and Commentator on Puffendorf and Grotius. It seems that those Treatises on *The Law of Nations, of War and of Peace*, which were never regarded or consulted on any declaration of war or treaty of peace, nor to determine the rights of any man, are a sort of consolation to the people for the evils that politicks and violence have subjected them to. They give us just such an idea of justice, as portraits do of eminent persons whom we have never seen. He died in 1729.

BARBIER DAUCOURT (John), known among the Jesuits by the name of the *Sacred Advocate*, and to the World by his *Critique on the Dialogues of Father Bouhours*, and by the excellent pleading he made for an innocent man put to the rack. He was a long time patronized by Colbert, who made him Comptroller of the King's edifices; but, having lost his protector, he died in great poverty, in 1674.

BARBIER (Mademoiselle) wrote some tragedies.

BARON (Michael). It is not thought that the pieces published under his name were his own. His more acknowledged merit was, his being an accomplished actor, a rare perfection, and which none but himself was distinguished for, in those times. This excellence requires most of the gifts of Nature, a comprehensive genius, and indefatigable application: and yet the world seems most unaccountably to despise it! The preachers often frequented plays, behind a grated lattice, to study the grace and action of Baron, and thence mounted their pulpits to declaim against theatrical representations. It is the custom for Confessors to require from Actors on their death beds, a renunciation of their profession. Baron had quitted the stage in 1691, through some disgust. He returned to it again in 1720, at the age of sixty-eight, and was received with applause till the year 1729. He then retired a second time, and died the same year, aged near seventy-eight; declaring in his last moments, that he had never felt the least scruple of conscience for repeating before the pub-

the master-pieces of genius and morality of the great writers of the nation, and that nothing can be more absurd than attaching disgrace to the reciting of a work, which it was an honour to have composed.

BARREAU (James de la Vallée, Seigneur Des), is known among persons of polite literature, for several elegant little poems in the taste of Sarazin and Chaulieu. He was a Counsellor of Parliament. It is a certain fact, that being tired out once with a suit of law, in which he was Counsel, he paid the sum in dispute out of his own pocket, threw his brief into the fire, and quitted the Bar for life. His little pieces of poetry are still preserved in the hands of the curious. They are all written with too free a pen.

The public voice has imputed a sonnet to him, as indifferent as it is famous, which finishes with these lines.

Tonnne, frappe, il est tems, ren-moi guerre pour guerre,
J'adore en périssant la raison qui t'aigrit ;
Mais dessus quel endroit tombera ton tonnerre,
Qui ne soit tout couvert du sang de Jesus-Christ ?

Let Lightning blast, and Thunder strike me dead,
Thy vengeance must a justice be esteemed ;
But on what part of this devoted head
Can fall thy ire, which Christ hath not redeemed ?

But it is a mistake ; the Poem was not written by Des-Barreaux, and he was much displeased at hearing it attributed to him. The Abbé de Lavau, then young and giddy, was the real author. I have seen the proof of it in a letter of his to the Abbé Servien. Des-Barreaux died in 1674.

BASNAGE (James), born at Rouen, in 1653. A Calvinist, and Minister at the Hague, but fitter for a Minister of State than of a parish. Of all his works, his *History of the Jews*, with those of the *United-Provinces*, and of the *Church*, are the most esteemed. Temporary histories are of little value, after the eras are passed and gone ; but works of general utility are ways of consequence. He died in 1723.

BASNAGE

BASNAGE DE BEAUVAL (Henry), of Rouen, an Advocate in Holland, but more of the Philosopher. He wrote *On Toleration in Religion*. He was a laborious scholar, and has left us an edition of the *Dictionary of Furetière*, augmented. He died in 1710.

BASSOMPIERRE (Francis, Marshal de), Though his *Memoirs* relate to the preceding age, he may fairly be comprehended in this list, as he lived to the year 1646.

BAUDRAN (Michael), born at Paris, in 1633, a Geographer, but less esteemed than Samson. He died in 1700.

BAYLE (Peter), born at Carlat, in the province of Foix, in 1647. He retired to Holland, rather as a Philosopher than a Calvinist. He was persecuted during his life by Jurists, and after his death by the enemies of Philosophy. If he had foreseen how much his *Dictionary* would have been held in esteem, he would certainly have rendered it more valuable, by cancelling the names of obscure persons, and adding more illustrious ones. It is rather from his excellent method of reasoning that he is principally distinguished, than from his manner of writing, which is often diffuse, loose, incorrect, and sometimes censurable for a familiarity of style which frequently sinks into vulgarity. He was more of a Dialectician than a Philosopher, knowing scarcely any thing of physics. He was quite ignorant of the discoveries of the great Newton. Most of his philosophical articles either suppose or controvert a Cartesianism, which no longer subsists. He knew no other definition of Matter than that of extension. Its other properties, discovered or presumed, are the foundation of real Philosophy. He has given us new demonstrations, and new doubts; so that in many places the sceptic Bayle is not even sceptical enough. He lived and died a mere Philosopher. Des Maisieux has written his life, in a large volume, when there was hardly enough to have filled half-a-dozen pages. The life of a sedentary author is to be found in his writings. He died in 1706.

The persecution which the fanatical Jurieu raised up in France against this Philosopher, ought never to be forgotten. He roused the Calvinistical Consistory against him upon several pretences, but principally on the famous article of *David*, in his Dictionary. Bayle had highly censured the excesses, the deceits, and the deluges, that this Jewish Prince had been guilty of, at a time when the grace of God had abandoned him. He would not have been amiss, if this same Consistory had compelled him to celebrate this same Jewish Prince, who, by his great penitence, obtained of God that three-and-ten thousand of his subjects should die of the plague, to expiate the crime of their King in having reduced to number his people. But what is well worthy of remark, is, that this sage Council of Divines, in their censure, reproved him for having sometimes praised a few good Popes, and forbade him ever to commend any Pope again; "Because," said they, in these excellent words, "they are not Members of our Communion." This is one of those features which best characterises the spirit of Party. Some have endeavoured to carry on his Dictionary, but they have not been able to imitate him. The Continuator thought they had nothing more to do but to compile. We should be possessed of the genius and the logical faculties of Bayle, to acquit ourselves properly in a work of this kind.

BEAUMONT DE PEREFIXE (Hardouin), Preceptor to Louis XIV. and Archbishop of Paris. His History of Henry IV. which is only an abridgment, inspires us with esteem for this great Prince, and is a good model for historians. He wrote it expressly for his Pupil. It is said that Mezeray had some share in it; and in appearance there is a good deal of his manner of writing in it. But Mezeray was not master of that affecting style, so worthy, in many places, both of the Prince whose life Perfixe was writing, and of the man to whom it was addressed. The excellent counsels that are there interspersed for governing by himself, were not inserted till the second edition, published after the death of Cardinal Mazarin.

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We are taught to know Henry IV. better in this history, than in that written by Daniel, the style of which is too dry, and where there is too much said of Father Cotton, and too little of the great qualities of Henry IV. and of the particulars of the life of this excellent Monarch. Péréfixe moves every heart naturally sensible, and tempts us almost to adore the memory of a Prince whose foibles were only those of an amiable man, but whose virtues were those of a great one. Péréfixe died in 1670.

DE BEAUSOBRE (Isaac), born at Niort, in 1659, of a family distinguished for the profession of arms, and one of those who did honour to their country, which they were forced to abandon. His *History of Manicheism* is one of the most profound, the most curious, and the best written, of his works. We find there developed that philosophic religion of Manés, which was deduced from the dogmas of the ancient Zoroaster and the ancient Hermès, a religion which seduced St. Augustin for a long time. This history is enriched with a fund of knowledge in antiquity; but, after all, it is only (like many other books not so well written) a collection of the errors of the human understanding. He died at Berlin, in 1738.

BENSERADE (Isaac de), born in Normandy, in 1612. His little country-house of Gentilli, to which he retired toward the latter part of his life, was furnished (if we may so speak) with inscriptions in verse, which had more merit than all his other works. 'Tis a pity that there was no collection made of them. He died in 1691.

BERGIER (Nicholas) had the title of Historiographer of France; but he is better known by his curious *History of the Highways in the Roman Empire*; surpassing, indeed, by our own in beauty, but not in usefulness. His son completed this useful work, and published it in the reign of Louis XIV. He died in 1623.

BERNARD (Mademoiselle), Authoress of several theatrical pieces, conjointly with the celebrated Bernard de Fontenelle, who wrote almost the whole of *Examen*.

It is proper to observe here, that the *Allegorical Fable of Imagination and Happiness*, which has been imputed to her, was written by the Bishop of Nîmes La Parisière, successor to Fléchier.

BERNARD (James), of Dauphiny, born in 1658. He was a man of great erudition. His Journals are in great esteem. He died in Holland, in 1718.

BERNIER (Francis), surnamed *the Mogul*, born at Antwerp, in the year 1625. He was eight years Physician to the Emperor of India. His travels are curious. He wanted, in concert with Gassendi, to revive, in part, the Atomic system of Epicurus; in which, certainly, he had good reason on his side; for the several species of Nature could not be so uniformly reproduced the same, if the constituent principles of things were not invariable. But the romance of Descartes then prevailed. He died a true Philosopher, in 1688.

Abbé LE BEUF, born in 1687. One of the most learned men in the whole history of France. He should have been employed by a Colbert, but he came too late. He died in 1750.

BIGNON (Jeremiah), born in 1590. He left behind him a greater name than his works intitled him to. The best age for Literature was not yet arrived. The Parliament, to which he was Advocate-General, honoured his memory, with great justice. He died in 1656.

BILLAUT (Adam), known by the name of MASTER ADAM, a carpenter of Nevers. This singular genius must not be passed by, who, without the least knowledge in literature, became a Poet in his shop. We cannot neglect citing here the following Rondeau, which has more merit than many of those by Benferade.

Pour te guérir de cette sciatique,
Qui te retient comme un paralitique,
Entre deux draps sans aucun mouvement,
Prends-moi deux brocs d'un fin jus de sarment;
Puis li comment on le met en pratique.
Prends-en deux doigts, et bien chauds les applique
Sur l'épiderme où la douleur te pique;
Et tu boiras le reste promptement,
Pour te guérir.

Sur cet avis ne sois point hérétique,
 Car je te fais un seiment autentique,
 Que si tu crains ce doux médicament,
 Ton Médecin pour ton soulagement,
 Fera l'essai de ce qu'il communique
 Pour te guérir.

To cure my friend of his sciatic,
 Which long has held him paralytic,
 Between the sheets your limbs recline,
 And near you place a bowl of wine;
 Which thus apply. Be sure a drop
 Upon the suffering part you pop,
 And quaff the rest, before you stop,
 To cure my friend.

Of this prescription have no fear;
 For as example makes all clear,
 That all your doubts may hence be ended,
 Your Doctor, from the first, intended,
 Himself to quaff the dose commended
 To cure my friend.

He had pensions from Cardinal Richelieu, and from Gaston, brother to Louis XIII. and died in 1662.

BOCHART (Samuel), born at Koven in 1599. He was a Calvinist, and one of the best skilled of any man in Europe in Languages and History. He was one of those who went to Sweden to instruct and admire Queen Christina. He died in 1667.

BOHEAU DESPREAUX (Nicholas), of the Academy, born in the village of Crone, near Paris, in the year 1636. He first studied at the Bar, and afterwards at the Sorbonne†; but being disgusted with the chicane of both, he delivered himself over intirely to his natural talents, and became the honour of France. His works have been so often commented upon, and so many of the minutiae in them have been taken notice of, that any thing which could be here said, would be superfluous.

* The French prescription says *two*; but I thought one sufficient.

† The Sorbonne is a school in France, where those who are designated for the Church, are sent to be instructed in divinity.

One remark here, however, appears essential; which is, that we should carefully distinguish in his Poems what is merely proverbial, from what is worthy of being except. His Maxims are noble, wise, and useful; they are formed for men of sense and taste, for the best company. The Proverbs are only fit for the vulgar, and we know that the vulgar is to be met with in every rank of life.

Pour paraître honnête homme en effet il faut l'être.

On me verra dormir au branle de la roue *.

Chaque âge a son esprit, ses plaisirs, & ses mœurs.

L'esprit n'est point ému de ce qu'il ne croit pas.

Le vrai-peut quelquefois n'être pas vraisemblable.

To appear a good man, in effect he must be so.

They shall see me asleep on the wheel turning round *.

Each age has its wit, its pleasures, and manners.

The mind is not moved by the things it believes not.

The truth may not always appear the most likely,

These extracts contain maxims worthy of persons of sense; but for lines such as these,

• J'appelle un chat un chat, & Rolet un fripon.

Va-t-en chercher ton pain de cuisine en cuisine.

Quand je veux dire blanc, la quinteuse dit noir.

Aimez-vous la muscade? on en a mis partout.

La raison dit Virgile, & la rime Quinaut †.

Such phrases better become the *Canaille*, than the conversations of polite company.

BOILEAU (Giles), born at Paris, in 1631, and elder brother to the former. He has left us some translations, which have more merit than his verses. He died in 1669.

BOILEAU (James), another elder brother of the famous Boileau Despréaux, a Doctor of the Sorbonne. He was sort of heteroclite genius, and wrote some whimsical books; as, the *History of the Flagellants*, the *Immediate Concoctions*, the *Habits of the Priests*, &c. He died 1716.

* The wheel of Fortune.

† These extracts are left in their original, as there is no translating overbly literally. These and the preceding quotations are all detached pieces.

BOINDIN (Nicholas); Treasurer of France, and Attorney-General of the Exchequer. He was a Member of the Academy of Belles-Lettres, and known by his excellent researches upon the ancient theatres, and on the Roman tribes. He wrote a lively Comedy, called *The Sea-port*. It was a satirical criticism. The Historical and Janesénist Dictionary treats it as atheistical. He never wrote any thing about religion. Then why insult the memory of a man whom the authors of that Dictionary never knew? He died in 1753.

BOISROBERT (FRANCIS LE METEL), more known by his favour with Cardinal Richelieu, and by his fortune, than by his merit. He composed eighteen pieces for the Theatre, which were not well received by any but his Patron. He died in 1662.

BOIVIN (John), born in Normandy, in the year 1633, brother to Louis Boivin, and like him also a good Commentator on the beauties of the Greek Authors. He died in 1726.

L'ABBE DU BOS. His *History of the League of Cambray* is profound, political, and interesting. It shews us the Customs and the Manners of the Times, and is a perfect model in its kind. All the Artists read with instruction his *Reflections on Poetry, Painting, and Music*. It is the most useful work that ever was published on these subjects, in any nation of Europe. There are but few errors in it, and a number of reflections just, new, and profound. It is not a methodical composition, but the Author thinks, and makes his readers think. And yet he understood not a note in music, never wrote a couplet in his life, and was not master of a single picture in the world. But he had read, seen, heard, and reflected much. He died in 1742.

BOSSU (René LE), born at Paris in 1731. A Regular Canon of St. Gèneviève. He laboured to reconcile Aristotle with Descartes, without knowing that neither one nor the other could stand the test. His *Treatise on the Epic Poem* has great reputation, but it will never make a Poet. He died in 1680.

BOSSUET

BOSSUET (James Benignant), of Dijon, born in 1627. Bishop of Condom, and afterwards of Meaux. He composed fifty-one works; but it is to his *Funeral Orations*, and his *Discourse upon Universal History*, that he is indebted for his fame.

It has been said, and often repeated in print, that his Bishop lived a married life; and St. Hyacinth, known by the part he took in the pleasantries of Matabasius, has passed for his son. But there never was the least proof of this story. A considerable family in Paris, which has produced persons of merit, affirms that a private contract of marriage had passed between Bossuet, when very young, and Mademoiselle Des-Vieux; that his Lady had made the sacrifice of her passion and her condition in life, to the preferment which the eloquence of her lover was likely to elevate him to in the Church, and consented never to take advantage of the contract, as it had not been confirmed either by the rites of the church or those of love; that Bossuet being thus set free from a marriage connection, entered into orders; and that after the death of this Prelate, it was this same family that regulated the renewals of leases, and all marriage-licences, in that diocese.

This Lady, say the family above-mentioned, never abused the dangerous secret she was in possession of; but lived always upon terms of friendship with the Bishop, in a discreet and respectable union. He made her a present of as much money as purchased for her the title estate of Mauléon, five miles from Paris; upon which she assumed the name of Mauléon, and lived to the age of near a hundred.

With regard to the good Prelate himself, it has been said that he entertained some philosophical sentiments which did not exactly square with the tenets of theology; resembling a wise magistrate, who, while acting according to the letter of the law in his public capacity, carries his private notions sometimes above it, from a superiority of understanding. He died in 1704.

BOUCHENU DE VALBONNAIS (John-Peter), born at Grenoble*, in 1651. He travelled in his youth, and happened to be on board a ship in the English fleet, at the sight of Seklay. He was afterwards First President of the Council to the Counts of Dauphiné. His memory is held in honour at Grenoble, for the good services he had rendered that City; and in the literary world, for the merits of his erudition. His *Memoirs of Dauphiné* were composed when he was blind, from notes he had taken from the books that were read to him upon that subject. He died in 1730.

BOUDIER, author of some natural and artless verses. He made on his death-bed, at the age of eighty-six, the following Epitaph for himself:

J'étais Poëte, Historien ;
Et maintenant je ne suis rien.

As Historian and Poet I once was well known,
Tho' now I am nothing, beneath this cold stone.

BOUHIER, President of the Parliament of Dijon. His Learning has rendered him famous. He translated some pieces of ancient Latin poetry into French verse. He said they could never be otherwise properly rendered; but his verses sufficiently prove the difficulty of the attempt.

BOUHOURS (Dominick), a Jesuit, born at Paris, in 1628. Both our language and our taste have been much indebted to him. He has left us some good works, upon which some good criticisms have been made. *Ex privatis odus respublica crescit* †.

The Life of St. Ignatius Loyola, which he composed, is not much esteemed, and that of St. Francis Xavier abounds with contradictions; but his *Remarks on Language*, and more particularly his *Method of forming the Judgment upon Works of Geniis*, will always be of

* A City of France in Dauphiny.

† I leave this sentence as I found it, but cannot perceive how it applies in this place. *Translator.*

service to young students who would improve and direct their taste in polite literature.

In these he has warned them to avoid all bombast, far-fetched conceits, and the *faux-brillant*. If he judges rather severely in some places Tasso, and other Italian poets, he generally condemns them with good reason. His style is pure and agreeable.

His little work of *The Method of forming the Judgment*, &c, mortified the Italians extremely, and became a national quarrel, at last. They were justly apprehensive that the opinions of Bouhours, supported by those of Boileau, would become the *jus et norma*. The Marquis Orsi, therefore, and some other of their writers, published three folio volumes in defence of some verses of Tasso.

It may be remarked, that Father Bouhours may be thought to have no right to reprehend the false thoughts of the Italians; he who had compared Ignatius Loyola to Cæsar, and Francis Xavier to Alexander. But he was seldom guilty of such absurdities.

BOUILLAUD (Ismael), of Loudun, born in 1605, well studied in history and the mathematics. He died in 1694.

THE COUNT DE BOULAINVILLIERS, of the House of Crouy, the best skilled of any man in the kingdom in history, and the best qualified to write that of France, if he had not been rather too systematic. He styled the feudal Government "the matter-piece of human wit." He regretted the times, when the people being slaves of little tyrants, both ignorant and barbarous, had neither industry, commerce, or property; and he thought that a number of chieftains, oppressors of the people and enemies to monarchy, formed the most perfect Government*.

Notwithstanding his system, he was an excellent Citizen, as, in spite of his silly confidence in judicial Astrology, he was a perfect philosopher; of that kind, at least, which sets but little value upon life, and despises the article of death. His writings, which however one should peruse with some precaution, are pro-

An Aristocracy.

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found,

found, and useful. At the end of his works they have printed a large tract, "to render the King of France more opulent than all the Sovereigns of Europe joined." But 'tis very evident that this supplement had not the Count of Boulainvilliers for its author. He died about the year 1720.

BOURDALOUE, born at Bruges, in 1632, a Jesuit. He was reckoned the best model of good preachers in Europe. He died in 1704.

BOURSAULT (Edmond), born in Burgundy, in 1638. His *Letters to Babet*, much esteemed at that time, are since become, like all the letters in that stile, an amusement only for young country readers. His comedy of *Æsop* is yet in representation. He died in 1701.

BOURSEIS (Amable) born in Auvergne in 1606. He was Author of several works of Politics and of Controversy. Sillon and he are suspected to have been the authors of the piece, intitled *The Political Testament*, attributed to Cardinal Richelieu. He died in 1672.

BOURSIER (Laurence), of the College of the Sorbonne, born in 1679, Author of the famous book *Of the Action of God upon his Creatures*, or *Of Natural Promotion*. It is a work of profit and reasoning, strengthened by great erudition, and written in a very eloquent stile. But the attachment to certain dogmas has deprived this celebrated composition of much of its solidity and force. The Author seems to resemble a State Minister, who, after establishing general laws, would turn them afterwards to serve private interests.

It is very difficult to connect particular systems of grace with the universal doctrine of the eternal and immutable action of Providence over all its works. It must be confessed that there are only two hypotheses in philosophy, to explain the machinery of the world. Either God at first ordained, and Nature has implicitly obeyed the established order ever since; or God gives continually to every thing, both its being, and its modification of existence. A third supposition is inexplicable.

It is pompously written in the new Dictionary, Historical, Literary, Critical, and Jansenist, that Bourlier, "like the eagle, rises into the skies, and dips his pen "in the bosom of God." This is a bold figure, to make an Ink-horn of the Deity. This is the first time that he was ever compared to a bottle of ink. He died in 1747.

BREBEUF (William) born in Normandy, in 1638. He is known by his translation of the *Pharsalia*; but it is not so generally known that he wrote *The Lucan Travestied*. He died in 1661.

BRETEUIL (Gabrielle-Emilia) Marchioness of Châtelet, born in 1706. She illustrated Leibnitz, and translated and wrote comments upon Newton; a merit of little esteem at Court, but respected among all nations that value themselves on knowledge, and who have admired the depth of her understanding, and the extent of her eloquence.

Of all the women who have shone an ornament to France, this Lady possessed the largest portion of genius, without ever affecting the least pre-eminence. She died in 1749.

BRIENNE (Henry-Augustus de Loménie DE) Secretary of State. He has left us his *Memoirs*. It might be useful if other Ministers would leave theirs behind them, provided they were such as have been lately digested under the name of the Duke of Sully. He died in 1666.

Abbé DE BRUEYS, born in Languedoc, in 1639: Ten volumes of controversial writings which he has published, would have left his name in oblivion, if it was not for the little Comedy of *The Grumbler*, superior to all the farces of Moliere, and that of the *Advocate Patelin*, an ancient monument of the true Gallic naïveté, which he revived, and which will preserve his memory as long as there remains a Theatre in France.

Palaprat assisted him in both of these pleasant performances. They are the only works of genius

that two authors have ever composed in concert *. He died in 1723.

There is a very singular fact to be met with in the *Collection of Literary Anecdotes*, 1750, published by Durand, volume II. page 369, which it may not be amiss to quote in this place. The author's words are these: "The amours of Louis XIV. having been brought on the English stage, Louis XIV. in return, would have those of William III. represented also. The Abbé Brueys was directed by M. de Torcy to write the piece; which, though approved of, was never performed." It is to be observed, that this same *Collection of Anecdotes*, which is stuffed with such sort of tales, is printed with approbation and privilege. But they never exhibited the amours of Louis XIV. on any London Theatre; and it is well known that King William never had any mistress. But if he had, Louis XIV. was too much attached to the forms of decency, to give orders that his intrigues should be made a public farce; nor was M. de Torcy a man to be employed on so silly a piece of business. In short, the Abbé Brueys never did compose such a ridiculous work as is here attributed to him. One cannot too often repeat, that the greatest part of such Collections of Anecdotes, of the *Anas*, of the Secret Memoirs, &c. with which the press is generally so loaded, are nothing more than compilations made at hazard by hackney-writers.

LA BRUYERE (John), born at Dourdan, in 1644. He certainly drew his *Characters* from real and known persons. His book has made many bad imitators. What he has said towards the end against the Atheists, has its merit; but when he touches upon the subject of theology, he falls below even the Theologists themselves. He died in 1696.

* Voltaire, it would seem, had never heard of Beaumont and Fletcher. Perhaps Shakespeare had given him a hint of the English drama. *Translator.*

BRUMOY, a Jesuit. His *Greek Theatre* is reckoned the best work of the kind that we have. He has proved by his poetry, that it was much easier to translate and praise the Ancients, than to equal, by his own productions, the great Moderns. It may, besides, be a reproach to him not to have been sensible of the superiority of the French over the Greek Drama, and of the vast difference there is between *The Misanthrope* * and *The Frogs* †.

BRUN (Peter LE) born at Aix, in 1661, of the Oratory. His critical work, *Upon Superstitious Practices*, is in request; but he was a Physician who treats of very few diseases, and was always an Invalid himself. He died in 1729.

BUFFIER (Claudius), a Jesuit. His *Artificial Memory* is very useful to those who would have the principal articles of history always ready at hand. Verse (I do not mean poetry) was employed, at first, for the same purpose; which was to imprint in the memories of men the events which they would preserve the remembrance of. He died in 1737.

BUSSY RABUTIN (Roger, Count of), born in the Nivernois, in 1618. He wrote with purity. Both his works and his misfortunes are well known. His *Amours of the Gauls* ‡ is deemed but a middling kind of performance, in which he imitated Petronius, but fell very short of his original. The folly of the French was for a long time to imagine that all Europe was curious

* A Comedy of Moliere.

† Of Aristophanes.

‡ This was the cause of his disgrace. The piece was not intended for the press, but was presented in manuscript to the King, who was so displeased at it, that he sent the Author to the Bastile. Bussy Rabutin pretended that it had been altered and interpolated by malicious persons, before it was delivered. He made great interest, and wrote many ingenious and soothing addresses to his Majesty, to obtain his liberty, which he did at last; but was then exiled to his own Castle in the County, where he remained until he died, without being able to get a remission of his sentence. His panegyric on Louis XIV. written in his Confinement, is a finished piece. It is to be met with in his Memoirs. *Translator.*

about their amours and gallantries. A number of profligates, from this vanity, have written the history of their intrigues, that were never read even by the chamber-maids of their Mistresses. He died at Autun, in 1693.

The Chevalier DE CAILLY, who is known only under the name of *Accaily*, was attached to the Minister Colbert. The date of his birth, or his death, is not known. There is a collection of some hundreds of his Epigrams, among which there are a number of bad ones, but a few that are pretty enough. He wrote naturally, but without any imagination in the expression.

CALMET, a Benedictine, born in 1672. Nothing is more useful than his compilation of researches on the Bible. The facts are exact, and the citations faithful. He does not think, himself; but in bringing every thing to light, he affords good matter for reflection. He died in 1757.

CALPRENEDE (Walter DE LA), born at Cahors, about the year 1612. Gentleman in Ordinary to the King. It was he that first gave a vogue to prolix romances. The merit of such compositions consisted in the adventures, the contrivance of which was not destitute of art, and which were not impossible, though very improbable. Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, on the contrary, have filled their epic poems with fictions quite out of nature. But the charms of their poetry, the numberless beauties of the detail, their charming allegories, those especially of Ariosto; these circumstances, I say, render their poems immortal; and the works of Calprenède, as well as others of the same stamp, are long fallen into contempt. Another thing too that has contributed to their fall, is the perfection to which our Theatre has risen. There is more of sentiment to be met with in our good Tragedies, and in our Operas, than there is in all those enormous volumes. These sentiments too are better expressed, and a knowledge of the human heart more deeply investigated in them; so that Racine and Quinault, who have in part imitated the style of the old romance, have reduced them to oblivion, in speaking to the heart
a language

a language more just, more tender, and more harmonious. He died in 1663.

CAMPISTRON (John), born at Toulouse, in 1656; a pupil and imitator of Racine. The Duke of Vendôme, whose Secretary he was, made his fortune, and Baron, the Comedian, a part of his reputation. There are affecting passages in his pieces: they are, indeed, but weakly written; but the stile is pure; and after him the language of our theatrical pieces was so much neglected, that it sunk almost into barbarity at last. Boileau deplored this corruption on his death-bed. He died in 1733.

DU CANGE (Charles du Fretne), born at Amiens, in 1610. His two *Glossaries* are useful for explaining all the customs of the Lower Empire, and the succeeding ages. We are astonished at the extent of his knowledge, and of his labours. Such men deserve our eternal acknowledgments, after those whose wit and genius have administered to our pleasure. He was one of those to whom Louis XIV. was liberal. He died in 1688.

CASSANDER, as well as Dacier, has rendered more service to the reputation of Aristotle, than all the pretended philosophers together. He translated the Rhetoric, as well as Dacier did the Poetics, of that famous Greek. We cannot but admire Aristotle, and the age of Alexander, when we see that the preceptor of that great man, however decried in his natural philosophy, was complete master of the principles of eloquence and poetry. Where is the natural philosopher of our days, who could instruct us how to compose an oration, or a tragedy? Cassander lived and died in the extremest poverty; which was the fault, not of his talents, but of his intractable character, which was ill tempered and unfociable. Those who complain of fortune, may often blame themselves for their lot.

CASSINI (John Dominick), born in the province of Nice, in 1625, and called to Paris by Colbert, in 1666. He was one of the greatest astronomers of his time, but he commenced, like the others, with astrology. As he was naturalized in France, married there, had children in the kingdom, and died in Paris, he has a

right to be numbered among the French Writers. He has immortalized his name by his *Meridian of St. Petrus*, at Boulogne. It serves to shew the variations of the Earth's swiftness, in its movement round the Sun. He was the first that shewed by the parallax of Mars, that the Sun must be at least thirty-three millions of miles from our globe. He foretold the course that the Comet of 1664, would take. He was the person that found out the five Satellites of Saturn. Huygens had not perceived any more than one; and this discovery of Cassini was celebrated by a medal, in the Medallic History of Louis XIV. He died in 1712.

CATROU, born in 1659. A Jesuit. He composed, in conjunction with Father Rouillé, twenty volumes of the Roman History. They endeavoured to investigate eloquence, but could not bring it to a precision. He died in 1737.

DU CERCEAU (John Antony), born in 1670. He was a Jesuit. There are among his French Poetry, which is but of a middling kind, some natural and happy lines. He has blended with the refined language of his own time the *Marotic* stile *, which enervates Poetry by its unhappy facility, and which impures the language of these times with obsolete words and expressions. He died in 1730.

CERISI (Germain-Habert, &c.). He was the Aurora of good taste, and of the establishment of the French Academy. His *metamorphosis of the eyes of Phillis into stars*, was thought to be a chef d'œuvre, but ceased to be deemed so, as soon as good authors appeared. He died in 1655.

LA CHAMBERE (Marin Cureau de), born at Mans in 1594. He was one of the first Academicians, and died in 1669. He and his son had some reputation.

CHANTEREAU (Louis le Fevre), born in 1588. A very learned man, and one of the first who digested the History of France; but he has given sanction to a great

* The Doggerel, or Hudibraslic measure and manner of writing verses; called *Marotic*, from *Clement Marot*, who first introduced it in France. *Translator*.

error in it, which is, that the hereditary fiefs did not commence until after the æra of Hugh Capet. If there was only the example of Normandy, given, or rather extorted, on the title of an hereditary fief, in 912, that alone would be sufficient to destroy the assertion of Chantereau, which many subsequent historians have since adopted, upon his credit. It is moreover certain, that Charlemagne instituted Fiefs with propriety in France, and that this form of Government was usual before him, in Lombardy, and in Germany. He died in 1658.

CHAPELAIN (John), born in 1595. Without *La Pucelle*, (*The Maid of Orleans*) he would have established a reputation in the literary world. This bad poem was worth more to him, than the *Iliad* was to Homer. Chapelain was, however, useful from his learning. He corrected the first verses of Racine. He commenced with being the oracle of authors, and finished with being their disgrace. He died in 1674.

LA CHAPILLE, Receiver General of Finances, and author of some Tragedies, which had success in their time. He was one of those who attempted to imitate Racine; for Racine formed, without designing it, a school, like the great painters. He was a Raphael, but never made a Julio-Romano. However, his first disciples wrote with some purity of language; and in the decadence which followed, we have seen, even in our own times, whole Tragedies, in which there are not a dozen verses together, without some gross fault. Observe from what a height we are fallen, and to what excess we are arrived, after having had such excellent models!

CHAPELLE (Claudius l'Huillier), natural son to l'Huillier, Master of the Accompts. It is not true that he was the first who made use of redoubled rhimes; D'Afouci had used them before him, and even with some success.

Pourquoi donc, sexe au teint de rose,
Quand la charité vous impose,
La loi d'aimer votre prochain;
Pouvez-vous me haïr sans cause,
Moi qui ne vous fis jamais rien?
Eh ! pour mon honneur je vous bien,
Qu'il faut vous faire quelque chose, &c.

Tell me, coy one, tell me why,
 Since the laws of charity
 Say your neighbours you should love,
 You to me remain so shy,
 Who *do nought* your hate to move?
 Then an honour it must prove,
 To *do something* speedily, &c.

There are a great many of these redoubled rhimes in Voiture. Chapelle succeeded better than the rest, in this stile, which possesses both harmony and grace; but in which he has often preferred a sterile abundance of rhyme to the thought and the turn of expression. His voluptuous life, and his great modesty, contributed not a little to the recommendation of his little pieces. It is known that in his *Voyage de Montpellier*, there are a great many traits of Bachaumont, son of the President Le Coigneux, one of the most amiable men of his time. Chapelle was, besides, one of the best pupils of Gassendi. But one should properly distinguish the eulogiums which so many men of letters have bestowed on Chapelle, and other small wits of his stamp, from the praises due to superior geniuses.—The character of Chapelle, of Bachaumont, of Broussin, and of all that society of the *M. rais**, was ease, gaiety, and freedom. We may judge of Chapelle by this unpromptu, which I have never yet seen printed. He wrote it at table, just after Boileau had recited an Epigram of his.

Qu'avec plaisir de ton haut stile,
 Je te vois descendre au quatuor;
 Et que je t'épaignai de bile
 Et d'injures au genre humain,
 Quand renversant ta cruche à l'huile,
 Je te mis le verre à la main.

With pleasure, from your epic stile,
 I see you condescend to trifle—
 And more to spare your liver's bile,
 And your satiric rage to rife,
 I would spill your lamps of oil,
 And give you flasks of wine to rife.

He died in 1686.

* One of the quarters of Paris, so called. *Translator.*

CHARAS, of the Academy of Sciences, the first that wrote well upon Pharmacy; so true it is, that under Louis XIV. all the arts began to enlarge their spheres. This Pharmacopoliit travelling into Spain, was put into the Inquisition, on account of his being a Calvinist; but a prompt abjuration †, and the intercession of the French Ambassador, saved his life and liberty. He died in 1698.

CHARDIN (John), born at Paris, in 1643. No Traveller has left us more curious Memoirs. He died in London, in 1713.

CHARLEVAL (John Faucon DE RIS). One of those who acquired a reputation from the delicacy of their wit, without giving much to the press. The famous conversation of the Marthal d'Hocquincourt and of Father Canaye, printed in the works of St. Evremond, is Charleval's, all but the short dissertation upon Jansenism and Molinism, which St. Evremond has added. The style of the latter part is very different from that of the beginning. The late Monsieur de Caumartin, Counsellor of State, was in possession of the writings of Charleval, in the original manuscript. There is an article in Moreri's Dictionary, which says, "that the President de Ris, Nephew to Charleval, refused to publish the works of his Uncle, lest the name of an author might be looked upon as a blot in his scutcheon, or a disgrace to his family." One would be apt to suppose a person to be both of a mean fortune, and an abject spirit, to have conceived such an idea, in the age we are here speaking of; and it was in a Lawyer an instance of pride becoming only the times of war and barbarism, when learning was abandoned intirely to the Gown, from a contempt both of one and the other.

CHARPENTIER (Francis), born at Paris, in 1620. An useful Academician. He has left us a translation of the *Cyropædia*. He was warmly of opinion that all the inscriptions on the public monuments of France, should

† And this the wretched Priests call making a *Convert*. *Translator.*

be written in the native tongue. And indeed it is, in effect, a sort of degradation of a language that is spoken throughout all Europe, not to make use of it in its own country. It is in some degree to disappoint the very end of such records, to compose them in a language which above three-fourths of this very Public understand not. Besides, there is a species of barbarism in latinizing French names; so that posterity may not perhaps be able to conceive what or who is meant by the expression. Surely the names of Rocroi and of Fontenoi have both a nobler sound and better effect, than those of Rocrosum and of Fonteniacum *. He died in 1702.

LA CHATRE (Edmond Marquis de) has left us his Memoirs, and died in 1645.

CHAULIEU (William), born in Normandy, in 1639, known by his careless poetry, and the bold and voluptuous beauties which are to be met with in it. The greatest part of his writings breathe a spirit of liberty, of pleasure, and of a philosophy above all prejudices. This was his character. He lived in luxury, but died with intrepidity, in 1720.

* I do not agree with M. Voltaire in these vain notions about his own language. Inscriptions are not designed for the illiterate, and a scholar will always be able to understand them, in Latin, which is a fixed language; while French being ever a fluctuating one, may hardly be intelligible in distant ages. The French of the fifteenth century, requires a glossary and construction, now; but the Latin spoken before we ever began to reckon by centuries, remains word for word the same, at present, both in sense and spelling. Epitaphs, particularly, should be always written in Latin. We may speak of the living in a living language, but should celebrate the dead in a dead one, if we would have their names or characters survive. *Pere Lucas*, though a Frenchman, was not so partial to his own language; for, in one of his Latin orations, speaking upon this subject, he defends the use of Latin inscripti-
ons, very ingeniously, in the following words: *Non se totum demittit, non eo usque abijcit, ac veluti prostravit gloria, ut vile popello se primum committat: amat illa nobilium et eruditorum per manus hunc, si necesse est, descendere ac prolabi gradatim.* "Glory does not so quickly let itself down, or throw itself away, and as it were humble its head in the dust, as to deliver itself without reserve to the vulgar, all at once. It loves first to pass through the hands of the noble and the learned, and thence, if so it must be, descend or slide down by insensible degrees." *Translatur.*

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The verses of his that are oftenest quoted, are the piece intitled *la Goute* *, which begins thus:

Le destructeur impitoyable
Des marbres et de l'airain.

The cruel destroyer
Of marble and brass;

and the Epistle upon Death, to the Marquis de La Fare.

Plus j'approche du terme et moins je le redoute,
Sur des principes sûrs mon esprit affermi,
Content, persuadé, ne connaît plus le doute;
Des suites de ma fin je n'ai jamais frémi.

Exempt des préjugés j'affronte l'imposture

Des vaines superstitions;

Et me ris des preventions

De ces faibles esprits dont la triste censure

Fait un crime à la nature

De l'usage des biens que lui fit son auteur.

The nearer to dying the less is my dread,

In principles certain I still put my trust,

Content and convinced I ne'er trouble my head,

For what shall succeed when I'm laid in the dust.

From prejudice free, I despise the imposture

Of vain superstitions,

And scorn the inductions

Of those feeble mortals whose ignorant censure

Makes it sinful in nature,

To taste of the sweets designed for the creature.

Another Epistle to the same person, and which made more noise in the world, opens thus:

J'ai vu de près le Styx, j'ai vu les Euménides;

Déjà venaient frapper mes oreilles timides,

Les affreux cris du chien de l'empire des morts;

Et les noirs vapeurs, et les brûlans transports

Allaient de ma raison ôter la lumière;

C'est lorsque j'ai senti mon ame toute entiere

Se ramenant en soi faire un dernier effort

Pour braver les horreurs que l'on joint à la mort.

Ma raison m'a montré, tant qu'elle a pû paraître,

Que rien n'est en effet de ce qui ne peut être;

Que ces fantômes vains sont enfans de la peur

Qu' une faible nourrice imprime en notre cœur,

Lorsque de loups-garoux, qu' elle-même elle pense,

De démons et d'enfer elle endort notre enfance.

* I have not seen the poem; but from the lines, I suppose *la Goute* means *the drop*, according to the old adage of *Gutta cavat lapidem*.—*Tragulator*.

The Styx I've nearly seen, the Furies heard ;
 My timorous ears with th' howlings have been scared
 Of three-mouthed Cerberus, that guards the dead ;
 The clouds of sulphur, and the billows dread
 Of liquid fire, have given me such affright,
 As almost had extinguished reason's light ;
 Till sound philosophy flew to my aid,
 And asked me, Why of phantoms so afraid ?
 Then proved this truth, by demonstration clear,
 That what is *nothing*, nothing has to fear ;
 That all such bag-bears are from terror bred,
 Which silly nurses cram into our head ;
 And with those scare-crows which themselves have dreamed,
 Our infant minds to cowardice are framed.

These pieces are not correct ; they are but statues of Michael Angelo just sketched. The stoicism of these sentiments did not stir up any persecution against him ; for though an Abbé, he was but little known among the Theologits, and only lived in private in the society of a few friends. It was his business alone to put the finishing hand to his own writings, but he would never take the trouble of correcting them. They have printed several insipid trifles of his, written and spoken in social converse, which the greediness of Editors had collected, and the bad taste of the times had encouraged. The prefaces which stand at the head of this collection, are penned by certain obscure persons, who think it is to be good company themselves, to repeat all the commonplace conversations of those who are so.

CHEMINAIS, a Jesuit. He was styled the Racine, and Bourdaloue the Corneille, of Preachers.

CHIRON (Elizabeth), born at Paris, in 1648, famous in music, in painting, and in poetry ; and more known under her own name than that of her husband, the Sieur LE HAY. She died in 1711.

CHEVREAU (Urban), born at Loudun, in 1613. He was a man of sense and genius, who had a good deal of reputation, in his time. He died in 1701.

CHIFFLET (John-James) born at Besançon, in 1588. We have several dissertations of his. He died in 1660. There have been seven writers of the same name.

CHOISI

CHOISI (Francis de), born at Rouen, in 1644. He was Envoy at Siam, and published an account of it. He has composed several histories, a translation of *The Imitation of Christ*, dedicated to Madame Maintenon, with this motto, *Concupiscit rex decorem tuum*, and the *Memoirs of the Countess Des Barres*. This same Countess Des Barres was himself. He habited himself, and lived, as a woman for several years; and purchased under the name of the Countess Des Barres, an estate near Tours. These memoirs give an account with great naïveté of several intrigues he had under this disguise. During this interval he wrote the history of the Church. In his Memoirs of the Court we meet with some things true, some things false, and many things too much hazarded; and the style in which they are written is rather too familiar.

CLAUPE (John), born in Agenois, in 1619. Minister of Charanton, the oracle of his party, and a worthy executor of the Bossuets, the Arnolds, and the Nicolas. He composed fifteen works, which were read with avidity while the disputes lasted. Most political writings have but their season, while the Fables of La Fontaine, and the poems of Ariosto, will entertain our latest posterity. Five or six thousand folios of controversy are already buried in oblivion. He died at the Hague in 1687.

LE COINTE (Charles), born at Troyes, in 1611. He was of the Oratory. His *Ecclesiastical Annals*, printed at the Louvre by order of the King, are an useful monument, or record. He died in 1681.

COLLET (Thibault), born at Dombes, in 1643. A civilian, and an independant man. He was excommunicated by the Archbishop of Lyons on account of some parish-dispute; and he wrote against excommunication. He repobated the establishment of monasteries, and all religious houses; and, in his *Treatise on Usury*, he supported warmly the usage authorized in Pressé, (a Province of France) of subjecting the principal to the bearing of interest, in bonds; a custom approved of in more than the half of Europe, and practised in the rest by all ne-

gociators of money, in spite of the law that excludes it. He affirmed also, that the tythes paid to the clergy were not of right divine. He died in 1718.

COLOMIEZ (Paul). The year of his birth is not known; and most of his works begin now to be in the same predicament. However, they may afford some amusement to those who are fond of literary researches. He died in London, in 1692.

COMMIRE, a Jesuit. He had a character among those who vainly imagined they could write good Latin verse, and thought foreigners might revive the Augustan age, in a language which they did not know even how to pronounce.

In silvam ne ligna feras *.

CONTI (Armand Prince of), brother to the Great Condé, designed at first for the Church, at a time when superstitious prejudices had ranked the dignity of a Cardinal superior to that of a Prince of the Blood Royal in France. It was he who had the misfortune to be Generalissimo of the Fronde, against the Court, and against his brother too. He became a devotee and a Jansenist afterwards. We have of his, *The Duties of the Great*. He wrote also on Grace, against the Jesuit Des-Champs, his old tutor. He wrote likewise against plays; but, perhaps he had better have written against the civil wars. Cinna and Polyeuctes were as useful and respectable in society, as the war of the gates † was unjust and ridiculous.

CORDEMOI (Gerald), born at Paris. We owe the clearing up the chaos of the two first races of the Kings of France to him; and for this useful undertaking we are obliged to the Duke of Montausier, who commanded him to write the history of Charlemagne, for the instruc-

* The Latin proverb is of the same import with the English one of "Carry not your coals to Newcastle;" But I don't perceive the justice of its application here. *Translator*.

† The civil war of the Fronde was so called, because the Parliament had issued an arrest to oblige all owners of *Portes cochées*, or gate-ways, to supply a man for the Parisian army. *Ibid.*

tion of Monseigneur. He found in the ancient authors nothing but absurdities and contradictions. The difficulty encouraged him, and he performed his task with success. He died in 1684.

CORNEILLE (Peter), born at Rouen, in 1606. Tho' they exhibit only six or seven pieces of thirty-three that he has composed, he will ever be considered as the father of the Theatre. He was the first who reflected the genius of the nation; and that ought to make atonement for about twenty of his plays, which are in many places nearly on a level with the worst we have, in the badness of the stile, the coldness of the plot, ill placed and insipid passions, and a heap of fine-spun declamation, which is the very bane of Tragedy. But we ought to judge of a great man by his finished, and not by his faulty pieces. It is said that his translation of *the Imitation of Christ*, has passed through two-and-thirty editions. It is as difficult to believe it, as it is to read it, once. He received some gratuity from the King in his last illness. He died in 1684. It has been asserted, in several of the collections of anecdotes, that his place used to be watched; whenever he went to the Theatre, and that the audience rose on his appearance, and clapped their hands. But, unluckily, the Public are not so apt to render justice; and the fact is, that the King's Company of Comedians refused to perform his last pieces, and he was forced to give them to some other troop.

CORNILLIE (Thomas), born at Rouen, in 1625; a person who would have enjoyed a great reputation, if he had not had a brother. He has left us four-and-thirty dramatic compositions; but died poor, in the year 1709.

COUSIN (Louis), born at Paris, in 1627. He was President of the Mint. Nobody ever opened the sources of history more than he. His translation of the Byzantine Collection, and of Eusebius of Cæsarea, has put into the power of all the world to judge between the true and false, and to perceive with what prejudices and party-spirit history has been almost always written. The Republic of Letters owes him many obligations for a number of translations of the Greek historians, which

would have alone distinguished his name. He died in 1707.

THE BARON DES COUTURES translated Lucretius into prose, and wrote comments upon it, about the middle of the reign of Louis XIV. He was of the same opinion with that philosopher*, about the greatest part of the first principles of things. He thought matter to be eternal, as indeed all the Ancients did. The Christian religion is the only one that ever combated this notion.

CRÉBILLON (Jolliot), born at Dijon, in 1672. We are ignorant whether a certain attorney, whose name was Prior, first made him a poet, as it is said in the Historical Portative Dictionary, in four volumes. It is rather more probable, that Nature had a greater hand in it, than the attorney. We yield as little faith to the anecdote told of his son, in the same work. We cannot be too diffident of all such little stories. Crébillon has a claim to be reckoned among the geniuses who reflected a lustre upon the Age of Louis XIV. since his Tragedy of *Rhadamistus*, the best of his pieces, was exhibited in 1710. If Despréaux, who died about that time, pronounced this Tragedy to be worse than any of Pradon's, it must be because he had arrived at that age of life and disposition of mind, when people become sensible only to the defects, and insensible to the beauties of a work. He died at the age of eighty-eight, in 1762.

DACIER (Andrew), born at Castres, in 1651. He was a Calvinist, as was also his wife; but they both conformed to the Catholic religion together. He was Keeper of the Books of the King's Cabinet, at Paris; an office that now subsists no longer. He was more a man of learning than a good writer; but he was, and will ever remain, a very useful one, on account of his translations, and many of his notes. He died at the Louvre, in 1722. We owe to Madame Dacier, his wife, the translation of Homer; the most faithful in the stile, though it wants force;

* M. Voltaire seems to confound the Philosopher and the Poet together, here. Epicurus was the first, or Democritus before him; Lucretius was the second only. *Translator.**

and the most instructive in the notes, though they do not possess all that refinement of taste that we could wish. She was not sensible, it has been observed, that what might have pleased the Greeks in the barbarous ages of that people, and what was respected as ancient, in after-ages more enlightened, would have disgusted, if written in the times of Plato and Demosthenes. But, in fact, no woman ever rendered more service to the Republic of Letters, than she did; and Madame Dacier is certainly one of the most remarkable persons of the Age of Louis XIV.

D'AGUESSEAU (Henry-Francis), Chancellor, and the most learned magistrate that ever lived in France, being master of half the modern languages in Europe, besides the Latin, Greek, and a tolerable acquaintance with the Hebrew; perfectly read in history, profoundly versed in law, and, what is yet more uncommon, a man of eloquence. He was the first at the bar who spoke with force and purity at the same time. Before his time, the pleaders used only to speak sentences. He conceived a project for reforming the law; but he was only able to effect four or five useful alterations. A single person was not capable of that excessive labour which Louis XIV. had undertaken with the assistance of a great number of magistrates. He died in 1751.

DANCHET (Antony) has succeeded, by the help of music, in some operas, which are not quite so bad as his tragedies. His prologue of the Secular Games, before Heioné, passes for a good piece, and may be put in comparison with that of Amadis. The following beautiful apostrophé, imitated from Horace, has been preserved.

Père des saisons et des jours,
Fai naître en ces climats un siècle mémorable.
Puisse à tes ennemis ce peuple redouable
Être à jamais heureux, et triompher toujours !
Nous avons à nos loix asservi la victoire ;
Aussi loin que tes feux nous portons nôtre gloire.
Fai dans tout l'univers craindre nôtre pouvoir,
Toi qui vois tout ce qui respire,
Soleil, puisses-tu ne rien voir
De si puissant que cet empire !

Parent of seasons and of light,
 Bring back a memorable age,
 And with that glory us bedight,
 To shine in the historic page.

O! let us be successful still,
 And victory command at will,
 Far as thy piercing eye extends;
 That thou who all things in a day
 Canst super-vile, may'st not survey
 An empire that our own transcends.

It is in this Prologu that we find the sonnet which the poet R. Trau * since took his hints from, in composing the 100 free couplets which caused his disgrace. The original pieces of Danchet are, perhaps better than the parodies of Rousseau. The following is one of Danchet's, that is best remembered.

Que l'amant qui devient heureux
 En te rend encor plus fidelle!
 Que toujours dans les mêmes nœuds
 Il trouve son bonheur nouvelle!
 Que les soupçons et les longueurs
 Puissent seuls fléchir les rigueurs
 De la beauté la plus sévère!
 Que l'amant comblé de faveurs,
 Sache les goûter et les taire.

May the lover who is blest,
 The more constant therefore prove,
 And possession be the best
 Conservator of his love!
 Be his passion all the means
 Used to win th' obdurate fair;—
 And the favours he obtains
 May he taste, but not declare!

DANCOURT (Florent-Carton), an Advocate, born in 1662, chose to apply his labours to the stage, rather than the bar. What Regnard † was, in comparison of Moliere, in polite Comedy, the comic Dancourt was in Farce. Many of his representations, even at this time, draw full

* Not the late John-James Rousseau, but John-Baptist, hereafter mentioned in this catalogue. *Translator.*

† Mentioned hereafter, in this class. *Ibid.*

houses; they are lively, and the dialogue is natural. The number of pieces written in this familiar stile, is infinite; but they are more accommodated to the taste of the vulgar, than of more refined wits. But amusement is one of the requisites of mankind, and this species of low comedy, which is easily represented, is greedily devoured, both at Paris and in the Provinces, by the multitude, who are not susceptible of more refined pleasures. He died in 1726.

DANET (Peter), one of those labourers in literature, who are more useful than famous. His *Dictioneries* of the Latin Tongue and of Antiquities, are among the number of those memorable books composed *in usum Delphini*, for the instruction of the Dauphin, Monseigneur, and which, though they did not much improve the prince, were an advantage to the literature of France. He died in 1709.

DANGEAU (Louis, Abbé DE), born in 1643, an excellent Academician, who died in 1723.

DANIEL (Gabriel), a Jesuit, and Historiographer of France, has rectified the errors of Mézeray, in his account of the first and second race of our kings. It is objected to him that his diction is not always pure; that his stile is too weak; that he rarely interests us; that he wants description; that he has not made us sufficiently acquainted with the customs, the manners, or the laws, of the times he treats of; and that his history is only a tedious detail of military operations, in the account of which a writer of his profession must often, and unavoidably, betray his ignorance. The Count de Boulainvilliers says, in his *Memoirs upon the Government of France*, that Daniel is chargeable with ten thousand mistakes. This is a hard censure: but, luckily for him, the greater number of these errors are of as little consequence as the corrections that should be put in their place. For what signifies it whether it was the left or the right wing, that gave way at the battle of Montlhéry? Of what consequence is it through what passage Louis le Gros entered the ruins of Puisset? A native ought to know by what steps the government of a country had changed its form;

form; what have been the rights, and what the usurpations, of the different states; what the operation of the states general, and what the true spirit of the nation. Now the great defect of Daniel is, either his not having been thoroughly informed of the rights or constitution of the nation, or his having misrepresented them. He has intirely omitted the celebrated states of 1353. He has not mentioned the Popes, nor even spoken of the great and good King Henry the Fourth, but like a Jesuit. He has shewn no knowledge in the finances of the kingdom, nor of the interior, nor the manners of it. He pretends in his preface, and it has been repeated after him, that the first aeras of the history of France were more interesting than those of Rome, because Clovis and Dagobert had more territory than Romulus and Tarquin. He happened not to be sensible that the feeble beginnings of every thing that is great, engage the attention of men. We are pleased to see the small origin of a people, to whom France was only a province, and which extended its empire to the Elbe, the Euphrates, and the Niger; whereas it must be confessed, that our history, and that of the rest of Europe, from the fifth century of the Vulgar Æra to the fifteenth, is but a chaos of barbarous actions, performed by persons of as barbarous names.

DARGONE (Noël), born at Paris, in 1634, a Carthusian Friar of Gaillon. He was the only priest of his order who ever cultivated literature. His *Miscellanies*, under the name of *Vigneu de Morville*, are full of curious anecdotes, though not authentic. He died in 1704.

DESCARTES (René), born in Touraine, in 1596, son to a Counsellor of the Parliament of Brittany. He was the greatest Mathematician of his time, but the most ignorant in the philosophy of nature, if compared with those who have appeared in the world since. He passed almost his whole life out of France, that he might be able to publish his philosophy to the world without restraint, after the example of Salmasius*, who did the

* Contemporary and friend of Descartes.

time. It has been asserted that he had an elder brother, Counsellor of the Parliament of Brittany, who held him in contempt, and said, that it was unworthy of the brother of a Counsellor to be a Mathematician. Having sought for repose in the solitude of Holland, he was disappointed. A person whose name was Voëtius, and another called Shockius, two Professors of the scholastic jargon that was still in vogue, commenced a prosecution against him, upon the ridiculous charge of Atheism, which all respectable Doctors of Theology have ever urged against the philosophers. In vain had Descartes exerted his whole genius in collecting together all the proofs of the Deity, and in attempting to superadd new demonstrations to the thesis; his enemies, notwithstanding, compared him to Vanini, in print. Not that Vanini was an Atheist, for the contrary had been evinced; but as he had been burnt at the stake for such a supposed crime, they could not think of any comparison more odious. Descartes with much difficulty obtained some slight remission of his punishment, by the sentence of the Academy of Groningen. His *Meditations*, and his *Discourse upon the Method*, &c. are still held in esteem; but all his Natural Philosophy is fallen to the ground, because it was neither founded upon geometry, nor upon experiment. He had for a long time so great a reputation, that La Fontaine, who was truly ignorant, but an echo of the public voice, said of him,

Descartes ce mortel dont on eût fait un Dieu,
 Dans les siècles passés, et qui tient le milieu
 Entre l'homme et l'esprit, comme entre l'huître et l'homme
 Le tient tel de nos gens franche bête de somme.

In former times Descartes had been
 Esteemed a god; as placed between
 Spirit and man; as dunces class
 'Twixt the human and the insect mass.*

* Pope pays a more hyperbolic compliment to Newton, though he disgraces it by the grossness of his simile.

"Superior beings, when of late they saw
 "A mortal man explore all Nature's law,
 "Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,
 "And shewed a *Newton* as we shew an *ape*." *Translator.*

The

The Abbé Genêt, in the present age, has given himself the idle trouble of putting the *Phylics* of Descartes into French verse. It is only since the year 1730, that they have begun to recover themselves in France from all the errors of this chimerical philosophy, when geometry and experimental philosophy have been better cultivated. The fate of Descartes in physics, may be compared to that of Ronsard in poetry. He died at Stockholm, in 1650.

DESMARETS DE SAINT-SORLIN (John), born at Paris, in 1595. He took great pains with the Tragedy of *Miramus*, of Cardinal Richelieu. His own Comedy, of *The Visionaries*, was esteemed a master-piece; but it was because Moliere had not yet appeared. He was Comptroller-General of the Extraordinaries of the War Department, and Secretary of the Marine of the Levant. Towards the latter end of his life he was more known by his fanaticism, than his writings. He died in 1676.

DESTOUCHES (Néricaut), after having composed several Comedies, was employed in the affairs of France, at the English Court; and having executed this employ with success, he returned, and wrote Comedies again. We do not, in his pieces, meet with the strength and gaiety of Regnard, and still less the paintings of the human heart, that natural, that true pleasantry, that excellent comic humour, for which the inimitable Moliere was deservedly celebrated; but next to them he bore some reputation. He has written some pieces which have had success, although the humour of them is rather somewhat strained. He has, however, kept clear of that species of Comedy which is of a languid nature; and of that sort of domestic Tragedy which is neither tragic nor comic, but a monster born of the declining genius of authors and the exhausted spirit of the polite Age of Louis XIV. His Comedy of *The Proud Man* * is his best performance, and will probably keep possession of the Theatre, though the character of the principal is not well filled up; but the rest of the characters seem to be masterly written.

* *Le Glorieux.*

DOMAT;

DOMAT, a famous civilian. His book on the *Civil Law* has a great character.

DOUJAT (John), born at Toulouſe, in 1629, a civilian, and a man of letters. He was the father of a child and a book, every year. The ſame thing was ſaid of Tiraqueau. The *Journal des Sçavans* calls him a Great Man. We ſhould not be ſo prodigal of ſuch titles. He died in 1688.

DUBOIS (Gerard), born at Orleans, in 1629, of the Oratory. He wrote *The Hiſtory of the Church of Paris*, and died in 1696.

DUCHÊ, valet-de-chambre to Louis XIV. compoſed ſome Tragedies for the Court, on ſubjects taken from the Scriptures, after the example of Racine; but not with the ſame ſucceſs. The Opera of *Iphigénie in Tauris* is his beſt performance. It is in the great ſtile, and, though only an opera, retraces a juſt idea of the beſt Greek Tragedies. This taſte did not long ſubſiſt; for ſoon after they deſcended to the ſilly Ballets compoſed of detached Acts, contrived merely to introduce dances; ſo that even the Opera degenerated at the time when every thing elſe fell to decay. Madame de Maintenon raiſed the fortune of this author, and recommended him ſo ſtrongly to Monſieur Pontchartrain, Secretary of State, that the Miniſter, concluding Duchê to be a perſon of ſome conſequence, thought proper to pay him a viſit; while the then inſignificant and obſcure Duchê, ſeeing the Secretary of State call upon him, concluded that he was come to order him to the Baſtille.

DUCHESNE (Andrew) born in Touraine, in 1584. He was Hiſtoriographer to the King, and author of ſeveral hiſtories and genealogical diſquiſitions. He was called the Father of the Hiſtory of France. He died in 1640.

DUFRESNOY (Charles), born at Paris, in 1611. He was both a Painter and a Poet. His Poem on *Painting*, was well received by thoſe who could reliſh other Latin verſes than thoſe of the Auguſtan period. He died in 1665.

DUFRENY (Charles), born at Paris, in 1648. He paſſed for a grandſon of Henry IV. and reſembled him.

His

His father had been valet of the wardrobe to Louis XIII. and this son was the same to Louis XIV. who always countenanced him, notwithstanding the irregularities of his manners and conduct; which, however, did not preserve him from dying poor. With a great share of wit, and more than one talent, he could never frame a regular work. He has left us a great many Comedies; and there is hardly one of them which does not contain humorous, but singular scenes. He died in 1724.

DUPLEIX (Scipio-de Condom), though born in 1569, may be enumerated in the Age of Louis XIV. having lived under his reign. He was the first historian who quoted his authorities in the margin; a voucher absolutely necessary, except when one writes the history of one's own times, or speaks of facts generally known. His *History of France* is not preserved in libraries, at present, because since his time there have been others better compiled, and better written. He died in 1661.

ESPRIT (James), born at Béziers, in 1611, author of a book, intitled, *Of the Falseness of Human Virtue*, which is nothing more than a commentary on the Duke of Rochefoucault's Maxims. The Chancellor Séguier, who had a taste for his literature, procured him an appointment of King's Council. He died in 1678.

ESTRADES (the Marshal d'). His letters are as much esteemed as those of Cardinal d'Osat; and it is a peculiarity to be taken notice of in France, that the common dispatches are often excellent works. He died in 1686.

The Marquis DE LA FARE, known by his *Memoirs*, and several entertaining poems. His talent for poetry, however, did not shew itself 'till he was about sixty years of age *. It was Madame de Caylus, one of the most charming women of her time, both for wit and beauty, who first inspired his verse; and the piece he addressed to her, was, perhaps, the best of his performances.

* They tell a similar story of the Count de Bonarelli. His first poem was a Pastoral, which is reckoned equal to Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, and Tasso's *Amintas*. *Translator.*

M'abandonnant un jour à la tristesse,
 Sans espérance, et même sans desirs,
 Je regrettais les sensibles plaisirs
 Dont la douceur enchantait ma jeunesse.
 Sont-ils perdus, disais-je, sans retour ?
 Et n'es-tu pas cruel, amour !
 Toi que j'ai fait dès mon enfance,
 Le maître de mes plus beaux jours,
 D'en laisser terminer le cours
 A l'ennuyeuse indifférence ?
 Alors j'aperçus dans les airs
 L'enfant maître de l'univers,
 Qui plein d'une joie inhumaine,
 Me dit, en souriant, *Tinfs*, ne te plain plus,
 Je vais mettre fin à ta peine,
 Je te promets un regard de *Caylus*.

ODE TO CUPID :

A PARAPHRASE.

Oppressed with sadness, and to spleen a prey,
 Without a hope, almost without desire,
 How I regret the joys long flown away,
 The grateful fuel to my youthful fires !

And are they gone ! for ever gone ! I cried :
 Too cruel Love, recal them, or I die ;
 Thou who hast all that's worth of life supplied,
 Thou master of my song, and revelry.

Blind God, prevent my tedious days to waste
 In lifeless yawns, or cold indifference ;
 With art divine retrieve the minutes past,
 Or suffer not another to commence.

While thus I prayed, the Deity appeared,
 Cleaving with amorous speed the liquid air ;
 My gloom dispersed, every pulse was cheered,
 While the kind God did this behest declare :

No longer, *Thyrsis*, thy sad fate deplore,
 No more a life of apathy upbraid ;
 Thy former feelings I again restore,
 And *Caylus* shall confirm the grant I've made.

He died in the year 1713.

LA FAYETTE (Maria-Magdeleine de la Vergne, Countess DE). Her *Princess of Cleves*, and her *Zayde*, were the first Romances in which the manners of polite life and natural events are described with grace*. Before her time, these sort of writings were composed of improbable adventures, told in a bombastic style. She died in 1693.

FELIBIEN (Andrew), born at Chartres, in 1619. He was the first who, in the inscriptions of the Hôtel de Ville, gave Louis XIV. the epithet of *Grand*, or *Great*. His *Dialogues on the Lives of the Painters*, is the work which has done him the most honour. He is elegant, profound, and there is a taste breathing throughout his writings; but he has said too little in too many words, and writes intirely without method. He died in 1693.

FENELON (Francis de Salignac), Archbishop of Cambray, was born in Verigord, in 1651. He left behind him fifty-six different works, all of which seem to be dictated by a soul of virtue; but his *Tecumtus* inspires it. He was vainly attacked by Guendeville, and by the Abbé Faidit. He died at Cambray, in 1713.

After the death of Fénelon, Louis XIV. threw into the fire all the manuscripts which the duke of Burgundy had preserved of his preceptor†. Runfay, a pupil of this celebrated Archbishop, wrote these words to me: "If he had been born in England, he would have unfolded his genius, and given it full scope, without fearing for his principles, which nobody knew."

FERRAND, Counsellor of the Court of Aids. We have some pretty verses of his. He rivalled Rousseau in the epigram and the madrigal. I give you here a specimen of the stile in which Ferrand wrote.

D'amour et de mélancolie,
Colennes enfin consumé,
En tentame let transformé;
Et qui boit de tes eux, oublie
Jusqu'au nom de l'objet aimé.

* These were published under the name of Mr. Segrais, on whom he bestowed them. *Id. sup.*

† He did not long survive this piece of sacrilege. *Ibid.*

Pour mieux oublier Egerie,
 J'y courus hier vainement ;
 A force de changer d'amant,
 L'infidele l'avoit tarie.

With love and melancholy wast'd,
 Celemnus to a fount was turn'd *,
 Whose waters by fond lovers tast'd,
 No more in hopeful flames they burn'd.
 To cure despair, I thither went,
 Egeria's coyness to defy,
 When lo! behold the sad event!
 Her former swains had drank it dty.

The critics observe, that Ferrand has more of the natural, of grace and delicacy, in his gallant pieces, and that Rousseau has more strength and depth in his debauched ones. He died in 1720.

FEUQUIERES DE PAS (the Marquis), born at Paris in 1648. An Officer compleatly skilled in the art of war, and an excellent commentator, though perhaps rather too severe a critic. He died in 1711.

LE FEVRE (Tanegui), born at Caën in 1615. A Calvinist, and a Professor at Saumur; despising those of his own sect, and yet living among them; more a Philosopher than a Huguenot. He wrote as well in Latin, as it is possible to do in a dead language, and made Greek verses which deserved but few readers. The greatest obligation for which the Republic of Letters is indebted to him, is his having given Madame Dacier to the world. He died in 1678.

LE FEVRE (Anne), Madame DACIER. Born a Calvinist, at Saumur, in 1651, illustrious for her literature. The Duke of Montausier employed her upon one of the books named the *Dauphin's* †, for the instruction of Monseigneur, the Dauphin. The *Florus* with Latin notes is her's; and her translations of *Terence* and *Homer* insure her immortal honour. The only defect

* This same story of Celemnus I apprehend to be a fable of Counsellor Ferrand's own invention; for neither the name, nor the metamorphose, are taken notice of among Ovid's *Memorabilia*. *Translator.*

† Those editions of the Classics, I suppose, that are not *In usum Delphini*. *Ib id.*

she had, was the too enthusiastic admiration she professed for the authors she translated. La Motte attacked her with wit, and she answered him with erudition only. She died at the Louvre, in 1720.

FLECHIER (Esprit), of the province of Avignon, born in 1632. He was Bishop of Lavaur, and afterwards of Nîmes; a poet both in French and Latin, a historian, and a preacher; but most remarkable for his elegant funeral orations. His *History of Theodosius* was written for the instruction of Monseigneur *. The Duke of Montausier had engaged persons of the greatest erudition in France to join their endeavours towards perfecting his education. Flechier died in 1710.

FLEURY (Claudius), born in 1640, was sub-preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy, and Confessor to Lewis XV. his son. He lived at Court in solitude and hard study. His *History of the Church* is the best work of the kind that was ever written; and the preliminary discourses are still more valuable than the history. These are philosophic writings, but the history is not of that stamp. He died in 1723.

LA FONTAINE (John), born at Château-Thierry, in 1612; the most artless of men, but admirable in his kind, although negligent and unequal. He was the only distinguished man of his time who never shared the bounty of Louis XIV. though he had a double claim to it, both on account of his genius and his poverty. In the greatest part of his Fables he is infinitely superior to all who ever wrote before, or since, his time, in any language whatsoever. In the Tales which he has imitated from Ariosto, he has not preserved all his elegance or his purity; nor is he by any means so good a painter; and this is what Boileau did not perceive in his dissertation upon *Joconde*, because Despréaux did not well understand Italian. But in his stories drawn from Boccace, La Fontaine is much his superior, having more wit, elegance, and art. Boccace has no other merit but his simplicity, his perspicuity, and the correctness of his

* The Dauphin.

language. He has perfected the Italian, and La Fontaine has often corrupted the French. He died in 1695. Pupils, or at least their preceptors, should be warned to avoid confounding his natural beauties with his familiar, his low, his negligent, or his trivial manner of writing; faults into which he too often sinks. He begins with saying to the Dauphin, in his prologue,

Et si de t'agréer je n'emporte le prix,
J'aurais du moins l'honneur de l'avoir entrepris.

If striving to please you, I meet with contempt,
Yet surely there's honour in making th' attempt.

Now I cannot conceive what honour there is in not being able to please. The thought is as false, as the expression is faulty.

Vous chantez, j'en suis bien aise,
J'h bien, dansez maintenant.

You've sung, and I am pleased with it,
And now you may go dance.

How could a pismire apply that common proverb to a grasshopper!

Si j'apprenais l'Hebreu, les sciences, l'histoire,
Tout cela c'est la mer à boire.

To learn Hebrew, the sciences, history! as soon
I might think I could sup up the sea with a spoon.

We must confess that Phædrus wrote with a purity that had nothing of this vulgar stile in it.

Le gibier du lion ce ne sont point moineaux,
Mais beaux et bons sangliers, daims et cerfs bons et beaux.
Un jour sur ses hauts pieds alloit je ne fais où.
Le héron au long bec emmanché d'un long cou;
Et le renard, qui a cent tours dans son sac,
Et le chat, qui n'en a qu'un dans son bissac.

*The lion with sparrows ne'er satiates his maw,
But feasts on what ven'son falls under his paw.
One day the hern stalking forth, with a long beak,
Which like a knife's haft is joined to a long neck;
And sly Reynard that has many tricks in his sack,
And the cat that has only one shift to her back *.*

We should distinguish these negligences, these puerilities, which abound in the above extracts, from the great beauties of this charming author, which still exceed in a far greater number. What must be the natural powers of natural verse, when from this sole charm La Fontaine, with such imperfections, has attained to a fame so universal, and so merited, without ever having invented any thing! But then what applause should be given to the Eastern writers, who were the original inventors of those entertaining fables, which are read with pleasure throughout this habitable globe †!

FONTENELLE (Bernard Bouvier de), born at Rouen, in 1658. He may be considered as the most universal genius that the Age of Louis XIV. has produced. He may be compared to those lands which are so happily situated as to be able to produce all kinds of fruits. He was scarcely twenty years old, when he wrote the greatest part of the tragic Opera of *Bellerophon*, and afterwards composed the Opera of *Thetis and Peleus*, in which he emulated Quinault, and which met with great success. That of *Aneas and Lavinia* was not so well received. He once tried his powers in Tragedy, and assisted Mademoiselle Bernard in some of her pieces. He wrote two himself, one of which was performed in 1680, but he never printed it. He was a long time reproached

* There is no comprehending a partial quotation, and the reader cannot expect a translation to be more intelligible than its original. But the truth is, that these lines are unconnected, and only selected from different pieces of *La Fontaine*, as examples of the fault Voltaire would reprehend. The first couplet is in Fable 128; and the last is altered from two lines in Fable 182, where the fox says,

J'ai cent ruses au sac;

and the cat replies,

Je n'ai qu'un tour dans mon bissac. Translator.

† The Arabian Nights, Persian Tales, &c.

with

with this neglect, but unjustly; for he had the good sense to discover, that however extensive his genius might be, he possessed not the talent for Tragedy by which Peter Corneille, his uncle, was distinguished. In 1686 he wrote the allegory of *Mero and Engru*, by which he meant Rome and Geneva. This pleasantry, too well known, joined to the *History of the Oracles*, raised a persecution against him. He afterwards sustained another, though not so dangerous, as it was only a literary one, for having declared, that, in many points, the Moderns excelled the Ancients. Racine and Boileau, who, though they had an interest in Fontenelle's assertion, affected to despise it, excluded him from the Academy for a long time. They wrote epigrams against him, which he replied to in the same way, and they continued ever after his enemies. He wrote many light pieces, in which, however, are discernible that depth and acuteness which discover a man to be superior to his writings. In his verses, and his *Dialogues of the Dead*, the spirit of Voiture is discernible, but more extensive and philosophic. His *Plurality of Worlds* was a singular work, in its kind; and he had the wit to render the *Oracles of Vandalia* an agreeable entertainment. The delicate subjects touched upon in this book, raised him up some violent enemies, whose malice, however, he had the good fortune to escape. He found how dangerous it is to be in the right, in matters where men in power are in the wrong. He turned his studies toward Geometry and Natural Philosophy, with the same ease that he had cultivated the Belles-Lettres; and being chosen perpetual Secretary to the Academy of Sciences, he acted above forty years in this employ, with universal applause. His *History of the Academy* often threw a striking light upon the most obscure memoirs. He was the first who introduced elegance into the sciences; and if sometimes he happened to ornament them too much, it was because his style resembled those luxuriant harvests, where flowers spring naturally amidst the corn ‡. His *History of the Academy of Sciences* would

* This simile contains a most beautiful sample of poetical wit. *Transl.*

have proved as useful as it is well written, if it had been employed in giving an account of the truths discovered; but it explains the opinions that were combated against each other, the greatest part of which has been long since refuted. The eulogiums he spoke upon the Academicians who died, possess the singular merit of rendering the sciences themselves more respectable, and their author also. In vain did the Abbé Des Fontaines, and others of the same class, attempt to obscure his fame. It is the common fate of great men to have despicable enemies. In he published, late in life, some indifferent Comedies, and a defence of the Vortices of Des Cartes, one may pardon the first on account of his old age, and excuse the latter from the consideration of the prejudices of his youth, when such opinions had taken possession of his mind, in common with all the philosophers of Europe. In fine, he was regarded as the first of men, for the uncommon art of diffusing a lustre and graces over the abstract sciences; and he had great merit also, in all the other kinds of literature he engaged in. All these talents were sustained by a perfect knowledge in languages and history, and he was certainly superior to all the geniuses of his time who possessed not the merit of invention. His *History of the Oracles*, which is only an abridgement, executed with discretion and moderation, of the great history of Vandalia, drew upon him enemies more violent than Racine or Boileau. Some Jesuits, who had compiled the lives of the Saints, and who had the true spirit of compilers, wrote in their manner against the rational opinions of Vandalia and Fontenelle. The philosopher of Paris made no reply; but his friend, the learned Batnage, a philosopher of Holland, answered them, and the Compilers nontente was no longer read. Many years after this, the Jesuit Tellier, Confessor of Louis XIV. that unhappy author of all those disputes which produced so much evil and so much ridicule in France, impeached Fontenelle to Louis XIV. as an Atheist, and produced the allegory of *Mero and Ene. ii*, before mentioned. Marc-René de Paulmi, Marquis of Argenfon, then Lieutenant of the Police, and since

since Keeper of the Seals, quashed the prosecution that was stirred up against him; a favour which the philosopher has fully acknowledged, in the eulogium he pronounced upon him in the Academy of Sciences. This anecdote is more curious than all that has been said by the Abbé Trublet about Fontenelle. He died on the 29th of January 1757, at the age of near a hundred.

FOREIN (Claudius, Chevalier de), a Commodore in France, and Great Admiral to the King of Siam. He has left some curious memoirs, which have been contracted, and give us an opportunity of judging between him and Du Gué-Trouin.

LA FOSSE (Antony), born in 1678. *Mandius* is his best dramatic piece. He died in 1703.

FRAGUIER (Claudius), born at Paris in 1666. A man versed in literature, and of a good taste. He has put the Platonic philosophy into tolerable Latin verse. He had better have tried to make good French verse*. There are some excellent dissertations of his in the useful collection of the Academy of Belles-Lettres. He died in 1723.

CHRETIÈRE (Antony), born in 1620, famous for his *Dictionary*, and his quarrels. He died in 1688.

GACON (Francis), born at Lyons in 1667, inserted by Father Nicéron in the catalogue of illustrious men, though he had no other title to fame than his having written some wretched satires. He was principal compiler of the collection of those gross jests intitled, *Brévets de la Calotte*†. Such poor conceits took their rise in some low society, who styled themselves *Le Régiment des Pays et de la Calotte*. They may be adapted to the taste of the vulgar, but persons of the least refinement must look upon them with contempt, as well as their authors,

* We may again perceive the strong prepossession our author had conceived for his native tongue. See the note upon the preceding article of CHARPENTIER. After such an instance of the force of prejudice, I do not think that he had a right to ridicule the superstitions of priests. *Translator.*

† This title cannot be translated into intelligible English, as both the nouns are equivocal. *Ibid.*

who can never be quoted, except to render their examples odious. Gacon never wrote any thing but his satires abovementioned, in very bad verse, against the best authors of his time. Those who have done the same in as bad prose, are even more despised than he. Such writers are not mentioned here, except to inspire the like disgust against those who should imitate them. He died in 1725.

GALANT (Antony), born in Picardy in 1646. He learned at Constantinople the oriental languages, and translated a part of the Arabian Tales that are known under the title of *A Thousand and One Nights*, and among which he has inserted some pieces of his own. This is one of the books most universally known in Europe, as being equally amusing to all nations. He died in 1715.

Abbé GALLOIS (John), born at Paris in 1632. He was a man of general knowledge, and the first who undertook the *Journal des Savans*, in concert with the Counsellor-Clerk Sallo, who had conceived the original idea of this work. He afterwards taught the minister Colbert a little Latin, who, notwithstanding his public occupations, endeavoured to spare time to learn that language. He chiefly took his lessons in his coach, travelling from Versailles to Paris. This was thought, and perhaps with reason, to have been with a view of his becoming Chancellor. It may here be observed, that the two persons in France who were the greatest patrons of letters, understood not a word of Latin; Louis XIV. and Monsieur Colbert. It is reported that the Abbé Gallois used to say, "Mr. Colbert would sometimes behave in a familiar manner with me, but I kept him at a distance by my own respect." He died in 1707.

GASSENDI (Peter), born in Provence in 1592. He was the reviver of part of Epicurus's Physics. He thought that atoms and a vacuum were unavoidably necessary. Newton and others have since demonstrated what Gassendi had asserted. He had less fame than Descartes, because he was more rational, and formed no system; but he had the same fate with Des-

Cartes, in being accused of Atheism. Some people concluded, that whoever admitted a vacuum, like Epicurus, denied a God, as well as he. After this manner calumniators usually argue. Gassendi, in Provence, where they were not jealous of him, was called the *holy priest*, while the envious in Paris called him *the Atheist*. It is true, indeed, that he was a sceptic, and that philosophy had taught him to doubt of every thing, except the existence of a Supreme Being. He had advanced, a long time before Locke, in a famous letter of his to Descartes, that we are totally ignorant about the nature of the soul, and that God might superadd the faculty of thinking to matter, another essence equally unknown, and continue it to all eternity. He died in 1656.

GENOUVIN, Canon of the Holy Chapel in Paris, was the author of an excellent translation of Quintilian, and of Pausanias. He had been entered in the Jesuits-College at the age of fifteen, but quitted it when he arrived to years of discretion. He was so passionate an admirer of the good authors of antiquity, that he would have us forgive them their religion, on account of their writings and their mythology. He discovered in their fables a natural philosophy that was admirable, and most striking emblems of the operations of the Divinity. He thought that the genius of all modern nations was become contracted, and that the higher poetry and the nobler eloquence had disappeared in the world with the mythology of the Greeks. The poem of Milton appeared to him to be a barbarous composition, dictated by a gloomy and disgusting spirit of fanaticism, in which the Devil keeps constantly howling at the Messiah. He wrote four dissertations upon this subject, that are very curious, which it has been said will soon be published. He died in 1744. A story has been told, in some dictionaries, that Ninon de l'Enclos had granted him a favour, at the age of fourscore. In such a case, methinks, it might more justly be said, that he had granted one to her. But the story is too ridiculous to insist upon. It was the Abbé Chateaufort with whom Ninon

made an assignation, on the day that she was exactly three-score.

LE GENDRE (Lewis), born at Rouen in 1655, has written *A History of France*. To have executed such a work with approbation, it had been necessary for him to have had the pen and the liberty of the President De Thou, and even then it would have been very difficult to render the first three centuries interesting. He died in 1733.

GENEST (Charles-Claudius), born in 1635, Almoner to the Dukes of Orleans, was both a philosopher and a poet. His tragedy of *Penelope* is still continued on the stage, but it is the only Play of his that has been preserved. This piece may be ranked with a heap of others that are written in a loose and prosaic style, and which the situations alone carry through the representation. His laborious work *Of the Philosophy of Des Cartes*, written in rhyme rather than in verse, shews his patience more than his genius; for he had nothing in common with Lucretius, but to versify a philosophy erroneous in every article. He was one of those who partook of the liberality of Louis XIV. He died in 1719.

Abbé GIRARD, of the Academy. His *Synonymous Dictionary* is very useful; it will subsist as long as our language, and help that to subsist also. He died very old, in 1748.

GODEAU (Antony), was one of those that assisted towards the establishment of the French Academy. A poet, orator, and historian. Every one knows that for the sake of *un jeu de mots*, Cardinal Richelieu gave him the bishoprick of Grasse *, for putting the *hérésie* into verse. His *Ecclesiastical History* in prose was more esteemed than his poem on the *Celestians of the Church*. He deceived himself in imagining he was able to equal the *Fasts* of Ovid: Neither his subject nor his genius

** I never heard the story, but suppose that M. Godeau was a fat man, and so he gave him a fat bishoprick, as the name of it signifies. A poor conceit! *Translator.*

were capable of it. It is a great mistake to think that Christian stories can admit of poetry, as well as those of the Pagans, whose mythology, as charming as false, animates all nature. He died in 1672.

GODEFROY (Theodore), son to Denis Godefroy, a Parisian, born at Geneva in 1580. He was a learned man, and historiographer of France under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. He was particularly exact about titles and ceremonials. He died in 1649. His father Denis has rendered his name immortal by his immense labour in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

GODEFROY (Denis), son to the former, was born at Paris in 1615. He was historiographer of France, as well as his father, and died in 1681. All this family have been illustrious in literature.

GOMBAULD (John Ogier de), though born under Charles IX. lived a long time under Louis XIV. and wrote several good epigrams, which are still remembered and repeated. He died in 1666.

GOMBERVILLE (Martin), born at Paris in 1600, one of the first Academicians. He wrote some voluminous romances before the æra of good taste, and his fame consequently did not long outlive him. He died in 1674.

GONDI (John-Francis), Cardinal de Retz, born in 1613, who lived a Cataline in his youth, and an Atticus in his latter years. Many passages in his memoirs are worthy of Sallust; but the whole is not equal. He died in 1679.

GOURVILLE, valet-de-chambre to the Duke of Rochefoucault, became afterwards his friend, as well as that of the Great Condé. He was at the same time hung in effigy at Paris, and Envoy from the King in Germany. He was afterwards designed to succeed the great Colbert in the ministry. We have the memoirs of his life written by himself with great naïveté, and in which he speaks of his birth and fortune with perfect indifference. There are some true and curious anecdotes given in this work.

LE GRAND (Joachim), born in Normandy in 1623, a pupil to Father LeCointe. He was the most profoundly
versed

versed in history, of any man of his time. He died in 1732.

GRECOUR, Canon of Tours. His poem of *Philetanus* had prodigious success. The merit of these kind of works lies chiefly in the lucky choice of the subject, and in the malignity of the human heart. However, there are some good lines in this piece. The beginning of it is happy enough; but the rest of it falls off. The Devil does not speak there so pleasantly as the author designed him to do; the style is low, uniform, without dialogue, without grace, without art, without purity of diction, and without imagination in the expression. In short, it is only a satirical history of the *Bull Unigenitus* in doggerel verse, in which there are some lines that are entertaining enough.

GUERET (Gabriel), born at Paris in 1641, known in his time by his *Parnassus Reformed*, and by his *War of the Authors*. He had some taste; but his discourse, *Whether the Empire of Eloquence be not greater than that of Love*, did not prove him to possess much of the former. He wrote the *Journal du Palais* conjointly with Blondeau. This *Journal du Palais* is a collection of the arrêts, sentences, or decrees, of the Parliaments of France; judgments or determinations often different in similar cases. Nothing can shew how much the law wants reformation, as the necessity the Judges are reduced to of referring to former decisions. He died in 1688.

DU GUET (James Joseph), born in Fores in 1649, one of the best writers among the Jansenists. His book on *the Education of a King*, was not written for the King of Sardinia, as has been said, and was finished by another hand. The style of Du Guet is formed upon that of the good writers of Port-Royal. He might, as well as they, have rendered great service to letters; and three volumes upon twenty-five chapters of Isaiah, sufficiently prove that he was no miser either of his time or pen. He died in 1733.

DU GUE-TROUIN, from a captain of a merchant-ship, became lieutenant-general of the naval forces of France.

He was a very great man in his profession, and has left some memoirs behind him, written in the stile of a soldier, and proper to excite emulation among his countrymen.

Du HALDE, a Jesuit; who, though he had never stirred out of Paris, and never saw a Chinese, has given, in an extract taken from the Memoirs of the Missionaries, the most ample and the best description of the Empire of China that is extant. He died in 1743.

The insatiable curiosity that we have for an intimate knowledge of the religion, the laws, and the manners of the Chinese, is not yet satisfied. A citizen of Middleburgh, named *Huddle*, who was very rich, prompted merely by this curiosity, took a voyage to China, about the year 1700. He spent great part of his fortune in informing himself of every thing. He made himself so perfect a master of the language, that he passed for one of their own natives. Happily for him, the form and cast of his features did not betray him. In short, he contrived to arrive at the rank of a Mandarin, and travelled through all the provinces in this quality, and then returned to Europe with a collection of thirty years observations, which were swallowed up in a shipwreck; and this was, perhaps, the greatest loss that the Republic of Letters could well have sustained.

Du-HAMEL (John-Baptist), of Normandy, was born in 1624. He was Secretary of the Academy of Sciences. Though a philosopher, he was also a theologian. Philosophy being perfected since his time, has destroyed his writings; but his name has still survived. He died in 1706.

The Count D' HAMILTON (Antony), born at Caën. We have some pretty pieces of poetry of his; and he is the first person who wrote romances in a pleasing stile, without sinking into the burlesque of Scarron. His *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont* is, of all the books extant, that wherein the most trivial matters are set off in a stile the most gay, the most lively, and the most agreeable. It is the model of a sprightly conversation, more than the pattern of a book. His hero has hardly
any

any other part in these memoirs, than that of cheating his friends at play, being robbed by his valet-de-chambre, or saying some pretended *bons mots* upon the adventures of others.

HARDOUN (John), a Jesuit, profound in history, but chimerical in his opinions. "One should ask," says Montaigne, "not who is the *most* knowing, but who "is the *best* knowing." Hardouin carried his whimsies so far, as to pretend that the *Æneid* and the *Odes* of Horace were written by some Monks of the thirteenth century. He imagined, that by *Æneas* was meant *Jesus Christ*; and that *Lalage*, the Mistress of Horace, was the Christian religion*.

The same kind of discernment which made Father Hardouin discover the Messiah in the *Æneid*, enabled him to detect Atheism in the Fathers Thomassin, Quétin, and Malebranche; in Arnold, in Nicola, and Pascal. His folly blunted the sting of his rage; but all those who raise the clamour of Atheism against men who presume to make use of their reason, are not deemed fools, and are therefore often dangerous. We have sometimes seen men abusing the office of their ministry, in employing those arms, against which there is no shield, to destroy without redemption persons esteemed by Princes, not sufficiently instructed we are to suppose.

HECQUET, a Physician, in 1723, published the rational system of *Trituration*; an ingenious hypothesis, which, however, does not explain how the digestion is performed in the stomach. Other physicians have added the gastric juices to it, and the heat of the viscera. But none of them have been able to discover the real secret of Nature, which conceals itself throughout all its operations.

HELVETIUS, a famous Physician, who has written extremely well upon the animal œconomy, and on the

* How came this mystic Theologist to fix upon Lalagé, as the type of the Christian Church, in preference to Pyrrha, Lydia, Gratidia, Tyndaris, Glycera, Chloe, Barjona, &c.? That infidel Horace had Mistresses enough for all the religions that Alexander Ross has enumerated. *Transjater.*

fever. He died about the year 1750. He was the father of a true philosopher, who resigned his post of Farmer-General to be at leisure to cultivate literature, and who shared the common fate of many philosophers; that of being persecuted for a book, and for his virtue*.

HÉNAULT, known by the sonnet of *The Abortion*, as well as by other ingenious pieces; and who would have obtained great reputation, if the first three Cantos of his translation of *Lucretius*, which were lost, had been preserved, and had been written as well as what remains of it. He died in 1682.

Posterity should be cautioned not to confound this man with a person of the same name, but of superior merit, to whom we are indebted for the most concise and the best history of France we have; and perhaps his is the only manner in which all large histories should be written. For the multiplicity of facts, and of writings, are become so numerous, that we must be obliged soon to reduce them to extracts and to dictionaries. But it will be difficult to imitate the author of *The Chronological Abridgment*, and to investigate so many things, in appearing only to skim them over.

HÉNAULT, President of the Inquests of the Parliament, Superintendant of the Queen's Household, and a Member of the French Academy, was born at Paris, about the year 1686. We have already spoken of his useful book of the abridgement of the history of France. The laborious researches which such a work must have engaged him in, did not prevent his sacrificing to the Graces; and he was one of the few men of learning who joined to the pains of study the talents requisite for social life, which are not to be acquired. He was, in history, what Fontenelle was in philosophy; he rendered it familiar. We have, therefore, rendered to him, as well as to Fontenelle, justice during his life†.

HERBELLOT (Bartholomew), born at Paris, in 1625; the first among the French who was skilled in the oriental

* He died in 1771, in the 57th year of his age. *Translator.*

† M. Voltaire seems to have forgot himself here, for he mentions Fontenelle's death, at the end of his encomium: Mort en 1757. *Ibid.*

languages and histories. He was taken little notice of, at first, in his own country; but being received by the Great Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II. with a distinction that taught France to know his merit, he was invited back, and encouraged by Colbert, who was indeed an universal patron. His *Oriental Library* is a work as curious as profound. He died in 1695.

HERMANT (Godfrey), born at Beauvois, in 1617. He wrote nothing but polemical works, which died away along with the dispute. He died in 1690.

HERMANT (John), author of *The History of the Councils*, of *The Religious Orders*, and of *The Heresies of the Church*. This last, the History of Heresies, is not so well written as that of Mr. Pluquet.

LA HIRE (Philip), born at Paris, in 1640, the son of a good painter. He was a great Mathematician, and contributed much to the famous Meridian of France. He died in 1718.

L'HOSPITAL (Francis Marquis de) born in 1662; He was the first who wrote in France on the calculations invented by Newton, which he styled *Infinitesimals*, the *infinite series*. This was at that time, a prodigy. He died in 1704.

D'HOSIER (Peter), born at Marseilles, in 1592; the son of a Lawyer. He was the first who unravelled genealogies, and reduced them to a science. Louis XIII. made him Gentleman-Servant, Maître d'Hôtel, and Gentleman in Ordinary of his Bedchamber. Louis XIV. gave him a commission of Counsellor of State. In truth, great men have been often less rewarded. Their labours were not so necessary to human vanity. He died in 1660.

DES HOULIERES (Antoinette de la Garde) was, of all the women in France who addicted themselves to poetry, the one who succeeded the best, if we may judge by the superior number of her verses which has been preserved. It is a pity that she was author of the ill-natured sonnet against the admirable *Phædra* of Racine. This piece was well received by the public, only because it was satirical. Is it not enough for women to be jealous
in

in love? Must they be so, likewise, in literature? An envious female resembles Medusa *, a beautiful woman turned to a monster. She died in 1694.

HUET (Peter-Daniel), born at Caën, in 1630. A man of universal knowledge, and who preserved the same ardour for study to the age of ninety-one. He was first invited to Stockholm by Christina, Queen of Sweden, and was afterwards selected among those illustrious men to whom the education of the Dauphin was intrusted. Never had Prince such excellent preceptors. Huet became a Priest at forty years of age, and was promoted to the Bishopric of Avranches; which he afterwards resigned, that he might retire from the world, and deliver himself up wholly to his studies in his retreat.

Of all his works, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, and *The Origin of Romances*, are most esteemed. His *Treatise on the Weakness of the human Soul*, made a great noise, and seemed to contradict his *Evangelical Demonstration*. He died in 1721.

JACQUELOT (Isaac), born in Champagne, in 1647, a Calvinist, Minister at the Hague, and afterwards at Berlin. He wrote some works upon religion. He died in 1708.

JOLI (Guy), Counsellor to the Châtelet, and Secretary to Cardinal de Retz. He has left us his *Memoirs*, which are, compared with those of the Cardinal, what the Man is to the Master. But he had some curious particularities in his character.

JOUVENCY (Joseph), a Jesuit, born at Paris, in 1643. He was one who had the obscure merit of being able to write in Latin as well as it is possible to do, in modern times. His book intitled *De Ratione Discendi et Docendi, Of the Method of Learning and Teaching*, is one of the best that we have of this kind, since Quintilian, and the least known. He published at Rome, in 1710, a part of the history of his own Order. He wrote like a Jesuit, and like a man who had been at Rome.

* M. Voltaire adds Scylla to the comparison, but one image is enough for a simile. *Translator.*

The Parliament of Paris, which thought quite differently both of Rome and of the Jesuits, condemned his book, in which Father Guignard was justified, who had been condemned to be hanged by this Parliament, for the assassination attempted on the person of Henry IV. by the novice Châtel.

It is very true that Guignard was not an accomplice, and that his sentence was extended to the rigour of the law; but it is not less true, that this rigour was necessary in those unhappy times, when one part of Europe, blinded by a horrid fanaticism, considered it as a pious act to poison the best of kings and the best of men. He died in 1716.

LABBE (Philip), born at Bourges, in 1607. A Jesuit. He has rendered great services to history. He left behind him seventy-six works *. He died in 1667.

LA LABOUREUR (John), born at Montmorency, in 1623. He was Gentleman-Servant to Louis XIV. and afterwards his Almoner. His account of the journey he took to Poland, with the Marchioness de Guébriant, the only woman who had ever bore the title, or performed the functions, of Ambassador-Plenipotentiary, is very curious. The historical annotations with which he has enriched the Memoirs of Castelnaud, have thrown great light on the history of France.

The bad poem of *Charlemagne* was not his, but his brother's. He died in 1675.

LAINÉ, or LAINEZ (Alexander), born in Hainault, in 1650. A singular poet, from whose works a selection has been made of some good verses. A certain person who has given himself the trouble of erecting, at a vast expence, a Parnassus made of brass, covered with figures in relief of all the poets and musicians he had ever heard of, has placed this Lainé in the most illustrious class.

* The following name should have been given him as a cognomen, *Le Laboureur. Translator.*

The only galant lines that we have of his, are those he addressed to Madame de Martel:

Le tendre Apelle un jour dans ces jeux si vantés
Qu' Athènes sur ses bords consacrait à Neptune,
Vit au sortir de l'onde éclater cent beautés;
Et prenant un trait de chacune,
Il fit de la Vénus le portrait immortel.
Helas! s'il avait vu l'adorable Martel,
Il n'en aurait employé qu'une.

On the Athenian shore Apelles stood,
To mark the beauties rising from the flood;
From each a grace or feature slyly stole,
To paint a perfect Venus from the whole.
But had Martel been there, his pains were less,
Her form alone might serve him to express
Those charms which in a hundred fair he found,
To draw that portrait e'er so much renown'd*.

One cannot be certain, whether these lines may not be only a paraphrase on this pretty dillich of Ariosto:

Non avea da torre altra; che costei
Che tutte bellezze erano in Lei.

He could no other chuse; in her alone,
The beauties of her sex united shone.

He died in the year 1710.

LAINET, or LENET (Peter), Counsellor of State, a native of Dijon, and attached to the Great Condé, has left us some memoirs on the Civil Wars. All the memoirs of that time are cleared up and justified by one another. They place the truth of that history in open view. Those of Lainet have one very singular anecdote in them.

A Lady of quality of Franche-Comté†, being eight months gone with child, when her husband had been above a year absent, fearing he should kill her, applied to Laine without knowing him. He consulted the Spanish Ambassador, and they both agreed that there was no way

* The famous picture called the *Anadyomené* of Venus rising from the sea. *Translator.*

† The province of Burgundy. *Ibid.*

but to clap the husband up into the Bastille, until the wife was fairly brought to bed. They then made application to the Queen; and the King, in a good-humour, drew up and signed the *Lettre de Cachet* himself. Having thus saved the life of the woman and the child, he afterwards made an apology to the husband, and made him a present at the same time.

LAMBERT (Anna-Theresa of Margoenat de Courcelles, Marchioness of), born in 1647. She was a woman of a great share of wit, and has left behind her some moral writings, in an agreeable style. Her *Treatise on Friendship* shews that she herself deserved friends.

The number of illustrious women who ornamented this charming era, is one great proof of the progress of the human understanding.

Le donne son venute in eccellenza
Di ciascun' arte ove hanno posto cura. Ariosto, 1.

The women then were famed for eminence
In all those studies they had made their care.

She died at Paris, in 1733.

LAMI (Bernard), born at Mans, in 1640. He was of the Oratory, and learned in more sciences than one. He composed his *Elements of Mathematics*, in a journey he made on foot from Grenoble to Paris. He died in 1715.

LANCELOT (Claudius), born at Paris, in 1615. He had a share in some useful works that the *Solitaires* * of Port-Royal composed for the education of youth. He died in 1695.

DE LARREY (Isaac), born in Normandy, in 1638. His *History of England* was in esteem before Rapin de Thoiras published one; but his *History of Louis XIV.* never was in any repute. He died at Berlin, in 1719.

LAUNAI (Francis), born at Angers, in 1612. A Civilian, and a man of letters. He was the first who taught the French law in Paris. He died in 1693.

* A denomination of Nuns of St. Peter of Alcantara. We are to suppose there was a religious institution of the same name, instituted at Port-Royal, for the education of youth. Translator.

LAUNOY (John), born in Normandy, in 1603. He was a Doctor of Divinity; a learned, a laborious, and a bold critic. He refuted a great many vulgar errors, and especially about the Saints, whose existence he denied *. It is reported that a Curate of St. Eustachius said once, "I always pay him the most profound respect, lest he should take my St. Eustachius from me." He died in 1678.

DAURIER (Eusebius), born at Paris, in 1659. An advocate. No man ever dived deeper into the science and origin of the Laws. It was he that projected the plan of making a collection of all the Ordonnances, Judgments, or Decrees; which was an immense work, and signalized the reign of Louis XIV. It is a monument of the instability of human affairs. A history of ordonnances is but a history of vicissitudes. He died in 1728.

LE CUNGE (John), born at Geneva, in 1657, but originally of Beauvois. He was not the only learned man of his family, but he was the most so. His *Universal Library*, in which he imitated the *Republic of Letters* of Bayle, is his best work. His greatest merit is to have there approached to Bayle, with whom he often had disputes. He was a more voluminous author than that great man; but he was not, like him, master of the art of instructing and entertaining at the same time, which is a talent superior to science. He died at Amsterdam in 1756.

LEMLRY (Nicholas), born at Rouen, in 1645, was the first of our rational chymists, and the first who published an *Universal Dictionary*. He died in 1715.

LENTANT (James), born in Beaulieu, in 1661. A Calvinist divine at Berlin. He contributed more than any other writer, to extend the grace, and the force of the French language to the very extremities of Germany. His *History of the Council of Constance*, well-drawn up and well-written, will remain to the latest posterity, a wit-

* I suppose it must be their *post-mortem* existence, in the quality of benefactors, that is here meant. *Theophiler.*

ness both of the good and evil that may result from these great assemblies; and that even from the bosom of passions, of self-interest, and of cruelty itself, good laws may proceed. He died in 1692.

DES LIONS (John), born at Pontoise, in 1615. He was a Doctor of the Sorbonne, a singular character, and author of many polemical works. He attempted to prove that the celebration of the birth-days of Kings was a profanation, and that the world would soon be at an end. He died in 1700.

DE L'ISLE (William), born at Paris, in 1675. He reformed Geography, which till then had been false and imperfect. He changed the whole position of our hemisphere in longitude. He taught Louis XV. geography, and never had a better scholar. This Monarch, after the death of his master, composed a treatise on the course of the rivers. William de L'Isle was the first who obtained the title of the King's Geographer. He died in 1726.

LE LONG (James), born at Paris, in 1655, of the Oratory. His *Historical Library of France* is in great request, and extremely useful; though it has some faults. He died in 1721.

LONGPIERRE (Hilary-Bernard Baron of) born in Burgundy, in 1653. He was master of all the beauties of the Greek language, which was a very rare merit in those times. He made some translations in verse of *Anacreon*, *Sappho*, *Bion*, and *Moschus*. His Tragedy of *Medea*, although unequal, and too much loaded with declamation, is, however, much superior to that of Peter Corneille.—But then the *Medea* of Corneille was not among his best performances.

Longpiere wrote several other Tragedies after the manner of the Greek poets, and has imitated them in not complicating any love-distresses with his subjects of severity and terror; but then he has also imitated them in their prolixity, their common place declamation, and in the barrenness of the plot and action, and by no means equals the beauty of their elocution, which is the greatest merit of a poet. He also composed some other

other Tragedies in the Grecian taste; but he brought only *Medea* and *Electra* on the stage. He died in 1727.

LONGUERUE (Louis du Four de), born at Charleville, in 1652. Abbé of Jard. He was skilled not only in the learned languages, but in all those spoken in Europe. To pick up a smattering of many languages, may be done with a little pains in a few years; but to speak one's native tongue with purity and eloquence, is the labour of a life. He was master of universal history; and it is pretended that he composed, by the strength of memory alone, the historical and geographical description of France ancient and modern. He died about the year 1724.

LONGUEVAL (James), born in 1681. A Jesuit. He compiled eight volumes of the History of the Gallican Church, which was continued by Father Fontenay. He died in 1725.

LOUBVE (Simon de la), born at Toulouse, in 1642, and sent to Spain in 1677. He wrote memoirs of that country, which are much preferable to his odes and fables. He died in 1729.

LABILLON (John), born in Champagne, in 1632. A Benedictin. It was he who having the charge of shewing the treasure of St. Denis, demanded to be dismissed from that employ. "Because he did not think it was proper to mix a fable with truth." He has made profound researches in literature. Colbert employed him to discuss the ancient titles. He died in 1707.

MAIGNAN (Emanuel), born at Toulouse, in 1601. A Minim *. He was one of those who taught themselves the Mathematics without a master. He was a Professor of that science at Rome, where there has ever since been a French Minim an established Professor. He died at Toulouse, in 1677.

MAILLET, Consul at Grand Cairo. He wrote some instructive letters about Egypt, and some manuscript works which shew him to be a bold philosopher.

MAIMBOURG (Louis), a Jesuit, born in 1610. There still remain some of his histories, which we cannot read

without pleasure. He had, at first, too much vogue, and has been too much neglected since. A singular thing happened to him : He was obliged to quit the Society of Jesuits, on account of his having written in favour of the French Clergy. He died at St. Victor's, in 1686.

MAINARD (Francis), President of Auillac, was born at Toulouse, in 1604. He may be reckoned among those who have done honour to the Age of Louis XIV. He has left us a considerable number of happy verses written with purity. He was one of those authors who complained the baseness of the poor pittance which is too generally the portion of talents. He was ignorant that the success of a good work is the only reward that is worthy the consideration of an artist ; that if Kings, and Ministers would do themselves honour by recognising a merit of this kind, there is still more honour in the client to wait for these favours, without demanding them ; and that if an eminent author should have any anxiety about fortune, he ought to depend solely on himself.

Nothing is better known than his beautiful sonnet to Cardinal Richelieu, and that uncouth answer of the Minister, that cruel word, *Nothing*. The President Mainard, having afterwards retired to Auillac, wrote these verses to him, which deserve to be remembered as much as his sonnet.

Par votre humeur le monde est gouverné,
Vos volontés sont le calme et l'orage,
Vous vous riez de me voir confiné
Loin de la cour dans mon petit ménage :
Mais, n'est ce rien que d'être tout à soi,
De n'avoir point le fardeau d'un emploi,
D'avoir dompté la crainte et l'espérance ?
Ah ! si le Ciel, qui me traite si bien,
Avait pitié de vous et de la France,
Votre bonheur serait égal au mien.

To your caprice the passive world submits,
You to storms raise, or make a calm, by fits ;
Then would to see me banished to this spot,
I should only think me wretched in my lot.

But is it nought our freedom to enjoy,
 Exempt from need, from hurry, or employ?
 From hopes and fears a riddance to obtain,
 And give up pleasure, to be free from pain?
 On France and you should Heaven impartial shine,
 Your own condition then would equal mine.

After the death of the Cardinal, he said, in another verse, "The tyrant is dead, and yet I am not more happy." In the Cardinal had been liberal, the Minister would have been a debt to him. *Deus, Deus ille, Menelaus!* But he was a tyrant, *because he gave him nothing.* This too much resembles beggars, who accost passengers with the title of *My Lord*, but send them to the Devil if they give no alms.

The verses of Mainard were certainly good; but he had done better to have passed his life without begging or grubbing. The epitaph he framed for himself, is in every one's memory.

*Je n'ai d'espérer et de me plaindre
 Que de ces choses, des grands, et du fort;
 Et j'ai vu que j'attends la mort,
 Sans le désirer ni la craindre.*

Wearied with hope, tired with complaining
 Of fate, the muse, or men in power,
 In this forlorn retreat remaining,
 Nor wish nor dread I my last hour.

The two last lines are only a translation of this old Latin verse:

Summum nec metus diem, nec optes.
 Nor wish nor fear the hour of death.

The greatest part of many fine moral verses are but translations. It is common enough not to desire death; and it is uncommon not to fear it; but it is truly great not even to think whether there are great people in the world or no.

MAINTENON (Frances d' Aubigné, Scarron, Marchioness of). She is an author, as well as Madame de Sevigné,

Seigné, because they have published her letters after her death. Both these collections are written with a good share of spirit, but in a very different style. The heart and the imagination dictated those of Madame de Seigné; they have therefore more cheerfulness and freedom in them. Those of Madame de Maintenon are more constrained. It seems as if she had always foreseen that they would one day appear in print. Madame de Seigné, in writing to her daughter, wrote only to her daughter.

There are anecdotes in both of them. One learns from those of Madame de Maintenon, that she had married Louis XV. that he had influenced affairs of state, but did not govern them; that she did not urge the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or its consequences, but that she did not in the least *oppose* them; that she took part with the Molinists, because Louis XIV. had done so, and that afterwards she attached herself entirely to that party; that Louis XIV. towards the latter part of his life carried *reliques* about him, and many other equally uninteresting particulars.

But the informations that may be gathered from this collection, are too dearly purchased at the expence of reading a heap of insignificant letters that are contained in it; a defect very common in such compilations. If nothing was published, but what was worthy of being read, we should have a hundred times fewer books than we have. She died at St. Germain in 1719.

A person, whose name is LA BAUMELLE, and who was a School-master at Geneva, has published some Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon stuffed with falsities.

MALEBRANCHE (Nicholas), born at Paris, in 1638, of the Oratory. He was a man of the profoundest meditation that ever wrote. Animated with that strong imagination which makes more disciples than the truth, he formed a party in his time. He had his *Malebranchists*. He most convincingly proved the errors of the senses and of the imagination; but when he attempted

tempted to investigate the nature of the soul, he sunk in that abyss, with the rest of such Metaphysical Philosophers. He was, like Descartes, a great man, from whom we can learn but little. He died in 1715*.

MALEZIEUX (Nicholas), born at Paris, in 1650. *The Elements of Geometry of the Duke of Burgundy*, were a collection of the lectures he gave that Prince. He obtained a reputation from his profound literature. The Ducheſs of Maine made his fortune. He died in 1727.

MALLEVILLE (Claudius de), one of the first Academicians. The single sonnet of *La Belle Marinuse*, or, *The fair early Riser*, rendered him famous in his days. The song is quite forgotten long since; but the Excellence in every kind was then as rare, as it is become common at present. He died in 1647.

DE MASCACA (Peter), born in 1594. Being a widower, and leaving many children, he went into the Church, and was appointed to the Archbishopric of Paris. His book, *De la Concord of the Empire and of the Priesthood*, is excellent. He died in 1662.

DE MAROILES (Michael), born in Touraine, in 1600, son to the famous Claudius Maroiles, Captain of the Hundred-Swiss troop, distinguished by his duel at the head of the army of Henry IV. with Marivaux. This Michael, Abbé de Villain, wrote sixty-nine works; among which were a great many translations, that were very useful in their time. He died in 1681.

LA MARRE (Nicholas), born at Paris, in 1641. He was a Commissary of the Châtelet. He wrote a work which related to his own province, *A History of the Police*. It is of no use but to the Parisians, and better to consult than to read. He was rewarded with a stipend upon the profits of the Theatre where they never performed; and they might as well have given the Actors a pension on the *Round House*.

DU MARSAIS. Nobody knew better than himself the Metaphysics of Grammar; and nobody ever more deeply

* He said, upon reading Berkley's book against the Existence of Matter, "Behold a Philosopher more extravagant than myself." *Tran.*

investigated the elements of languages. His book on *Tropes* is become *infinitely necessary**, and all that he has written upon the subject of Grammar deserves to be read. There are, in the great Dictionary called the *Dictionnaire*, many articles taken from him that are very useful.

He was one among the number of those of four Philosophers which abounds in Paris, who are of sound discerning, and who live in a sort of society together in a quiet and a literary retirement, unknown to the Great, and divided by the interests of every kind who would impede their selves on the world for men of science or of letters. The number of these learned men is one of the consequences of the Age of Louis XIV. He died very old, in 1715.

MARSURIER (Jean), born at Paris, in 1637. He was a regular Canon of St. Geneviève, and known by several histories well written. He died in 1694.

MARINIERE (Nathan), born in 1628. He was the first who ever gave a tolerable prose translation of Virgil, Horace, &c. I doubt much whether any ever so successfully translated in verse. He could not be said to sacrifice their genius for the purpose. The difference of the languages is an almost insurmountable obstacle. He died in 1698.

MARCIAC (Julien), of Moulles, born in 1634. He was first Bishop of Tulle, and afterwards of Agen. His *Leçons Sérieuses* originally obtained the fame of those of Bénédict; but, at present, they only serve to show how great a man Bénédict was. He died in 1703.

MASSIEUX, born in Provence, in 1613, of the Faculty. He was Bishop of Clermont. He was the preacher who understood the world the best. His style was more florid than that of Bourdaloue, and more agreeable, and his eloquence breathed the Courtier, the Academician, and the man of sense. His philosophy, besides, was of the moderate and tolerating cast. He died in 1726.

* The reader must go off at the sense of this passage himself, for I cannot supply it. *See* *Journal*.

MAUCROIX (Francis), born at Noyon, in 1619. An Historian, a Poet, and well versed in literature. He died in 1708.

MENAGE (Giles), of Angers, born in 1613. He has proved that it is much easier to write verse in Italian than in French. His Italian poems are esteemed, even in Italy; and our own language is much obliged to his disquisitions. He was a man of knowledge in various branches of learning. He died in 1692. La Monnoye has much augmented and corrected the *Ménagiana* *.

MENETRIER (Claudius-Francis), born in 1631, has afforded great assistance to the science of Heraldry, of Emblems, and Devices. He died in 1705.

MILLER (John), born in Berry, in 1615. He was one of those who were well skilled in Surgery, and illustrated his knowledge of it by his writings. He has left us several useful observations, and died in 1722.

MÉRÉAI (Francis), born at Argentan, in Normandy, in 1616. His *History of France* is well known, but his other works not much. He was deprived of his pension for having spoken truth. In his writings he was more bold than exact, and his style was unequal. He died in 1683.

MIMEURES (the Marquis de), *Mort* † to Monseigneur, son of Louis XIV. Some pieces of poetry of his composition are not inferior to those of Racan or Mairan. But as those authors appeared at a time when good poetry was a rarity, and the Marquis of Mimeures lived in an age when it had reached perfection, they acquired fame, while he was hardly taken

* A collection of his Sayings, Opinions, &c. published under that title, taken from his name. Among the singularities of this person's character, the following whim was not the least remarkable. As soon as any piece of his was published, he followed it to the press with an anonymous criticiser, to prove that the author had not one requisite of a Poet in any of his writings, and that he wrote all his poems *à la mode Minerva*, by the mere dint of labour, without genius—What a caprice! *Translator*.

† A man of quality particularly attached to the Dauphin, was so called under Louis XIV. *Ibid.*

notice of. However, his *Ode to Venus*, imitated from Horace, is not unworthy of the original.

LE MOINE (Peter), a Jesuit, born in 1602. His *Easy Devotion* rendered him ridiculous; but he might have raised himself into fame by his *Louisiad*. He had a vast imagination. How happened it then that he failed of success? It was because he wanted taste, wanted an acquaintance with the genius of the French language, and wanted impartial friends. He died in 1671.

MOLIERE (John-Baptist), born at Paris, in 1622. The best Comic Poet of any nation of Europe. This article has obliged me to look back into the Comic Antiquity; and it must be confessed, that if we compare the art and regularity of our Theatre with the unconnected scenes of the Ancients; their feeble plots; their absurd manner of making the Actors, in a cold, uninteresting, and improbable monologue, tell the audience what they had done, and meant farther to do; we must confess, I say, that Molere has brought Comedy out of its original chaos, as well as Corneille had brought Tragedy; and that the French have been superior in this article to all the nations of the earth*.

Molere had, besides, another species of merit, of which neither Corneille, Racine, or La Fontaine, could boast. He was a Philosopher; and was so both in theory and practice. It was to this Philosopher that the Archbishop of Paris, Harlai, so infamous for his morals, refused the empty honours of sepulture; and the King was forced to interfere, and prevailed at last to suffer Molere to be buried privately in the church-yard of the little chapel of St. Joseph, in the suburb Montmartre. He died in 1673.

One is provoked at the envy shewn, in some of the new Dictionaries, in depreciating the verse of Molere, by preferring his prose, upon the opinion of the Archbishop of Cambray. Fénelon, who seemed in effect to give the preference to the prose of this great Comic writer, had his reasons for liking only poeti-

* A Gasconade! *Translator.*

cal prose* ; but Boileau was not of the same opinion.

It must be allowed, that excepting some negligences, negligences that Comedy admits of, Moliere is replete with admirable verses, which easily imprint themselves on the memory. *Le Misanthrope*, or, *The Man-hater*; *Les Femmes Savantes*, or, *The Learned Ladies*; and *Le Tartuffe*, or, *The Hypocrite*; are written with the spirit of Boileau's satires. The *Amphitruon* is a collection of Epigrams and Madrigals †, composed with an art that has never since been successfully imitated.

Good poetry is to good prose, what Dancing is to graceful Walking; what an Air is to Recitative; or what the Colouring of a Pencil is to the Sketches of a Drawn. For this reason the Greeks and Romans never held a Comedy in prose.

Abbé MONGAUT. The best translation that we have of Cicero's Letters, is executed by him. It is, besides, enriched with judicious and useful notes. He had been Preceptor to the son of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France.

La MONNOYE (Bernard la), born at Dijon, in 1641. A person of great learning. He was the first who obtained the Prize of Poetry at the French Academy; and indeed his Poem of *Le Duel Aboli*, or, *The Abolition of the Duel*, which won the prize, is very nearly one of the best pieces of Poetry that has appeared in France. He died in 1732.

It is not to be accounted for why M. L'Avocat, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, has said, in his Dictionary, that *The Christmas Carols* of La Monnoye, in the Burgundian dialect, are the best of his productions. Is it because the Sorbonne, who were intirely ignorant of the Provincial language in which they were written, had issued a decree against those Poems, without being able to understand them?

* His *Telemachus* is written in this style, which might, therefore, possibly have rendered him partial to it. *Translator.*

† The *Madrigal* is a species of the Epigram, but admits of greater latitude.

MONTESQUIEU (Charles), President of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, was born in 1689, and at the age of thirty-two published his *Persian Letters*, a work of humour; in which, however, are to be met with passages that shew a more solid understanding, than the book itself seems to promise. It is an imitation of the *Siamese Letters* of Dufrenoy, and of the *Turkish Spy*; but such a copy as shews rather how those originals ought to have been written.

This kind of writing generally owes its success to the foreign air that is given it. One puts with advantage in the mouth of an Asiatic, a satirical stroke against our country, which would not be much thought of, if spoken by a native. What is near common-place in itself, becomes a shrewd remark by such address.

The genius distinguishable in the *Persian Letters*, opened to the President Montesquieu the doors of the French Academy, though that very Academy was abused in his book. But, at the same time, the freedom with which he spoke of Government, and some liberties he took with Religion, drew upon him an exclusion, from Cardinal de Lury.

He conducted himself very artfully upon this occasion, to gain over the Minister. He caused a new edition of his work to be immediately printed, in which he cancelled, or softened, every passage that could give offence either to the Cardinal or the Minister. He then carried the book himself to the Cardinal, who seldom read, and only looked cursorily over it; but this air of confidence, with some solicitations of persons of consequence, overpowered the Cardinal, and Montesquieu took his seat in the Academy.

He afterwards published his *Traité On the Grandeur and Declension of the Romans*; an exhausted subject, which he rendered new, by ingenious reflections and strong painting. Indeed it is a political History of the Roman Empire. After this he published his *Esprit de Loix*, or, *Spirit of Laws*; in which is discovered considerably more genius than either in Grotius or Puffendorf. It is with difficulty we can peruse those authors;

but

but we read the *Spirit of Laws* as much for amusement as instruction.

This book is written with the same freedom as the *Persian Letters*; and this freedom has not a little contributed to its success, as it raised him up his enemies; which increased his reputation, from the hate ~~that~~ their malice excited against them. There were men mixed in the obscure factions of ecclesiastical warfare, who regarded their opinions as sacred, and those who controverted them as heresies. They wrote violently against the President Montaigne; they engaged the Colberts to burn his book; but the contempt in which this involved them, put a stop to the inquiry.

The principal merit of this work, the *Spirit of Laws*, is the Love of Legislation which reigns in it; and this love of Legislation is founded on the love of mankind. What is very singular, is, that the eulogy he has put on the English Constitution, is what has pleased the French the most. The lively and stormy reply he threw out against the Inquisition, has excited every one, the Inquisitors alone excepted; and his reflections, which are generally profound, are founded upon examples drawn from the history of all nations.

It is true, however, that he has been charged with too often taking his examples from inconsistent and savage nations, little known in Europe, and trusting to the unauthentic relations of travellers. He does not always quote with sufficient exactness. He cites, for example, from the author of the *Political Testament* attributed to Cardinal Richelieu, that "if any unhappy honest man should happen to be found among the people, he should not be employed." But the *Political Testament*, in the printed edition, only says, that "it would be better to have a million of ignorant and uneducated men, than a few more corruptible." Montesquieu is also mistaken in many other quotations. He says, for example, that Francis the First, who was not born when Christopher Columbus discovered America, had refused the offers of Columbus.

The

The continual defect of method in this work; the singular affectation of putting often only four or five lines in a chapter, and making those few lines contain nothing but a stroke of humour; have offended a great many readers, who have complained at sometimes meeting with jests, where they expected arguments. He has been likewise charged with having imposed doubtful notions for certain principles. But if he does not always instruct his reader, he always makes him think; and that alone is a considerable merit.

His lively and ingenious manner of expressing himself, so much in the stile of Montagne his countryman, has contributed above all to the great reputation of the *Spirit of Laws*. The same things said by any other man of knowledge, even by one more learned than himself, might possibly not be taken notice of. In short, there are hardly any works which contain more wit, more profound ideas, bolder strokes, and which convey more instruction, either in approving or combating his opinions.

This performance has certainly a right to be placed in the rank of those original works that have reflected lustre upon the Age of Louis XIV. and which has no model among the Ancients. He died in 1755, as he had always lived, like a Philosopher.

MONTFAUCON (Bernard), born in 1655. A Benedictine. One of the most knowing Antiquaries in Europe. He died in 1741.

MONTPENSIER (Anna-Maria-Louisa of Orléans), known under the appellation of *Mademoiselle*, daughter of Gaston of Orleans *, born at Paris, in 1627. Her Memoirs are more those of a private woman taken up with herself, than of a Princess conversant with great events; but some curious anecdotes are to be found in them. She died in 1693.

MONTREUIL (Matthew de), was one of those easy and agreeable writers, of which the Age of Louis XIV.

* Duke of Orleans, and uncle to Louis XIV. See his character under the list of the *Princes of the Blood*.

produced such numbers that obtained a reputation in the middling class of writing. There were but few great geniuses; but the spirit of that æra, and imitation, had created many entertaining authors.

MORERI (Louis), born in Provence, in 1643. It was not to be imagined that the author of the *Pays d'Amour*, or, *The Kingdom of Love*, and the translator of *Roderigo*, should have undertaken, in his early years, the first Dictionary of Facts that was ever published. This great work cost him his life.

The reformed and greatly augmented work which still bears his name, was not his; it is a new city built upon the old foundation. Too many spurious genealogies have done injury to this useful work. He died in 1680.

They have made Supplements to this Dictionary that are full of errors.

MORIN (Michael-John-Baptist), born in Beaujolois, in 1583. A Physician, a Mathematician, and, from the ignorance of the times, an Astrologer also. He drew the Horoscope of Louis XIV. Notwithstanding his superstition, he was a man of knowledge. He died in 1656.

MORIN (John), born at Blois, in 1591. He was a person well skilled in the Oriental tongues, and a good critic. He died at the Oratory, in 1659.

MORIN (Simon), born in Normandy, in 1623. He is not mentioned here, except to lament his fatal folly, and that of Saint-Sorlin-Desmarets, his accuser. Saint-Sorlin was a fanatic, and impeached Morin for being the same. Morin, who deserved nothing but Bedlam, was burned alive, in 1663, before Philology had made sufficient progress to prevent the learned from dogmatizing, and the Judges from being cruel.

LA MOTTE-HOUDART (Antony), born at Paris in 1672; famous for his Tragedy of *Agnes de Castro*, one of the most interesting of those pieces that remain still on the Theatre; and for his three ingenious Operas; but above all for some Odes that brought him originally great reputation, in which are as much matter as verse,

and where he shews himself both a philosopher and a poet.

Even his prose is still held in esteem. He wrote the speech of the Marquis de Mimur, and of Cardinal Du Bois, when they were received into the French Academy; the Manifesto of the war of 1718; and the speech that Cardinal Tencin spoke before the little Council of Embrun. The story of this is remarkable. An Archbishop condemns a Bishop, and it was an author of plays and operas who wrote the sermon for the Archbishop.

He had a great many friends; that is to say, many people were pleased with his company: however, I saw him die, in 1731, without any attendants beside his death-bed. The Abbé Trublet says, that there were a great many; but he must have been there at other times than I was.

The interest of truth alone obliges me, in this place, to exceed the usual bounds of these articles.

This man, of such mild manners, and of whom no one had ever the least cause to complain, has been accused since his death, almost juridically, of an enormous crime;—with having himself composed the horrible couplets that were the ruin of Rousseau, in the year 1710, and with having conducted, for several years, all the processes that led to the condemnation of an innocent man.

This accusation had the more weight, as having been made by a person thoroughly apprized of the whole affair, and who vouched it, as it were, on the sanction of a death-bed testimony.

N. Boindin, Procurator-general of the Treasury of France, dying in 1752, left a very circumstantial memoir behind him, in which he charges, after an interval of above forty years, La Motte Houdart, of the French Academy, Joseph Saurin, of the Academy of Sciences, and Malafaire, a toy-merchant, with having contrived that plot, in consequence of which the Châtelet and the Parliament had consecutively pronounced unjust sentences.

Now,

Now, in the first place, if N. Boindin was thoroughly persuaded of the innocence of Rousseau, why so long delay to declare it? Why not publish it, at least, immediately after the death of his enemies? Why did he not produce this memoir then, which he had written above twenty years before?

Secondly, Who does not see clearly that this memoir was a defamatory libel, and that this man equally hated every one of those he mentions, in this consignment of their names to the detestation of posterity?

Thirdly, He begins his recital with facts that are known to be false. He pretends that the Count de Nocé, and N. Mélon, Secretary to the Regent, were the associates of Malafaire, a toy-pedlar. All those who were in the least acquainted with these persons, have pronounced the story to be a vile calumny. He afterwards confounds N. La Faye, Secretary of the King's Cabinet, with his brother, Captain of the Guards. In fine, how could a toy-pedlar have any hand in the framing of couplets?

Fourthly, Boindin pretends that this toy-man and Saurin the geometrician leagued themselves with La Motte, to prevent Rousseau from obtaining the pension of Boileau, who was then alive in 1710. Now is it possible to be imagined, that three persons of such different ranks and professions should unite themselves, and contrive together so far-fetched a scheme, one so infamous and difficult, for the unaccountable purpose of depriving a person, at that time hardly known, of a pension not vacant, which Rousseau would not have obtained if it had, and which not any of the three conspirators had the least pretension to hope for themselves?

Fifthly, After having acknowledged that Rousseau had written the first five couplets that were followed by those which brought on his disgrace, he charges La Motte Houdart with writing a dozen others, in the same stile; and his only proof to support this accusation is, that these dozen couplets, written against a dozen persons that were to assemble at N. de Villiers's

house, were carried by La Motte Houdart himself to the house of N. de Villiers, an hour after Rousseau had been informed that the persons named in the lampoon were to meet at that place. Now, says he, Rousseau could not in so short a time have been able to compose and copy these defamatory verses. It was La Motte Houdart that carried them; ergo, La Motte must have been the author.

On the contrary, it should appear, that since he had the honesty to bring them, he ought not to be suspected for having had the villainy of writing them. They were laid at his door, and at other people's also. He opened the packet, he found in it some gross abuse against all his friends, and against himself too; he produced the libel: nothing could shew his innocence more.

Sixthly, Those who interest themselves in the history of this iniquitous mystery ought to be informed, that there used to be meetings, for a month before, at N. de Villiers's, and that the party was generally composed of those very persons whom Rousseau had before abused in five couplets which he had the imprudence to repeat to many persons. The very first of these same dozen couplets sufficiently pointed out that the persons concerned used to meet together, sometimes at the Coffee-house, and sometimes at N. de Villiers's.

Sots assemblés chez de Villiers ;
 Parmi les fots troupe d'élite,
 D'un vil café dignes pilliers,
 Craignez la fureur qui m'irrite.
 Je vais vous poursuivre en tous lieux,
 Vous noircir, vous rendre odieux ;
 Je veux que partout on vous chante :
 Vous percer et rire à vos yeux
 Est une douceur qui m'enchanté.

Sots associates with Villars,
 Of all dunces the elect ;
 To a tavern-door ye pillars,
 Of my vengeance dread th' effect.

During

During life I will attack ye,
 Damn your fames with loud report,
 And while thus I hew and hack ye,
 Heart could wish no better sport.

Seventhly, It is false that the first five couplets, acknowledged for Rousseau's, only glanced a little ridicule against five or six particular persons, as the memoir pretends to say. They are full as outrageous as the remainder.

Que le bourreau par son valet
 Fasse un jour serrer le fisset
 De Berrin et de sa sequelle ;
 Que Pecour qui fait le ballet
 Ait le fouet au pied de l'echelle.

The hangman will, one day, I hope,
 Stifle the pipes with hempen rope.
 Of Berrin and his screech-owl crew ;
 And may Pecour, who made the ballet *,
 With Berrin's fate in part to tally,
 From beadle's lash receive his due.

Such is the stile of those first five couplets, confessed to be Rousseau's. Surely this is not the *glancing a little ridicule*. The remainder of the piece is written with the same rancour.

Eighthly, As to the last couplets of the same kind, that were the cause of the process commenced against Saurin of the Academy of Sciences, in the year 1710, the memoir says nothing but what the brief of the process had informed us of a long time before. It only asserts, that the unhappy person who was condemned to banishment for having been suborned by Rousseau, should have been sent to the galleys, if he had really been a false witness.

But Le Sieur Boindin is mistaken in this point ; for, in the first place, it had been an absurd piece of injustice to have condemned the *suborned* to the galleys, when they had only deemed the penalty of banishment

Ballet is pronounced *Ballé*. Translator.

against the *suborner*. In the second place, this unhappy person had not been brought as an accuser against Saurin. He could not be intirely suborned. He had only made several declarations contradicting each other; and the nature of his fault, and the weakness of his understanding, did not deserve to exemplary a punishment.

Ninthly, N. Boindin says expressly in his memoir, that the family of Noailles and the Jesuits assisted in the prosecution against Rousseau, and that Saurin made use of their credit and partiality. But I know for a certainty, and many persons still alive know it as well as I, that neither the family of Noailles nor the Jesuits interfered in the matter. Nay, the partiality was, at first, intirely in favour of Rousseau; for though the public clamour was raised against him, he had gained over two Secretaries of State on his side, Monsieur de Pontchartrain and Monsieur Voisin, which the popular clamour could not intimidate. It was by their orders, in form of solicitations, that the Lieutenant-Criminal Le Comte decreed against and imprisoned Saurin, interrogated him, confronted him, re-examined him, and all in the space of twenty-four hours, by a precipitate trial. The Chancellor reprimanded the Lieutenant-Criminal for this violent and unprecedented method of proceeding.

As to the Jesuits, it is so far from being true that they had declared against Rousseau, that immediately after the contradictory sentence of the Châtelet, by which he had been unanimously condemned, he retired to the Noviciate of the Jesuits, under the direction of Father Sanadon, at the time that he appealed to the Parliament.

This retreat among the Jesuits proves two things: the first, that they were not his enemies: the second, that he meant to oppose his practice of religion to the charges of profligacy that had been before brought against him. He had before composed his best Psalms, at the same time that he wrote those loose Epigrams which he entitled the *Gloria Patri*, or *Doxology*, of his Psalms;

Psalms, and Danchet had addressed these lines to him on that occasion :

A te masquer habile,
Traduis tour à tour,
Pétrone à la Ville,
David à la Cour, &c.

To act the artful hypocrite,
Translate by turns, in sport,
Petronius, when you play the cit,
And pious hymns at court, &c.

It cannot then be thought extraordinary, that having assumed the cloak of religion while he wore also that of the Cynic, he should afterwards preserve the first, which was then become so necessary to him. We should not, however, deduce any consequence from this induction ; for no being but God knows the heart of man.

Tenthly, It is important to observe, that during above thirty years which La Motte Houdart, Saurin, and Malafaire, survived this prosecution, not any of them was ever suspected of the least evil transaction, or of the slightest satirical vein. La Motte Houdart never once even replied to those bitter invectives known by the name of *Calotes* *, and other titles, which one or two persons, who were detested by all the world, heaped upon him for a long time. He never dishonoured his talents by satire ; and even in 1709, abused continually by Rousseau, he wrote this fine Ode :

On ne se choisit point son père :
Par un reproche populaire
Le sage n'est point abattu.
Oui, quoi que le vulgaire pense,
Rousseau, la plus vile naissance
Donne du lustre à la vertu, &c.

Since sons their fathers can't elect,
Be wise, Rousseau, then, and neglect.

* *Calote* signifies both a *cap* and a *lampoon*. In which sense the word is to be understood, in this place, I cannot determine, as I never saw the pieces. *Translator.*

The vulgar error and abuse ;
 Not birth, but virtue, forms the man ;
 No other difference should we scan :
 In things what merit, but their use ? &c.

When, I say, he composed this piece, it was rather a lesson of morality and philosophy, than a satire. He exhorted Rousseau, who had disavowed his father, not to be ashamed of his low birth, and advised him to subdue his spirit of envy and of satire. Nothing could less resemble the virulence that breathes throughout the couplets of which he was accused.

But Rousseau, after a condemnation which should have taught him wisdom, whether he was guilty or innocent, could never restrain his natural disposition. He frequently wrote epigrams against the same persons he had abused in the couplets in question, La Faye, Danchet, La Motte Houdart, &c. He made verses against both his old and his new protectors. Several of them are to be seen in a heap of letters, very little deserving to be preserved, which have, however, been published ; and the greatest part of those verses are in the very stile and spirit of the couplets for which the Parliament had condemned him ; witness the following against the famous musician Rameau.

Distillateurs d'accords baroques,
 Dont tant d'idiots sont fêrus,
 Chez les Thraces et les Iroques,
 Portez vos opéra-bourus, &c.

Cease to compose such screech-owl sounds,
 Which only suit an idiot's ear ;
 Thy art all harmony confounds,
 Fit music for a dancing-bear, &c.

There are also others of the same kind, inserted in the collection, intitled *The Porte-Feuille of Rousseau*, written against Abbé Oliver, who had formed a scheme for his return to France. In short, towards the latter end of his life, when he lived for a time concealed in Paris, pretending to give himself up entirely to devotion,

votion, he could not refrain from writing sarcastical epigrams. 'Tis true that age had weakened his stile, but had not reformed his character: whether owing to a contrast in his composition, which is not uncommon in human nature, he joined malevolence to devotion, or from a viciousness, not less common, his devotion was but hypocrisy.

Eleventhly, If Saurin, La Motte, and Malafaire, had concerted the plot together of which they are accused, these three persons having fallen out among themselves since the time of that supposed transaction, it is very extraordinary that nothing of this combination had ever transpired. This reflection is not, indeed, a proof; but, joined to others, it must be allowed to have its weight.

Twelfthly, If a young lad, as simple and ignorant as the person named William Arnold, condemned as a witness suborned by Rousseau, had not been really guilty, he would have declared so; he would have exclaimed against the injustice of his punishment, all his life. But I knew him. His mother was a cook-maid to my father, as is said in the *factum* * of Saurin; and his mother and he both have often acknowledged to me, in the presence of all my family, that his sentence was just.

Why then, after an interval of about forty-two years, should N. Boindin, on his death-bed, leave behind him an authenticated accusation against three persons who had died before him? It might be said that the Memoir had been written twenty years prior to his death; that Boindin hated them all three; that he resented La Motte's not soliciting his admission into the French Academy, and his having declared to him that his enemies, who accused him of Atheism, had been the cause of his exclusion. He had fallen out with Saurin, who was as haughty and inflexible as himself; and had also quarrelled with

* The *factum* is a law-term, in France, for the *brief*, or *state of the case*, of a *Plaintiff*, or *Defendant*. *Translator*.

Malafaire, an harsh and unpolished man. He was likewise become the professed enemy of Lériget de la Faye, who had written the following epigram against him.

Oui, Vadius, on connaît votre esprit ;
 Savoir s'y joint, & quand le cas arrive,
 Qu'œuvre paraît par quelque coin fautive,
 Plus aigrement qui jamais la reprit ?
 Mais on ne voit qu'en vous aussi se montre
 L'art de louer le beau qui s'y rencontre,
 Dont cependant maints beaux esprits font cas.
 De vos pareils que voulez-vous qu'on pense ?
 Eh quoi ! qu'ils font connaisseurs délicats ?
 Pas n'en voudrais tirer la conséquence,
 Mais bien qu'ils sont gens à fuir de cent pas.

Why, Vadius, yes ; your wit we don't dispute,
 Nor yet your learning we shall not refuse.
 If any piece is faulty in its kind,
 A critic more severe we cannot find.
 But to its merits are you so quick-sighted,
 With which all men of taste are so delighted ?
 I answer, No. Then sure all authors may
 'Gainst such illiberal censures justly say,
 " Such want of candour never can be prized,
 " Feared but by fools, by men of sense despised."

This was, in truth, the character of Boindin, who is described in the *Temple of Taste*, under the name of *Bardou*. He was in his Memoir, then, the dupe of his own resentment ; for he was as incapable of saying what he did not believe, as he was of changing any opinion that his mistake or caprice had once possessed him with. His manners were irreproachable ; he led always a philosophic life, even to severity, and performed several actions of generosity ; but his harsh and unfociable temper rendered him subject to many prejudices, of which he was not to be cured.

This whole unhappy affair, which subsisted so long, and with which nobody was better acquainted than myself, took its rise from the innocent amusement that several eminent persons used to indulge themselves in, of meeting in a sociable intercourse together at a coffee-house. But they did not properly

properly observe the first law of society, viz. to preserve good-breeding among one another. They used to criticise each other pretty severely; which, for want of politeness or address, inspired lasting enmities, and sometimes instigated to crimes. We shall leave it now to the reader, whether, in this affair, there be three persons guilty, or only one.

It has been said, that, at least, Saurin might have been the author of the latter couplets attributed to Rousseau. It might possibly be, indeed, that Rousseau, having been confessedly known to be guilty of the first five, which contained the same virulence, Saurin might have added the others to ruin him; though Saurin was at that very time deeply engaged in algebraic calculations; though he was himself grossly abused in the same piece; though all the offended persons unanimously imputed it to Rousseau; and, finally, although Saurin was acquitted of the charge, after a solemn trial: but if the thing is physically within the possibility of fact, it is not within the reasonableness of belief.

Rousseau, indeed, accused him of it, all his life; nay, charged him with the crime in his last testament; but the Professor Rollin, to whom Rousseau communicated this testament when he returned clandestinely to Paris, obliged him to erase that article; so that Rousseau contented himself with protesting his own innocence in his last moments, but never dared to accuse La Motte, either pending the course of the process, or during the rest of his life, nor on his death-bed. He satisfied himself with penning satirical lines against him *. (See the article of JOSEPH SAURIN.)

MATTE-

* The foregoing detail, or argument, may be thought, by the generality of readers, too tedious and uninteresting, as being, in effect, only a pleading in favour of persons long since dead, of whom, probably, they may never have heard before, and about whom, consequently, they cannot be supposed to have any manner of concern. But to a liberal mind the investigation of the question here brought into dispute, must surely be allowed a merit superior to wit or literature, as being an additional proof of that generous and active spirit

MOTTEVILLE (Frances Bertaut de), born in 1615, in Normandy. This Lady has written Memoirs which particularly relate to Anne of Austria, mother to Louis XIV. containing a number of insignificant incidents told with a great air of frankness. She died in 1689.

NAIN DE TILLEMONT (Sebastian le), son to John le Nain, Master of the Requests, born at Paris in 1637, the pupil of Nicole, and one of the most learned Writers of Port-Royal. His *History of the Emperors*, and his sixteen volumes of the *Ecclesiastical History*, are written with as much veracity as the compilations of ancient history would admit of: for all history, before the invention of Printing, was full of contradictions and uncertainty. He died in 1698.

NAUDE (Gabriel), born at Paris, in 1690, was a Physician, but more of a Philosopher. He was first attached to Cardinal Barberini, at Rome; afterwards to Cardinal Richelieu; then to Cardinal Mazarin; and, lastly, to Queen Christina, to the lustre of whose learned Court he for some time contributed. He at length retired to Abbeville, where he died, as soon as he began to be his own master.

Of all his works, his *Apology for the great Men accused of Magic*, is almost the only one which yet remains to us. One might make a much larger book of the

spirit which prompted our author to exert his talents, to expend his fortune, and to employ his influence in vindicating the unfortunate and oppressed families of Calas, of the Syrvens and Barré, &c. Nay, in the present defence there appears to be something even more noble than in the other instances; as in those cases there subsisted still some objects of commiseration to excite humanity; but in this particular, the clients of his patronage no longer existed. The only spirit then which could possibly have actuated him upon this occasion, must certainly have been that which he declares in the preface to this pleading, in these words: "*The interest of Truth alone obliges me, in this place, to exceed the usual bounds of these articles.*"

No acknowledgments, no gratitude, not even the mean consideration of fame, could be expected from the dead. 'Tis the character of the Divine nature to bestow favour on *unprofitable servants*. Yet the true Catholic Church refused this man christian burial in France, because he happened not to be *ritually* orthodox, though he was *virtually* so: his nephew was obliged to carry off his remains to Fernel. *Translator.*

great men who have been accused of impiety since Socrates.

—*Populus nam solos credit habendos
Esse Deos quos ipse colit* *.

NEMOURS (Maria de Longueville Duchefs' of), born in 1625. She wrote some Memoirs, in which are related a few particulars of the unhappy times of the Fronde. She died in 1707.

NEVERS (Philip Duke of). He wrote some poetical pieces in a particular stile. One is not to give intire credit to the sonnet parodied by Racine and Despréaux :

Dans un palais doré Nevers jaloux & blême,
Fait des vers où jamais personne n'entend rien.

Nevers, in gilded domes, envious and pale,
Pens verses that exceed all understanding †.

He wrote many that were easily to be understood, and read too with great pleasure; as those verses, for instance, against Rancé, the famous reformer of La Trappe ‡, who had written against Archbishop Fénelon.

* "The vulgar think there are no Gods, but those whom they themselves worship." *Translator*.

† Boileau has been often charged with a little of that same envious and pale spirit, himself;

"To damn for arts which taught himself to rise."

NÔR was the author of that very line free from the censure of it, in many of his writings—the Dunciad, & *alibi*.

This is very unfair.—Must all artists be run down, who are not at the top of their *metier*? Must no one get bread, but they who deserve cake? Those who attack others, indeed, merit chastisement. The God of Verse himself commenced the precedent, in the example of Marfyas. Zoilus, Bavius, &c. were, therefore, proper objects of satiric resentment; this is but *poet-slaughter*, in one's own defence. But why should your poor harmless poetasters, most of whom but write to eat—not for *fama*, but *fames*—be reduced to starve, or be deprived of even their thin *paper diet*? *Ibid*.

‡ A Convent of the severest Order in France. Perpetual silence is one of their injunctions. *Ibid*.

Cet Abbé qu'on croyait paîtri de sainteté,
 Vieilli dans la retraite & dans l'humilité,
 Orgueilleux de ses croix, bouffi de sa souffrance,
 Rompt ses sacrés statuts en rompant le silence ;
 Et contre un saint Prélat s'animant aujourd'hui,
 Du fond de ses deserts déclame contre lui ;
 Et moins humble de cœur que fier de sa doctrine,
 Il ose décider ce que Rome examine.

That Abbé, deem'd so humble and so holy,
 Grown old in cell and pious melancholy,
 Proud of his crosses, elated with his yoke,
 His sacred vows, at once, and silence broke ;
 Now 'gainst a blameless prelate he declaims,
 And from his cloister stings satire aims ;
 Less meek of heart than flush'd with learning's pride,
 Where Rome yet doubts, he boldly dares decide *.

His wit and his talents were revived and perfected in his grandson. He died in 1707.

NICERON (John-Peter), a Barnabite †, born at Paris, in 1685. He was author of the *Memoirs of the illustrious Men in Literature*. They are not all illustrious ; but he speaks of each of them according to their merits ; he does not call a goldsmith a great man. He deserves to be ranked among the men of useful knowledge. He died in 1738.

NICOLE (Peter), born at Chartres, in 1625. He was one of the best Writers of Port-Royal. What he has written against the Jesuits, is scarcely read, at present ; but his *Essays on Morals*, which are a work useful to mankind, will never be out of date. That chapter, particularly, on the means of preserving peace in society, is a master-piece, to which there is nothing of the same kind that is equal, in all the ancient writings. But that peace is, perhaps, as difficult to establish, as that of the Abbé de Saint Pierre ‡. He died in 1695.

* These lines, with only a few alterations, are borrowed from a former version, as there cannot be a better translation of the original. In such a case it had been affected to have attempted a new one, and unfair to have given a worse. *Translator*.

† A particular Order, in France. *Ibid*.

‡ He wrote a scheme for a perpetual peace in Europe. See the article under his name, in the subsequent part of this Catalogue. *Ibid*.

NIVELLE DE LA CHAUSSEE. He wrote some Comedies in a new and tender stile, which met with success *. It is true, that, as a writer of Comedies, he wanted a real comic genius. Many persons of taste could not bear Comedies where there were no lively scenes to be met with; but there is certainly great merit in being able to affect an audience, to treat a moral well, and to compose elegant verses, correctly written; and these were the talents of this author. He was born in the reign of Louis XIV.

It has been said, that where he approaches the tragic strain, in his pieces, he is not always sufficiently interesting, and what is meant for mere comedy, is not humorous enough. The proper mixture of these different metals is very difficult to be hit on. However, La Chaussée is reckoned among the first writers who rank after those of true genius. He died about the year 1750.

• NODOT is only known from his *Fragments of Petronius*, which he had found at Belgrade, in 1688; and the hiatus's that he has filled up do not seem to be such bad Latin as his adversaries have deemed them. There may be met with in those places some words and expressions, I confess, that neither Cicero, Virgil, nor Horace ever made use of; but Petronius himself is full of such phrases, or idioms, which more modern manners and later usages had given rise to.

I do not insert this article relating to Nodot, for any other reason than to make known that this satire of Petronius is not that which the Consul Petronius is reported to have sent to Nero, just before he had his veins opened: *flagitia Principis sub nominibus exoletorum, feminarumque, et novitate cujusque stupri præscripta, atque obſignata miſit Neroni.*

It is supposed that the Professor *Agamemnon* meant Seneca; but the stile of Seneca is the direct opposite to that of Agamemnon, *turgida oratio*; and Nodot's *Agamemnon* is a flat declaimer of the Schools.

† This is what is now stiled *La Comédie larroyante*. Translator.

The character of *Trimalcion* is as absurdly supposed to be designed for Nero. How could a young Emperor, who, after all, had wit and talents, be represented by an old ridiculous tax-gatherer, who made feasts for paralitcs still more ridiculous than himself, and who speaks with as much stupidity and ignorance as the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, the *Gentleman Cit*, of Moliere?

How could the dirty idiot Fortunata, who is much below *Madame Jourdain**, be supposed the wife or mistress of Nero? What connection could a set of rabble, who sculk in blind alleys, and support themselves by filching, have with the magnificent and voluptuous Court of an Emperor? What person of common sense, in reading this licentious writing, must not immediately conclude, that it was penned by some loose young fellow of parts, but whose taste had not been yet formed; who, according to the vein he was in, wrote sometimes good lines, and sometimes bad ones; who mixes often low humour with higher wit; and who was himself an example of the decadence of taste which he complains of?

The key they have given to Petronius is much such another as they have made to the Characters of La Bruyère. Both are written by guess.

D'OLIVET (Joseph), an Abbé, Counsellor of Honour to the Council of the Counts de Dôle, also a Member of the French Academy. He was born at Salins in 1682. He obtained a name in literature by his *History of the Academy*, at a time when they despaired of ever seeing any thing of the kind which should equal that by Pellisson.

We owe him also most elegant and faithful translations of the philosophic writings of Cicero, enriched with judicious remarks. All that author's works, printed under his inspection, and illustrated with his notes, are a noble monument to prove that the study of the Ancients was not neglected in this age. He spoke his own language with as much purity as Tully did his, and has rendered

* A Character in the play before mentioned. *Translator.*

great service to the French Grammar, by observations both critical and ingenious.

We owe to him, likewise, the edition of a book intitled, *Of the Weakness of the Human Understanding*, written by M. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, after a long experience had taught him to despise the absurd rutilities of the Schools, and the rubbish of the barbarous ages.

The Jesuits, authors of the *Journal des Sçavans*, exclaimed against the Abbé d'Oliver, and denied that book to be written by Bishop Huet, on the sole pretence that it was unbecoming an old Prelate of Normandy to pronounce the school-divinity to be ridiculous, and that the legends resembled the four sons of Aimon; as if it was necessary to the edification of the world, that a Norman Bishop should be a driveller. In the same manner they affirmed, that the Memoirs of Cardinal De Retz were not written by himself. The Abbé d'Oliver answered them, in the best manner possible, by producing the original copy before the Academy, in Bishop Huet's own manuscript. His age and his merit are our excuse for placing him, as well as the President Henault, in a list where we have made it a rule not to speak of any but the dead.

D'ORLEANS (Joseph), a Jesuit. He was the first person that ever chose in history the revolutions of States for his sole subject. Those of England, which he wrote, are in an eloquent stile; but since the æra of Henry VIII. he is more copious than faithful. He died in 1698.

OZANAM (James) was born a Jew, near Dombes, in 1640. He taught himself geometry, without a master, at the age of fifteen. He was the first that ever wrote a *Mathematical Dictionary*. His *Mathematical Recreations* are always upon sale. He died in 1717*.

* He used to say that the illiterate knew as much about religion, as the most learned, which was *very far from* reducing the true sense of it to practice. He told the Sorbonne may dispute, and the Pope may decide, but a Mathematician should go to heaven in a *perpendicular line*. *Traverser.*

PAGI (Antony), a Provençal, born in 1624. He was a Franciscan. He corrected Baronius, and had a pension from the Clergy for that work. He died in 1699.

PAPIN (Isaac), born at Blois, in 1657. A Calvinist. He quitted his religion, and then wrote against it. He died in 1709.

PARDIES (Ignatius-Gaston). A Jesuit, born at Pau, in 1638, known by his *Elements of Geometry*, and by his treatise *On the Souls of Brutes*.

To imagine with Descartes that the Brute Creation are but simple machines, void of sensations, though formed with the proper organs for them, is to deny experience, and to affront Nature. To say that they are informed with a pure spirit, is to affirm what it is impossible to prove. To acknowledge that the inferior animals are endowed with sensations and memory, without pretending to know how they operate, is talking like a rational man, who knows that ignorance is a better thing than error. For of what work of Nature do we know the first principles? He died in 1673.

PARENT (Anthony), born at Paris, in 1646. A good Mathematician. He is another of those who taught themselves geometry, without a master. What is the most remarkable thing in his character, is, that he lived a long time at Paris, free and happy, upon an income that was scarcely two hundred livres a-year. He died in 1716.

PASCAL (Blaise), born in 1623, son of the first Intendant that was appointed at Rouen, and a most forward genius; but he would exert the superiority of his talents, as Kings do their power, by presuming to subject and overcome every thing by authority. The despotic and supercilious air which he manifests in his *Thoughts on various Subjects*, has disgusted many readers. He should have proposed his reasons more modestly. However, both eloquence and the French language are much indebted to him.

The

The enemies of Pascal and of Arnold contrived to suppress their elogies, in the catalogue of *Illustrious Men*, published by Perrault; upon which occasion this passage of Tacitus was cited—*Præfulgebant Cæsar et Brutus eo ipso quod eorum effigies non vixebantur*. He died in 1662.

PATIN (Guy), born at Houdan, in 1601. He was a physician, but more famous for his slanderous letters than his medicines. A collection of them was read with avidity, because they contained private anecdotes, and the occurrences of the times, of which every one is fond; and satires too, of which they are still sonder. They serve to shew that cotemporary writers, who minute down the news of the day, are but treacherous guides for history. These articles of intelligence are often found to be false in fact, or misrepresented through malignity. Besides, these multitudes of trifling facts are only relished by small geniuses. He died in 1672.

PATIN (Charles), born at Paris, in 1633, was son to Guy Patin. His works are read by the studious, and those of his father by the idle. He was a learned Antiquary; but quitted France, and died Professor of Physic at Padua, in 1693.

PATRU (Oliver), born at Paris, in 1604; the first who introduced purity of language at the Bar. He received, in his last sickness, a gratuity from Louis XIV. who had been told that he was poor. He died in 1681*.

PAVILLON (Stephen), born at Paris, in 1632. He was Attorney General to the Parliament of Metz, and known by some pieces of poetry written in a natural and unaffected stile. He died in 1705.

PELISSON-FONTANIER (Paul), born a Calvinist, at Béziers, in 1624. An indifferent poet, but a man of great knowledge and eloquence. He was first-clerk and

* Upon his being received into the French Academy, he made an oration of thanks, which first introduced that custom, and which has continued, ever since. *Translator.*

confidant to the Superintendant Fouquet; and sent to the Bastille in 1661, where he remained four years and a half, for having been faithful to his master; and spent the remainder of his life in bestowing eulogiums on the King that had deprived him of his liberty. Such things never happen but in monarchies*.

Being more of a courtier than a philosopher, he changed his religion, and made his fortune. Master of the Exchequer, Master of the Requests, and Abbé, he was commissioned to employ one-third of his stewardship to make the Huguenots quit their religion, as he had done.

His History of the Academy was much applauded. He wrote many other works: *Prayers for the Mass*, a *Collection of galant pieces*, a *Treatise on the Eucharist*, besides a number of love odes to *Olympia*.

This Olympia was Mademoiselle Des-Vieux, who was said to have been contracted to the celebrated M. Bossuet, before he had entered into the church. But the works that did Péliссon the most honour, were his excellent defence of Monsieur Fouquet, and his *History of the Conquest of Franche-Comté*.

The Protestants say that he died with perfect indifference; the Catholics say quite the contrary; but both agree that he died without the sacrament. He died in 1693.

PERRAULT (Claudius), born at Paris, in 1613. He was a Physician, but never practised in his profession, except for the relief of his friends. He became, without the assistance of any master, eminent in drawing and mechanics. He was a good physician, a good architect, an encourager of the arts under the protection of Colbert, and enjoyed a reputation, in spite of Boileau†. He died in 1688.

PERRAULT (Charles), born in 1626, brother to the former. He was Comptroller-General of the Buildings under Colbert, formed the plan of the Academies of Paint-

* Where can Kings be praised, but in monarchies? *Translator*.

† Who abused him. *Ibid*.

ing, Sculpture and Architecture; and was very serviceable to men of letters, who paid him great court during the life of his patron, but abandoned him after his death.

He is reproached with having too much under-rated the merits of the Ancients; but his greatest fault was the bad criticisms he made on them*, and his having made enemies even of those whom he might have brought into competition with them. This question (between the Ancients and the Moderns) has been, and will continue long, a divided opinion, as much as it was in the days of Horace. There are numbers of people in Italy who cannot read Homer without being tired, and every day Ariosto and Tasso with delight call Homer, notwithstanding, *incomparable*! He died in 1703.

N. B. It is said in the *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. II. page 27, that Addison having made a present of his works to Despreaux, he, in return, assured him that he would never have written against Perrault, if he had before perused such excellent pieces by a modern hand. How could they insert such an absurd falsity? Boileau never understood a word of English; no Frenchman studied the language at that time: it was not till towards the year 1730 that they began to be at all acquainted with it. Besides, even though Addison, who used to ridicule Boileau, was acquainted with him, why should not Boileau have written against Perrault in favour of the Ancients, whose praise is exalted by Addison in all his works? But, as I said somewhere before, let us never give credit to any of these *anas*, to any of these little anecdotes. A sure way to talk like a fool, is to repeat at hazard whatever one hears.

* From which circumstance it may be supposed that he wanted taste for their beauties, or was not sufficient master of their language. This, at least the latter part, was exactly the case of Voltaire himself, with regard to Shakespeare; he first translated him ill, and then criticised his own travesty. *Transf.*

PETAU (Denis), born at Orleans, in 1583. A Jesuit. He reformed the chronology, and wrote seventy works. He died in 1652 *.

PETIS DE LA CROIX (Francis) was one of those whom the great Minister Colbert encouraged, and whose merit he rewarded. Louis XIV. sent him into Turkey and into Persia, at the age of sixteen, to learn the Oriental languages. Who would believe that he composed a part of the life of Louis XIV. in Arabic, and that the book is esteemed in the East?

He wrote the *History of Gengis-Kan, and of Tamerlane, compiled from the ancient Arabian Authors*, and several other useful books; but his translation of the *Thousand and one Days* †, is more read than any of them.

L'homme est de glace aux vérités,
Il est de feu pour le mensonge.

Though men to truth are cold as ice,
Their hearts are warm to subtle fiction.

He died in 1713.

PETIT (Peter), born at Paris, in 1617. A philosopher and a man of knowledge. He only wrote in Latin. He died in 1687.

PEZROM (Paul), of the Cistercian Order. He was born in Bretagne, in 1639. A great Antiquary, who investigated the origin of the Celtic language ‡. He died in 1706.

PIN (Louis du), born in 1637. A Doctor of the Sorbonne. His *Library of Ecclesiastical Authors* has gained him much reputation, and some enemies. He died in 1719.

PLACETTE (John la), of Bearn ||, born in 1639. A protestant minister at Copenhagen and in Holland. Esteemed for various works. He died at Utrecht, in 1718.

* He is more generally known by the appellation of *Petavius*. *Trans.*

† Should it not be *Nights*? *Ibid.*

‡ The language of the Goths. *Ibid.*

|| A province of France; which I mention, to distinguish it, from Bearn in Switzerland. *Ibid.*

POLIGNAC (Melchior de), a Cardinal, born at Velay, in 1662. He was as good a Latin poet as any one can be in a dead language; and a man of great eloquence in his own. He was one of those who have proved that it is easier to write Latin than French verses. Unluckily for him, in combating Lucretius*, he happened to oppose Newton. He died in 1741.

DE PONTIS. His Memoirs have been so much in vogue, that it is necessary to say that this man, who had done so many great things for the service of the King, is the only one who never mentioned him; therefore these Memoirs are not his. They were the production of Du Fossé, one of the Writers of Port Royal. He pretends that his hero took the name of his estate in Dauphiné; but there is no manor of that denomination in Dauphiné. It is even doubtful whether there is such a place as Pontis existing any where.

The Portative Historical Dictionary, in four volumes, affirms that these Memoirs are genuine. They are, however, stuffed with fables, as Father d'Avrigny has proved, in the preface to his historical memoirs.

POREE (Charles), born in Normandy, in 1675. A Jesuit. He was one of the small number of Professors who was well esteemed in the polite world. His eloquence was in the stile of Seneca. He was a poet and a man of wit. His greatest merit was to render his pupils fond of letters and of virtue. He died in 1741.

LA PORTE, first Valet-de-chambre to the Queen-Mother, and some time also to Louis XIV. He was thrown into prison by Cardinal Richelieu, and threatened with death, to force him to betray the secrets of his mistress, which, however, he did not reveal.

Among the heap of memoirs that unfold the history of that age, those of La Porte are not to be despised; they shew an honest man, an enemy to artifice or flattery, and rigid even to pedantry. He acknowledges he had informed the Queen that her too great familiarity with Cardinal Mazarin diminished the respect of her nobles and people towards her.

In his *Anti-Lucretius; seu de Deo et Naturâ*. Translator.

There is in these Memoirs an anecdote on the infancy of Louis XIV. that ought to have rendered the memory of Cardinal Mazarin execrable, if he had been capable of the shameful crime which La Porte seems to impute to him.

* * * * *

Puy (Peter du), son to Claudius du Puy, Counsellor to the Parliament, a very learned man, was born in France, in 1583. The knowledge of Peter du Puy was useful to the State. He laboured more than any one at searching out old maps, and seeking after the crown-lands that had been swallowed up in many manors. He unravelled the intricacies of the Salic law as much as it was possible, and proved the liberties of the Gallican Church were only a part of the original rights of the ancient Churches. It appears from his history of the Knights-Templars, that there were many criminal persons among them, but that the condemnation of the whole Order upon that account, and the execution of so many of the members, were acts of the most cruel injustice that ever were committed. He died in 1652.

PUY-SEGUR (the Marshal de) has left us an *Art of War*, as Boileau has given us an *Art of Poetry*.

QUESNEL (Pâquier), born in 1634, of the Oratory. He was very unhappy in having become the subject of a great dissention among his compatriots. Besides, he lived poor, and in exile.

His manners were severe, as they are of all those who pass their lives in disputes. About thirty pages altered and softened in his book, would have saved his country much contention; but then his name had not been so famous. He died in 1719*.

* His *Moral Reflections upon the New Testament*, a work of great merit, gave the most offence to the *Jesuits*, as containing some tenets which favoured Jansenism. The famous (*infamous*) Bull *Unigenitus* condemned 101 propositions contained in it. *Translator.*

QUIEM

QUIEN (Michael le), born in 1661. A Dominican. A man of great knowledge. He laboured much about the Eastern Churches, and also about the English Hierarchy. He particularly wrote against Le Courayer, on the validity of ordinations by Protestant Bishops; but the English set as little value upon these disputes, as the Turks did on the dissertations about the Greek Church. He died in 1703.

QUINAULT (Philip), born at Paris, in 1635, Auditor of Accounts, celebrated on account of his sweet lyric poems, and for the mildness which he opposed to the very unjust satires of Boileau against him.

Quinault was in his way much superior to Lulli*. He will be always read; and Lulli, excepting his recitative, will scarcely ever be sung any more. However, it was thought, in the time of Quinault, that he owed all his reputation † to Lulli. Time ascertains the true value of every thing.

He shared, in common with other great men, the bounty of Louis XIV. but it was a pittance. The greater liberality was bestowed on Lulli. He died in 1688.

N. B. There is a story in the *Literary Anecdotes*, that Boileau, being at the Opera-House at Versailles, said to the box-keeper, "Sir, place me where I cannot hear the words. I am fond of the music of Lulli, but have a sovereign contempt for the metre ‡ of Quinault."

It is not probable, however, that Boileau ever said so gross a thing. If they had restrained themselves to have made him say, "Place me where I can only hear the music," it had been enough; but it would have been, nevertheless, unjust. Lulli has been surpassed in every thing, except his Recitatives; but Quinault has never been equalled.

* Quinault wrote Operas, and Lulli composed the music to them. *Translator.*

† Whole music was thought to have brought the Author's Poetry into vogue. *Ibid.*

‡ The word is *Musique* here, which I have taken the liberty of changing, in order to mark the distinction between the Poet and the Musician, which is confounded in the original. *Ibid.*

QUINCY

QUINCY (the Marquis de), Lieutenant-General of the Artillery, and Author of *The Military History of Louis XIV.* He enters into minute details, which may be useful to those who would follow in their reading the operations of a campaign. These details may furnish examples, in cases exactly the same way circumstanced; but this is rarely met with, either in business or in war. The resemblances are always imperfect, and the differences always great. The conduct of war is like games of skill, which can only be learned by practice, and the days of action are often but games of chance.

QUINTINIE (John la), born at Poitiers, in 1626. He taught the art of cultivating gardens, and of transplanting trees. His precepts have been followed by all Europe, and his talents were liberally rewarded by Louis XIV.

RACINE (John), born at La Ferté Milon, in 1639. He was educated at Port Royal. He wore the ecclesiastical habit when he wrote the Tragedy of *Theagenes*, which he dedicated to Molière, and that of *The Brother Enemies*, of which Molière had given him the subject. He is intitled Prior of Epinal, in the *Privilege du Roi* of his *Andromac'ée*.

Louis XIV. was sensible of his extraordinary merit. He appointed him one of his Gentlemen in Ordinary, named him sometimes of his parties to Marly, made him lie in his chamber in one of his illnesses, and heaped kindnesses upon him; notwithstanding which, poor Racine died of grief, or fear, at his having offended him. He was not so great a philosopher as he was a poet.

The world rendered him but tardy justice. "We have been affected (says St. Evremond) by Mariamne, by Sophonisba, by Alcione, by Andromache, and by Britannicus." Thus did they place not only the wretched Sophonisba of Corneille, but even the poor pieces of Alcione and of Mariamne by the side of his immortal master pieces. The gold is confounded with the clay during the lives of the artists—it is death that separates them.

It is worthy of remark, that Racine having consulted Corneille upon his Tragedy of *Alexander*, Corneille advised him never to attempt the Buskin; assuring him, that he had not the least talent for such kind of composition.

We should not forget to mention here, that Racine wrote against the Jansenists, and afterwards turned Jansenist himself. He died in 1699.

RACINE (Louis), son to the immortal John Racine, followed the traces of his father, but in a path too narrow, and unworthy the Muses. He understood the mechanism of verse as well as his father, but possessed neither his genius nor his graces. He wanted both invention and imagination*.

He was a Jansenist as well as his father, and most of his verses were written for that sect. There are some good lines to be found in his Poem on Grace, and in that on Religion too; though this latter is too didactic and formal for poetry, and merely a transcript of *Pascal's Reflections*; but enlivened by some fine descriptions, such as those in the second Canto, in which he both translates and controverts Lucretius.

Cet esprit, ô mortels ! qui vous rend si jaloux,
N'est qu'un feu qui s'allume & s'éteint avec vous.
Quin't par d'âtreux fillos l'implacable vieillisse
A sut un front hideux imortimé la tristesse,
Que dans un corps courbé sous un amas de jours,
Le sang comme à regret semble achever son cours ;
Lorsqu'en des yeux couverts d'un lugubre nuage
Il n'entoe des objets qu'une infidèle image ;
Qu'en débris chaque jour le corps tombe & périt :
En ruines aussi je vois tomber l'esprit.
L'ame mourante alors, flambeau sans nourriture,
Jette par intervalle une lueur obscure.
Triste destin de l'homme ! il arrive au tombeau,
Plus faible, plus enfant qu'il ne l'est au berceau.

* The press labours under such *mechanical* Poets, every day ; who not being able to write good prose, shield their weakness under bad verse. Some great names may be ranked under the first part of the above description, though they deserve neither of the censures in the latter part. Sense and wit cannot make a Poet ; they are but his body. Invention and imagination are his soul. *Translator.*

When

La mort du coup fatal frappe enfin l'édifice :
 Dans un dernier soupir achevant son supplice,
 Lorsque vuide de sang le cœur reste glacé,
 Son ame s'évapore, & tout l'homme est passé.

That soul, vain mortals, which ye rate so high,
 Connate with us is form'd to live and die.
 When loathsome wrinkles shail in time disgrace
 The florid hue of Youth's once jocund face ;
 When through decrepid limbs the blood's weak force
 With lingering labours to perform its course ;
 When eyes deep sunk are dimm'd by length of years,
 Through which each object faithlessly appears ;
 When such impais betoken our decay,
 The soul responsive languishes away :
 For she, but nourish'd in the body's frame,
 Like lamps exhausted, yields a quivering flame.
 Hard fate of man ! whose lot is to be curst
 With second childhood, feebler than the first !
 Death strikes, at length, the nodding edifice,
 When soul and body perish in a trice :
 For when this vaunted soul breathes out its date,
 The compound Man becomes annihilate *.

He sometimes challenges, in this Poem, the
 " Whatever is, is right," of Shaftesbury and Boling-
 broke, so well put into verse by Pope.

Sans doute qu'à ces mots des bords de la Tamise,
 Quelque abstrait raisonneur qui ne se plaint de rien,
 Dans son flegme Anglican s'écriera, Tout est bien.

Without doubt, at these words, on the banks of the Thames,
 Some Stoic abstract, who concerns him at nought,
 With a true British phlegm, cries, *Things are as they ought.*

Racine, in quality of Jansenist, was of opinion that
 almost every thing has been wrong a long time. He
 accused Pope of irreligion. Pope was the son of a Pa-
 pist, which is the denomination given to Roman Catholics
 in England. Pope, educated in that religion, which he
 sometimes turns into ridicule in his Epistles, would ne-

* M. Voltaire's turn of mind may be plainly seen by the piece he
 quotes from him. He did not chuse openly to support the opinion he
 here republishes, but takes care to drop it in your way, *en passant*, as
 if by accident. *Translator.*

ver, however, quit it, though he was philosopher, or rather because he was philosopher enough to think that it was of little consequence to change it.

Pope was much piqued at the accusations of Racine, and Ramsley undertook to reconcile them. He was a Scotchman, of the clan of the Ramseys, of which he took the name, according to the custom of that country. He came into France, after having taken his degrees in Presbyterianism, Protestantism, and Quakerism, and attached himself to the illustrious Fenelon, whose life he has written. He was the author of *Cyrus*, a very feeble imitation of Tlemachus. He ventured to write a letter to Racine, under the name of Pope, in which he seems to vindicate himself.

I lived a whole year with Mr. Pope: I knew that he was incapable of writing in French, that he could hardly speak a sentence in our language, and perused our authors with great difficulty. This was publickly known in England. I therefore assured Racine that this letter was written by Ramsley, and not by Pope. I was willing to shew him the ridiculousness of such a lineſſe. I alſo gave the ſtory to the Public, in a chapter on Pope, which was reprinted often during the life of Pope himſelf.

However, after his death, Abbé L'Avocat printed this forged letter of Ramsley's, and has imputed it to Pope in his *Portative Historical Dictionary*, where he has alſo copied ſeveral articles from the firſt editions of this Catalogue of Writers of the Age of Louis XIV. into which he has inſerted many anecdotes that are intirely falſe. It is but juſtice to advertiſe the Public of the truth.

RANCE (John de Bouthillier), born in 1626, began with tranſlating *Anacreon*, and inſtituted the ſevere reſorm of La Trappe, in 1664. He exempted himſelf, as legiſlator, from the law which obliges thoſe who are there buried alive, to be ignorant of all the affairs of this world. He wrote with elegance.

What inſtancy in human nature! After having founded and governed his inſtitution, he reſigned the
super-

superintendency of it, and afterwards strove to regain it. He died in 1700.

RAPIN (René, or Renatus), born at Tours, in 1621. A Jesuit, known by the Poem of *The Gardens*, in Latin, and by several other literary works. He died in 1687.

RAPIN DE THOYRAS (Paul), born at Castres, in 1661, a refugee in England, and a long time an Officer there. England was for many years indebted to him for the only compleat good history ever compiled of that kingdom, and the only impartial one they had of a country where a spirit of party mixes itself with every thing. It was even the only history which could be named in Europe as any way approaching toward the perfection required in works of this kind, till there lately appeared one published by the celebrated Hume, who knew how to write history like a philosopher. He died at Wetel, in 1725.

REGIS (Sylvan), born at Agenois, in 1632. His philosophical writings have lost all their currency, from the great discoveries that have been made since. He died in 1707.

REGNARD (Francis), born at Paris, in 1647. His voyages alone would have rendered him famous. He was the first Frenchman who had ever travelled as far as Lapland. He graved upon a rock there, this verse:

Sistimus hic tandem nobis ubi desuit orbis.

He was taken captive on the sea, near Provence, by the Corsairs, and made a slave at Algiers; ransomed from thence, and established in France in the offices of Treasurer of the Kingdom, and Lieutenant of the Waters and the Forests. He lived both a voluptuary and a philosopher.

He was born with a lively genius, gay, and truly comic. His Comedy of *The Gamester* is ranked with those of Moliere. One must be very ignorant of the genius or talents of Authors, to imagine he had stolen this piece from Dufrené. He dedicated his Comedy of the *Me-
nechmi*

~~reche~~ Despréaux, and afterwards wrote against him, because he thought Boileau did not do him justice.

This man, so gay in his life, died of chagrin, at the age of fifty-two. It was whispered also that he had precipitated his death, which happened in 1699.

REGNIER DESMARETS (Seraphim), born at Paris, in 1632. He has rendered great service to letters, and is author of some French and Italian poetry. He made one of his Italian pieces pass for Petrarch's. He could not have passed his French verses, however, under the name of any great poet. He died in 1713.

RENAUDOT (Theophrastus), a physician, and very knowing in more things than one. He was the first publisher of Gazettes in France. He died in 1720.

RENAUDOT (Eusebius), born in 1646, very knowing in history, and well skilled in the Oriental languages. He ought to be reproached with having prevented the Dictionary of M. Bayle from being printed in France. He died in 1720.

REYNEAU (Charles), born in 1656. He was of the Oratory, and of the Academy of Sciences. He was author of the *Analysis demonstrated*, published in 1708. He was styled the *Euclid* of the higher geometry. He died in 1728.

RICHELET (Cæsar-Peter), the first who ever published a dictionary chiefly satirical *; an example more dangerous than useful. He is also the first author of a dictionary in rhimes; a poor work, which only serves to shew how few good or rich rhimes there are in our poetry, and proves the great difficulty there is to write tolerable verse in the French language.

RICHELIEU (the Cardinal de). As Louis XIV. was born during his ministry, we ought to class among the writers of this illustrious Age the founder of the French Academy, and author himself of several works. He framed *The Method of Controversy*, during his exile at Avignon, after the assassination of the Marshals D'An-

* To which may be added, *obscenical* too. *Translator.*

cre and Galigai, his protectors. His *Principal-Points of the Catholic Religion*, *Instructions for a Christian*, and *The Perfection of a Christian*, were written about the same time.

It is, however, certain, that he did not compose *The Perfection of a Christian* at the time that he had the Marshal of Marillac condemned to death in his own house at Ruel, and that he was with Marion de l'Orme in his apartment, when the Judges pronounced the sentence dictated by him.

There are several verses in his stile, in the allegorical Tragi-comedy intitled *Europe*, and in the Tragedy of *Miramis*. It is said that he gave to five different authors the subjects of pieces that were afterwards represented at the Cardinal's palace; and that he had done better only to have employed Corneille, and left the subject to his own choice. But the best of his works was the dike at Rochelle*.

The Abbé L'Avocat, Librarian of the Sorbonne, pretends, in his *Historical Dictionary*, that Cardinal Richelieu was author of the *Testament* which passes under his name. He thought it was becoming in him to pay some respect to the memory of the benefactor of the Sorbonne; but it was rendering a great disservice to his memory, to accuse him of having written a book in which there are faults of every kind. If, unhappily, a Minister of State could have been capable of composing so wretched a work, all that can be concluded from it is, that a man may be a great Minister, or rather, a successful one, with a perfect ignorance of the most common facts, liable to the grossest errors, and apt to form the most ridiculous projects. It is then to vindicate the memory of Cardinal Richelieu to demonstrate, as has already been done, that he could not be the author of this same *Testament*, which, without his name, would have never been taken notice of.

* He contrived a dike to stop up the harbour of Rochelle, then in possession of the Huguenots, which prevented their being relieved by sea, and enabled Louis XIII. to take the town. *Translator*.

The Abbé L'Avocat, though he was Librarian of the ~~the~~ Sorbonne, is deceived in saying, that there was found in that library a manuscript of this work, with marginal notes, in the Cardinal's own hand-writing. The only manuscript so marked, is one among the collection of papers relative to foreign affairs, and which was not placed there till the year 1705. It is not the Testament that is so marked, but a succinct narrative, composed by the Abbé de Bourzeis, to which, a long time after, was added this surreptitious Testament; and the very marginal notes themselves, written by the hand of the Cardinal, prove that this succinct narrative was not his, as they point out the omissions of the Abbé de Bourzeis, which should be supplied. See the Answer to Mr. de Fonce-magne.

There has been attributed to Cardinal Richelieu, *A History of a Mother and her Son*. This is a recital, false in many particulars, of the unhappy disputes between Louis XIII. and his mother. This feeble and maimed history is probably written by Mezeray. But among the multitude of books with which the world is at present encumbered, what signifies it from what hand an indifferent one has proceeded? He died in 1642.

RIER (Andrew du), Gentleman in Ordinary of the Bedchamber to the King, was a long time employed at Constantinople, and in Egypt. He has left us a translation of the *Alcoran*, and of the *History of Persia*.

RIER (Peter du), born at Paris, in 1605. Secretary to the King, and Historiographer of France. He remained poor all his life, notwithstanding his appointments. He wrote nineteen dramatic pieces, and made thirteen translations, which were all of them well received in his time. He died in 1658.

ROCHEFOUCAULT (Francis Duke of), born in 1613. His Memoirs are read, and his Reflections are got by heart. He died in 1680*.

ROHAULT (James), born at Amiens, in 1620. He abridged and explained, with perspicuity and method,

* He was of the French School, as it may be styled—one of those libellers of mankind who admit no virtue in human nature. *Translator.*

the philosophy of Descartes. But at present that philosophy, erroneous almost in every thing, has no other merit, except that of being opposed to the errors of the Ancients. He died in 1675^a.

ROLLIN (Charles), born at Paris, in 1661. He was Rector of the University, and the first of that Body who wrote French with purity and eloquence; though the latter volumes of his *Ancient History*, composed in too great haste by other hands, are not equal to the first part, because compilers are seldom eloquent, and Rollin was: they are, however, the best compilation that we have in any language.

His work would have been more valuable, if the author had been more of a philosopher. There are a great many ancient histories, but there are none which shew that philosophic spirit of investigation which distinguishes the true from the false, the probable from the improbable, and passes over every circumstance useless to information or reflection. He died in 1741.

ROTROU (John), born in 1609, the founder of the Theatre. The first Scene, and a part of the fourth Act, of his *Wenceslaus*, a Tragedy, are master pieces. Corneille called him his father. But we know how much the son excelled the father. *Wenceslaus* was not composed till after the *Cid*. He died in 1650.

ROUSSEAU (John-Baptist), born at Paris, in 1650. Good verses, great faults, and long misfortunes, have rendered him famous. We must either impute to him the couplets which caused his banishment; couplets on the same side with many others which he acknowledged, or brand the two Tribunals which decreed against him. Not but that two Tribunals, or even a more numerous body, might have unanimously committed as violent acts of injustice, where a spirit of party prevails; and there was a powerful party roused against Rousseau. Few men ever excited, or sustained, more enmity. The whole Public rose up against him till his banishment.

* He wrote also some philosophical works himself, which have merit. They are against substantial forms, against the attrition of souls to the true creation, and against physical accidents.
Translator.

and even for some years after; but, at length, the success of La Motte, his rival, the reception he met with, his reputation, which was thought usurped, the arts he made use of to establish to himself a sort of sovereignty in literature, provoked all the men of letters to revolt against him, and reconciled them again to Rousseau, whom they stood in no awe of. They brought over most of the Public to his side. La Motte appeared to them too happy, because he was rich, and in favour. But they forgot that this man was blind, and labouring under disease. They considered Rousseau only as an unfortunate exile, without reflecting that it is a greater misfortune to be blind and diseased, than to live at Vienna or Brussels. They were both, in truth, very unhappy; the one by nature, and the other from the unlucky circumstance which occasioned his sentence; and both together serve to shew how much injustice there is in Mankind, how capricious they are in their judgments, and what folly it is to be over-anxious about their opinions. He died at Brussels, in 1740.

Rousseau had neither humour, nor grace, nor sentiment, nor invention, in any of his works. He could turn a stanza, or a loose epigram, tolerably well; but his epistles are written with an iron pen dip in the most loathsome gall*. He calls the Mademoiselles Louvancourt, who were three lovely sisters, a *trois of fierce women*. He calls the Counsellor of State M. Rouillie, a *bragg, snappish, clownish jack-pudding*, after having been profuse in his encomiums on him in a former very indignant ode. The epithets of *rapscallions*, *scoundrels*, &c. tarnish his epistles. We should certainly maintain a spirited demeanour towards our enemies; but such scurrility as this, without the least wit or humour, shews the reverse of a noble soul.

As to the couplets which drove him into banishment, see the articles LA MOTTE and SYMONE.

It must be sufficient here to observe, that Rousseau having confessed he had written five of these unfortunate

* A strange metaphor. •Translator.

couplets, was guilty of all the others, in the opinion of all his judges, and of all impartial men. His conduct after his condemnation is far from being any proof in his favour. There are letters yet extant from the Sieur Medine of Bruffels, in one of which, dated May 7, 1737, are these words: "Rousseau had no other table but mine, no other asylum but my house; he kissed and embraced me a hundred times the very day that he pressed my creditors to arrest me."

Add to this a pilgrimage he went to Our Lady of Hall, and then judge whether his denial of the couplets is to be credited upon his own asseveration.

RUE (Charles de la), born in 1643. A Jesuit. A French and Latin poet, and a preacher. He was one of those who were employed upon the books intitled the *Dauphins**, for the education of Monseigneur. Virgil was the author that fell to his lot.

He wrote several Tragedies and Comedies. His Tragedy of *Sylla* was offered to the Theatre, but refused. He composed another, called *Lyfimachus*. It is believed that he wrote great part of the *Adriana*. He lived in close intimacy with Baron, the actor, from whom he learned to declaim. There are two sermons of his that were much extolled; one called the *Dying Sinner*, and the other the *Dead Sinner*. It was advertised when he was to preach them. He died in 1725.

RUINART (Thierry), a Benedictine, who died in 1707. He was a laborious critic. He supported the argument against Dodwell †, that "the Church had, in its primitive times, a prodigious multitude of martyrs." Perhaps he did not sufficiently distinguish the martyrs from those who died according to the common fate of mortality; the persecutions on the score of religion, from those that arose from political motives. Be that as it will, he is reckoned among the learned men of his time.

It was principally in this age that the Benedictines made the most profound researches; as Martène upon

* An edition of the Classics noted *In Usam Delphini*. Translator.
† An English ecclesiastical writer. *Ibid.*

the ancient rites of the Church. Tuillier and many others also finished the raking out of the ashes the rubbish of the middle age. This was, besides, a new sort of study, which was peculiar to the Age of Louis XIV. and it was only in France that the Benedictines excelled in it.

SABLIÈRE (Antony de Rambouillet de la). His madrigals are written with an art which excludes not the natural. He died in 1680.

SACY LE MAÎTRE (Louis-Isaac), born in 1613. One of the good Writers of Port-Royal. *The Bible of Roy-aumont* was his, and a *Translation of the Comedies of Terrence*. He died in 1684.

His brother, Antony le Maître, retired like him to Port-Royal. He had been a barrister, and was thought to be a man of great eloquence; but he was deemed so no longer after he had yielded to the vanity of printing his pleadings.

There was another Sacy, a lawyer, and of the French Academy, but of another family, who gave us a very good translation of *Pliny's Letters*, in 1701.

SAGE (Le), born in 1667. His novel of *Gil Blas* is still read, because it is written naturally. He died in 1747*.

SAINT-AULAIRE (Francis-Joseph de Beauport, Marquis of). It is a very singular thing, that the best verses which he has left us were written when he was above ninety years of age. He scarcely ever cultivated his talents for poetry till he was past sixty, like the Marquis de la Fare†.

Among the first verses that were known to be his, were the following, which had been before attributed to La Fare.

O Muse légère & facile,
Qui sur le coteau d'Helicon
Viutes offrir au vieux Anacréon
Cet art charmant, cet art utile,
Qui fait rendre douce & tranquile
La plus incommode saison;

Vous

* He wrote also *The Bachelor of Salamanca*; *The Devil on two Sticks*, as *Le Diable Boiteux* is vilely translated; *New Adventures of Don Quixote*, &c. *Translator*.

† See the article under his name, in this catalogue of authors. *Ibid*.

*Vous qui de tant de fleurs sur le Parnasse écloses
Orniez à ses côtés les graces & le ris,
Et qui cachiez ses cheveux gris
Sous tant de couronnes de roses, &c.*

*Thou light and airy Muse so pleasing,
Who on the top of Helicon
Inspired the Old Anacreon
With love and revelry unceasing ;
Which thawed in ancient blood the frost,
Nor let an inch of life be lost.
Who culled the flow'rs from sweet Parnasse,
Before his mirth and graces strewn,
And chaplets on his head did place,
Nor let his silver locks be shewn, &c.*

It was upon this piece that he was received into the Academy ; yet Boileau refused him his vote on this very account. He died in 1742, at near a hundred, some say a hundred and two.

One day, at the age of ninety-five, he supped with the Duchess of Maine. She called him Apollo, and asked him to reveal to her some secret or other ; to which he replied, extempore,

*La Divinité qui s'amuse
À me demander mon secret,
Si j'étais Apollon, ne ferait point ma Muse ;
Elle ferait Thétis, & le jour finirait.*

*The Goddess who now strives to gain
A secret that I would retain ;
Were I Phœbus, I'd refuse
E'er to consecrate my Muse ;
As Thetis she should rule the sea,
And quick I'd close the lingering day.*

Anacreon, when much younger, wrote many things not so pretty. If the Greeks had had writers among them equal to our good authors, they might have been still more vain, and we should applaud them now with yet more reason.

SAINTE-MARTHE. ' This family has been more than a century fertile in good Authors. The first,
Charles

Charles de Sainte-Marthe, was eloquent, for his time. He died in 1555.

Scevola, nephew to Charles, distinguished himself both in letters and in public life. It was he that reduced Poitiers under the sovereignty of Henry IV. He died at Loudun, in 1623, and the famous Urban Grandier pronounced his funeral oration*.

Abel de Sainte-Marthe, his son, cultivated letters, like his father, and died in 1652. His son, named also Abel, pursued his paths. He died in 1706.

Scevola and Lewis de Sainte-Marthe, twin-brothers, sons of the first Scevola, and both buried in the same tomb, in Paris, at St Severin's, were illustrious in Literature. They composed together the *Gallica Christiana*.

Denis de Sainte-Marthe, their brother, finished this work, and died at Paris, in 1725.

Peter Scevola de Sainte-Marthe, eldest brother to the last Scevola, was Historiographer of France, and died in 1690.

SAINT-EVREMOND (Charles), born in Normandy in 1613. A voluptuous moral, letters written to persons belonging to the Court at a time when the word Court was spoken with an emphasis by all the world, and some indifferent lines, which are called familiar verses, written in illustrious societies; all these, with a good share of wit, contributed to the reputation of his works.

A person named Des Maizeaux published them, with a life of the Author prefixed, which of itself is a large volume; and in this great folio there are not four interesting pages. It is only swelled with the same particulars that are to be found in the works of Saint-Evremond. This is a piece of Booksellers' craft, and an abuse of the office of Editor. It is by such artifices that they have contrived to multiply volumes to infinity, without increasing knowledge.

His banishment, his philosophy, and his writings, are sufficiently known. When they asked him, on his

* He published several pieces of poetry; but his best work was one titled *Pædærophia, seu de Pædagogicæ Educationis Tractatus*.

death-bed, whether he would not *reconcile** himself; he answered, "I wish I could *reconcile* myself to a good appetite." He lies interred in Westminster-Abbey, among the Kings and illustrious Personages of England. He died in 1703.

SAINT-PAVIN (Denis Sanguin de). He was one among those men of merit whom Despréaux confounded in his Satire with the bad Writers. The little we have of his is thought to be composed with taste and delicacy. His personal merit is shewn by the Epitaph made for him by Fieubet, the Master of Requests, one of the most polished Wits of the Age.

Sous ce tombeau git Saint-Pavin,
Donne des larmes à sa fin.
Tu fus de ses amis peut-être ?
Pleure ton sort & le sien :
Tu n'en fus pas ? pleure le tien,
Passant, d'avoir manqué d'en être.

St. Pavin here is laid in dust ;
Grieve for his death all Readers must ;
For those who knew him loit a treasure,
And those who did not missed a pleasure.

He died in 1670.

SAINT-PIERRE (Castel Abbé de), a Gentleman of Normandy, who, though he had but a moderate fortune, shared it for some time with the celebrated Varignon and Fontenelle. He was a great political writer. The best definition that could be given in general of his works, is what was said of them by Cardinal Du Bois, that "they were the dreams of a good Citizen."

He had the simplicity to repeat over and over again the most trivial maxims of morals; and from a similar simplicity, used to propose impossible things as practicable. He was forever insisting on the project of a perpetual peace, and of a sort of Parliament of Europe, which he called the European Diet †.

* A clerical expression for contrition, and making peace with one's conscience. *Translator.*

† On the model, I suppose, of the famous Council of the Amphycions, in Ancient Greece, and which availed them not. *Ibid.*

A part

A part of this same chimerical scheme was imputed to Henry IV.; and the Abbé de St. Pierre, the better to support his whimsey, pretended that this European Diet had been approved of and digested by the Dauphin Duke of Burgundy, and that the plan had been found among the papers of that Prince.

This fiction he suffered to pass, in order the better to recommend his project; although he honestly acknowledged the letter in which Cardinal Fleury replied to his proposition. "You have forgotten, Sir, one preliminary article in your scheme; the commencing with sending a sufficient corps of Missionaries to dispose the hearts and minds of the several Potentates in Europe to accept it."

However, the Abbé de Saint Pierre was a very useful man. He greatly contributed towards the delivering France from the tyranny of arbitrary taxation. He wrote, and otherwise exerted himself against it.

He was unanimously expelled from the French Academy, for having, under the Regency of the Duke of Orleans, preferred a little too uncouthly, in his *Poly-nodia*, the establishment of Councils, to the manner of governing by Louis XIV. Protector of the Academy. It was Cardinal de Polignac who made interest to have him excluded, and carried his point. What is very extraordinary is, that at that very time the Cardinal de Polignac had conspired against the Regent; and that this Prince, who gave apartments in his Palace to Saint Pierre, and who had all his family in his service, suffered this exclusion to take place. The Abbé de Saint Pierre never complained of this injustice; but continued still to live, as a Philosopher, with those very persons who had voted against him.

Boyer, formerly Bishop of Mirepoix, his own fellow-student, prevented his elogy from being pronounced at his death, in the Academy, according to custom. Those fading flowers strewn over the grave of an Academician, add nothing either to his fame or merit; but the refusal of them was an insult; and the services which the Abbé
de Saint

de Saint Pierre had rendered to the world, with his integrity, and gentleness of manners, well deserved another sort of treatment.

He died in 1743, at the age of eighty-two. A few days before his death, I asked him what he thought about that event: to which he replied, "As of a journey into the country."

The most singular tract among his works, is on the future annihilation of Mahometanism. He says that a time will come, when reason will prevail among men over superstition. Mankind will then, says he, begin to comprehend, that resignation, decency, and good works, are sufficient to recommend us to God. 'Tis impossible, he goes on, that a book wherein false propositions are found to be given for true ones, absurdities are opposed to common sense, and praises bestowed upon unjust actions, could be a revelation derived from a perfect Being. He supposes that in about five hundred years the human understanding, even in the most illiterate, will view the Alcoran in its true light; that even the Grand Mufti himself, and the Cardis also, will be brought to reflect, that it must be their own interest to undeceive the world, and to render themselves more necessary and more respectable, in rendering religion more simple. This tract is curious.

In his annals of Louis XIV. he says, that the State ought to annex lodges to Bedlam for the reception of intolerant Theologits; and that it would be fair game to expose this species of wicked folly upon the stage.

SALLO (Denis), born in 1626. A Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris. He was the first projector of *Literary Journals*, which Bayle afterwards perfected; but which have been since disgraced by some similar works set on foot by several mercenary Booksellers, in imitation of them, and which a parcel of obscure Writers have stuffed with false extracts, insignificant articles, and heaps of lies.

In fine, it has at length obtained into a sort of trade of praises and censures, especially in the periodical *Reviews*;

views; and Literature has fallen into the greatest contempt by such infamous practices. He died in 1669.

SANDRAS DE COURTILS, born at Montargis, in 1644. His name is only inserted here to inform the French, but more especially foreigners, how little credit is to be given to all those false Memoirs which are generally printed in Holland. Courtils was one of the most culpable writers in this way. He overflowed Europe with fictions, under the title of Private Histories. It was a scandalous thing for a man who was a Captain in the Regiment of Champagne, to go into Holland, to sell a parcel of inventions as facts to the Booksellers.

He and his imitators, who have composed so many libels against their own country, against good Princes who scorned to revenge it, and against private persons who could not, have deserved the execration of the Public.

He wrote *The Conduct of France since the Peace of Nimègue*, and *The Answer to the same book*. *The State of France under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV.* *The Conduct of Mars in the War with Holland.* *The Amorous Intrigues of the Great Alexander.* *The Amorous Intrigues of France.* *The Life of Turenne.* *The Life of Admiral Coligni.* *The Memoirs of Rochefort, of Artagnan, of Monbrun, of Vordac, and of the Marquis au Trêne;* as also, *The Political Testament of Colbert*, and various other works which have amused and deceived the ignorant.

He has been imitated by the Authors of those miserable pamphlets written against France, *The Gleaner*, *The Fault-finder*, &c. wretched productions, inspired by hunger, dictated by stupidity and a disposition to lying, and hardly read even by the scum of the people. He died at Paris in 1712.

SANLEQUE (Louis), a regular Canon, and a Poet that has written some tolerable verses. It was one of the effects of the Age of Louis XIV. to produce an infinite number of middling Poets, in whose writings some happy lines are to be found, which, however, are more owing to temporary circumstances than to any efforts of genius. He died in 1714.

SANSON (Nicholas), born at Abbeville, in 1600. The father of Geography before William de l'Isle. He died in 1667. He left two sons behind him, who inherited his merit.

SANTEUIL (John-Baptist), born at Paris, in 1600. He passed for an excellent Latin poet, if that could be, without being able to write a line of French verse. His Hymns are sung in our churches. As I never lived with Mecænas between Virgil and Horace, I cannot be able to pronounce whether these Hymns are so good as they are said to be; whether, for example, *Orbis redemptor nunc redemptus*, be not a puerile play on words. I own I am very doubtful about all modern Latin Poetry. He died in 1697.

SARRASIN (John-Francis), born near Caen, in 1605, has written agreeably, both in prose and verse. He died in 1655*.

SAVARY (James), born in 1622. The first who wrote on the subject of Commerce. He had been a long time himself a merchant. The Council consulted him upon the Ordonnance of 1670, and he drew up almost all the articles of it. The Dictionary of Commerce we have of his, and of his brother Philemon, Canon of St. Maur, was a work both useful and new. But such books are to be looked upon in the same light with the interests of Princes, which generally vary in less than half a century. The objects and the channels, the gains and the policies of commerce, are not now what they were in the days of Savary. He died in 1690.

SAUMAISE (Claudius), born in Burgundy, in 1588. He retired to Leyden, in order to enjoy his liberty. He was a man of very great erudition. It is said that Cardinal Richelieu offered him a pension of twelve thousand

* There is an affecting anecdote related of this person. He had some way displeased the Prince of Conti, to whom he had been private Secretary, and was dismissed his service. The grief for having offended his patron, not for the loss of his employ, so preyed upon his spirits, that he died soon of a broken heart. What is the reason that our sympathy is more strongly moved towards such an object, than to one broke on the wheel? *Translator.*

francs*, to return to France, on condition that he would write in favour of his Ministry, and also compose his life; but that Saumaïse loved his liberty too well, and hated him too much, whom he considered as the greatest enemy to that very liberty, to accept the offer.

The King of England, Charles II. employed him to compose *The Cry of the Royal Blood against the Parricides of Charles I.*; but the work did not answer the reputation of its author. Milton, author of a barbarous poem on the story of *Adam's Apple*, and the model of all the barbarous poems framed upon the histories of the Old Testament, answered Saumaïse; but refuted him as a fierce beast combats a savage. These two pieces of disgusting pedantry are fallen into oblivion; but the names of their authors have not yet perished. He died in 1653 †.

SAURIN (James), born at Nîmes, in 1677. He was reckoned the best preacher of the Reformed Churches. It was, however, objected to him, in common with his brotherhood, that he dealt too much in what was called the *refugée* style. "It is difficult," he might say, perhaps, "for those who have sacrificed their country to their religion, to be able to speak their language with purity," &c. but in his time the French tongue was not impured in Holland, as it is at present. Bayle had nothing of the *refugée* style in any of his writings. He offended not by a familiarity of expression, which sometimes sinks into vulgarity ‡.

The faults in the language of the Calvinist Preachers, arose from their copying the incorrect expressions of the

* The same as *Livres*, which were of the value of twenty-pence at that time. *Translator.*

† M. Voltaire seems to have understood Milton as little as he did Shakespeare, classing them both under the title of barbarous Poets. He was himself rather a man of talents and a lively imagination, than of taste or genius. I leave the critical Reader to note the distinction. He was not original in any thing; and his best things are but second-best. With regard to Milton, it satisfies me that Addison differed from him, *totò Parnasso*. See my Note under the article *Perrault*. *Transl.*

‡ This phrase is itself in the very style he is reprehending. I have therefore made use of it by way of exemplifying the passage. *Ibid.*

first reformers. Besides, most of them having been bred at Saumur, in Poitou, in Dauphiny, or in Languedoc, retained the vicious manner of speech of the Provincials.

They created for Saurin a place of Minister to the Noblesse at the Hague. He was a learned man, and addicted to pleasure. He died in 1730.

SAURIN (Joseph), born near Orange in 1659, of the Academy of Sciences. He was a kind of universal genius; but there remain to us of his works only some extracts from the *Journal de Savans*, some memoirs of mathematics, and his famous *Faustum* against Rousseau*.

This prosecution, so unhappily memorable, brought him into note the remainder of his life, but served also to raise up against him the most infamous accusations. Rousseau, exiled to Switzerland, and knowing that his enemy had been Pastor of the Reformed Church at Bercher, in the Bailiwick of Yverdun, employed the most malignant assiduity to procure testimonies against him. It is necessary here to mention that Joseph Saurin, disgusted with his Ministry, and wholly occupied with philosophy and mathematics, had preferred France, his native country, the city of Paris, and the Academy of Sciences, to the village of Bercher. In order to effect this exchange, he was obliged to return again into the bosom of Mother Church, and he recanted accordingly in the year 1690. The Bishop of Meaux, Bossuet, thought he had converted a Parson, but he had only mended the small fortune of a philosopher. Saurin happened to return to Switzerland, several years after, to recover some effects of his wife, whom he had also persuaded to quit the reformed religion. The Magistrates ordered him to be arrested there, as an apostate Pastor, who had seduced his wife to apostatize also.

All this passed in 1712, after the unlucky prosecution of Rousseau; and Rousseau was at Soleure†, just

* See the articles LA MOTTE HOUDART and ROUSSEAU. *Transl.*

† Soleure or Solothurn, a town of Switzerland, in a Canton of the same name. We are to suppose this the place where Saurin was arrested. *Ibid.*

at that time; and it was then that the vilest libels were devised against Saurin. There were former crimes of a long standing charged upon him, which would have deserved hanging, had they been true; and they even produced an old letter, said to be his, in which he had himself made a confession of his crimes to a Pastor who was one of his friends. In fine, to complete his ignominy, they had the cruel baseness to procure these imputations and this letter to be inserted in the Supplements of Bayle and of Moreri; a new method maliciously invented of posting a man throughout Europe; a shocking degradation of literature, to convert a Dictionary into a criminal registry; and to sully with culprit allegations those pages which ought to be sacred to the sciences.

Certainly this never was the design of the first authors of these Archives of Literature, which have been since disgraced by so many Appendixes, equally erroneous and contemptible. The art of writing has become, in many countries, a scandalous trade, in which a parcel of Bookfellers, who can scarcely read themselves, traffic for lies, scandal, and other trash, at so much per sheet, with a set of mercenary scribblers, who have reduced literature to a level with the meanest professions. It should never be permitted, at least, to insert charges of a criminal nature into a Dictionary, and to assume the province of an accuser, without legal proofs for conviction.

I happened to have an opportunity myself of examining into these accusations against Joseph Saurin; I spoke to the Lord of the Village of Bercher, where Saurin had been Pastor; I made inquiry about him from all the family of that gentleman; and both he and every one of his connections and dependants not only assured me that they had never seen the letter imputed to Saurin, but expressed the warmest resentment against the scandalous abuse of him, which the Supplements to Bayle and Moreri had published to the world: and this just indignation, which they manifested
before

before me, ought to pass as his acquittal, in every ingenuous mind *.

I have likewise in my possession the attestations of three Pastors, declaring the Letter charged upon Saurin to be a forgery, and that it was merely an effect of the invidious calumny that men of letters are too frequently apt to throw out against each other.

Joseph Saurin died in 1737, like an intrepid philosopher, who was sensible of the worthlessness of all the possessions in life, and full of the profoundest contempt for all those vain prejudices, those fruitless disputes, those erroneous opinions, which superadd a weight to the already numberless evils of human life.

Joseph Saurin has left a son behind him of real merit, author of the Tragedy of *Spartacus*, in which there are passages comparable to some of the best in Corneille.

SAUVEUR (Joseph), born at La Flèche in 1653. He taught himself the Elements of Geometry, without a tutor. He was one of the first who calculated the odds at the games of chance. He said, that whatever any one man can do in mathematics, any other might be capable of doing also. This maxim, however, is to be restricted to the practice or scientific part, and cannot extend to the inventive faculties. He had been dumb till he was seven years old. He died in 1716.

SCARRON (Paul), born in 1598, and son of a Privy-Counsellor. His Dramatic Pieces are rather Farces than Comedies. His *Virgil Travestie* was excusable only in a buffoon. His *Theatrical Novel* † is almost the sole work of his that readers of any taste can bear still to peruse; but they can only consider it as a lively, amusing, and middling performance. Boileau predicted this future character of it. He died in 1660. *

SCUDERI, (George de) born at Havre-de-Grace in 1603. He was patronised by Cardinal Richelieu, and for some time balanced the reputation of Corneille. His name is more known than his works. He died in 1657.

* See the note at the end of the article of LA MOTTE Houdart.

† The French title is *Roman Comique*, which the ignorant Translator has rendered literally, *Comical Romance*. Translator.

SCUDERI (Magdalen) was sister to George, and born at Havre in 1607; better known, at present, from some pretty verses which remain of her's, than by her great folio Romances of *Clelia* and of *Cyrus*.

Louis XIV. gave her a pension, and always distinguished her. She was the first person that obtained the prize of Eloquence founded by the Academy. She died in 1701.

SEGRAIS (John), born at Caën in 1625. Mademoiselle * used to call him *a sort of Genius*; but he was a real one, and a person of true erudition. He was obliged to quit the service of that Princess, for having opposed her marriage with the Count de Laufen.

His *Elogies* and his *Translation of Virgil* were once held in esteem; but are never read now. It is remarkable, however, that part of the lines of the *Pharsalia* of Brebœuf are still remembered, and not one of the *Æneid* of Segrais; yet Boileau praised Segrais, and abused Brebœuf. He died in 1701 †.

SENAUT (John Francis), born in 1601. General of the Oratory. A preacher, who was, in comparison with Father Bourdaloue, what Rotrou was, compared to Corneille. He is reckoned among the first restorers of eloquence, rather than one of the small number of those that were really eloquent themselves. He died in 1692.

SENEÇAY, first Valet-de-chambre to Maria-Theresa. A poet of a most singular imagination. His tale of *Kazimac*, excepting a few passages, is a distinguished work. It is an example to shew that a story may be very well told in a different manner from La Fontaine.

It is remarkable that this piece, the best he ever wrote, is the only one that is not to be found in the collection of his writings. There are also, in his *Labours of Apollon*, many new and singular beauties.

SEVIGNE (Maria de Rabutin), born in 1626. Her Letters, filled with anecdotes, written with freedom, and in a style that both animates and paints, are the best

* *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, styled *Mademoiselle* alone, by way of distinction, as the Dauphin is called *Monsieur*. *Translator*.

† See the note upon the article of LA FAYETTE. *Ibid*.

criticism * that can be made upon those studied epistles still aiming at wit, and yet more upon those famed ones, which would imitate the epistolary stile, in displaying false sentiments, and relating feigned stories to imaginary correspondents.

It is a pity, however, that she happened absolutely to have no manner of taste, that she could not do justice to Racine, and that she compared the Funeral Oration pronounced by Mafcaron upon Turenne, to the great masterpiece of Flechier. She died in 1696.

SILVA, a Jew of Bourdeaux, and a celebrated Physician at Paris, wrote a book, much approved of, upon the article of Bleeding; but had a character superior to his writings. He was one of those Physicians whom Moliere neither could, nor dared, render ridiculous. He died about the year 1746.

SIMON (Richard), born in 1638, of the Oratory. He was an excellent critic. His *History of the Origin and Progress of the Ecclesiastical Revenues*; his *Critical History of the Old Testament*, &c. are read by all the learned. He died at Dieppe, in 1712.

SIRMOND (James), a Jesuit, born about the year 1559. He was one of the most learned and most amiable men of his time. One scarcely knows that he was Confessor to Louis XIII. because it was difficult to speak of him at all, in so difficult a situation. He was chosen by the Pope, preferably to all the Italian Literati, to compose the Preface to the Collection of the Councils. His numberless works were held in great esteem, but are very little read now. He died in 1651.

SIRMOND (John), nephew to the former. He was Historiographer of France, with the commission of Counsellor of State, which was generally annexed to that office. One of his principal works was the life of Cardinal Amboise, which he undertook, merely in order to prove that Minister inferior to Cardinal Richelieu, his

* By the word Criticism must be meant a standard or model, to compare other collections of familiar epistles with. The expression, however, is unwarrantable. *Translator.*

patron. He was one of the first members of the Academy. He died in 1649.

SORBIÈRES (Samuel), born in Dauphiné in 1610. One of those who have had the title of Historiographer of France. He had been an old friend of Pope Clement IX. before his exaltation, and receiving but slight tokens of that Pontiff's liberality afterwards, wrote him this billet: "Holy father, you only give ruffles to one who has no shirt." He had a smattering in various kinds of Sciences. He died in 1670.

SUZE (the Countess Henrietta de Coligni de la), celebrated in her time for her wit and poetry. She turned Catholic, merely because her husband was a Huguenot; and then separated from him; in order, as Queen Christina said, that she might never see his face again, either in this world or the next *. She died in 1673.

TALLEMANT (Francis), born at Rochelle in 1620. The second translator of Plutarch. He died in 1693.

TALLEMANT (Paul, born at Paris, in 1642. Although he was the grandson of the rich Montoron, and son of a Master of Requests who had possessed an estate of two hundred thousand livres a-year, of our present currency, he was left without any fortune. Colbert supported him, as he did other men of letters. He executed the principal part of the history of the King illustrated by medals. He died in 1712.

TALON (Omer), Attorney-General to the Parliament of Paris, has left us some useful memoirs, worthy of a good magistrate and a good citizen. His eloquence, however, was not that of the politest ages. He died in 1652.

TARTERON, a Jesuit. He translated the satires of Horace, of Juvenal, and of Persius; and suppressed the gross obscenities, with which it is strange that Juvenal, but more especially Horace, should have blotted their writings †. He thus rendered the perusal of these authors

* He had rendered her life miserable, through jealousy. He knew she had more wit than himself, and therefore suspected her of more wickedness. But vice is rather more congenial with folly. *Translator.*

† Voltaire had done well to have attended to so just a sentiment himself, in some of his novels. *Ibid.*

more decent to young people, for whose use he meant his labour; but the translation is not literal enough for this purpose. He has given the sense, indeed, but not the meaning of the words.

TERRASSON (Abbé), born in 1669. A philosopher, both during his life and at his death. There are some fine passages in his *Setkos* *. His translation of *Diodorus* is useful, but his critique upon *Homer* quite void of taste. He died in 1750.

THEVENOT (Melchizedec), Librarian to the King of France, and a celebrated writer of travels, was born at Paris in 1621; and had scarcely passed through his academical studies, when he discovered in himself a strong passion for visiting foreign countries. However, he traversed only part of Europe himself, but was indefatigable in procuring particular information and memoirs from those who had frequented other parts; and from these he composed his *Travels into the Levant*.

When he had the care of the King's Library, though it was one of the best furnished then in Europe, he found it deficient in above two thousand volumes which he had in his own, and supplied it, besides printed books, with a number of choice manuscripts. Though he spent most of his time among books, yet he found leisure to execute two honourable employs; for he assisted at the conclave held after the death of Pope Innocent X. and was the French Envoy at Genoa. He died in 1692 †.

THIERS (John-Baptist), born at Chartres in 1641. He composed several Dissertations. It was he that wrote against the inscription affixed to the Convent of the Cordeliers at Rheims, "To God, and to St. Francis, both crucified." He died in 1703.

THOMASSIN (Louis), of the Oratory, born in Provence in 1619. A man of profound erudition. He was the first who wrote comments on the Fathers, on the

* A political and moral romance, full of learning and philosophy. *Translator*.

† I was surprised to find this article passed by in Voltaire, in the midst of so many more inconsiderable ones, I have therefore taken the liberty of supplying it in its place. *Ibid*.

Councils, and on History. His memory failed him toward the latter end of life; he forgot every thing he had known, and recollected not even that he had ever written a line. He died in 1695.

THOYNARD (Nicholas), born at Orleans, in 1629. It is said that he had a great share in the Treatise of Cardinal Norris upon the *Syrian Epochs*. His *Concordance of the four Evangelists*, in Greek, was esteemed a curious work. He was only a mere man of learning; but he was profoundly so. He died in 1706.

TORCY (John-Baptist Colbert de), nephew to the great Colbert, Minister of State under Louis XIV. has left us some memoirs from the peace of Ryswick to that of Utrecht. They were printed while the first edition of this *Essay on the Age of Louis XIV.* was in the press, and they confirm every thing that is here advanced.

These memoirs contain some details, indeed, which are valuable only to those who would be thoroughly informed; but they are written with greater purity than all the memoirs of his predecessors. In them is to be found the true taste of Louis XIVth's Court. But their chief merit lies in the sincerity of the author. Truth and Moderation have always guided his pen. He died in 1746.

TOUREIL (James), born at Toulouse, in 1656. He was celebrated for his translation of *Demosthenes*. He died in 1715.

TOURNEFORT (Joseph Pitton de), born in Provence, in 1656. He was the greatest Botanist of his time. He was sent by Louis XIV. into Spain, England, Holland, Greece, and Asia, to compleat his Natural History. He culled out thirteen hundred and thirty-six new species of plants, and taught us to know and distinguish our own. He died in 1708.

Le TOURNEUX, born in 1640. His *Christian Year* is in many hands, though inserted at Rome in the Index of prohibited books, or rather for that very reason*. He died in 1686.

* A strange perverseness, this in human nature! But true it is, that the surest way of having a book read, is not to recommend, but to forbid, it. *Translator.*

TRISTAN, the Hermit, Gentleman to Gaston of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII. The great and long success that his Tragedy of *Mariamne* was in possession of, was an effect of the ignorance of the times. They had nothing better in its kind; and when the reputation of that piece was established, it was the work of more than one Tragedy of Corneille's, to sink it into oblivion. There are still some nations subsisting, among whom very middling compositions pass for master-pieces of writing, because they have no Geniuses to surpass them.

It is not generally known that Tristan turned the Office of the Virgin into verse; nor is it strange that it should be so. He died in 1655.

His epitaph, written by himself, is as follows:

Je fis le chien couchant auprès d'un grand seigneur.
Je me vis toujours pauvre, & tâchai de paraître;
Je vécus dans la peine, espérant le bonheur,
Et mourut sur un coffre en attendant mon maître *.

TURENNE. This great man has left us some memoirs, which are to be met with in his life, written by Ramsay. We have many memoirs of our Generals; but they are not all written like those of Xenophon or Cæsar.

VAILLANT (John Foy), born at Beauvais, in 1632. The Public owes him *The Science of Medals*, and the King the half of his Cabinet. The Minister Colbert sent him to travel into Italy, Greece, Egypt, Turkey, and Persia. He was taken by the Corsairs of Algiers, in 1674, in company with the Architect Desgodets. The King ransomed them both. No learned man ever suffered so many dangers †. He died in 1706.

VAILLANT (John-Francis), born at Rome, in 1665, while his father was on his travels. He was an Antiquarian as well as he. He died in 1708.

* These lines are not worth translating, especially as they do not apply to any part of the story or character of the author, in the above article. *Translator.*

† When the Pirates took the vessel he was in, he swallowed twenty of the choicest Medals he had about him, in a hurry, and phylicked them out again, at his leisure. *Ibid.*

VALINCOURT (John-Baptist-Henry du Trouffet de), born in 1653. An epistle which Despreaux addressed to him, formed the greatest part of his reputation. He has left us some trifling works. He was a good scholar; but he made a great fortune, which he could never have done, had he been merely a man of letters. Literature alone, without that active sagacity which renders a person useful in the world, procures nothing but a life of distress and contempt*.

One of the best discourses ever pronounced at the Academy, is one in which Mr. de Valincourt endeavours to cure the error of that infinite number of young people, who, mistaking the passion of scribbling for a talent of writing †, address their miserable verses to Princes, deluge the press with their pamphlets, and then accuse the Age of ingratitude, or neglect, merely because they are no way useful to the world, or to themselves. He therein assures them, that the lowest professions are much superior to that which they have adopted. He died in 1730.

VALOIS (Adrian), born at Paris, in 1607. Historiographer of France. His best works are his *Account of the Gauls*, and his *History of the first Race*. He died in 1692.

VALOIS (Henry), brother to the former, born in 1603. His writings are less useful to France than those of his brother. He died in 1676.

VARIGNON (Peter), born at Caën, in 1654. A famous Mathematician. He died in 1722.

VARILLAS (Antony) born in the Marche, in 1624. An Historian more agreeable than exact †. He died in 1696.

LE VASSOR (Michael), of the Oratory. He was a refugee in England. His *History of Louis XIII.* though diffuse, heavy, and satirical, has been in request on account of many singular facts related in it. But he is

* Or, at best, but cold applause. *Translator.*

† Mistaking, as Pope says, *a strong inclination for a genius.* *Ibid.*

‡ M. Voltaire's own character. *Ibid.*

a tiresome declaimer, who in the History of Louis XIII. labours to decry Louis XIV. and attacks both the living and the dead. He is mistaken only in a few facts, but appears to be wrong in all his judgments. He died in 1718.

VAVASSEUR, born in the Charolois, in 1605. A Jesuit, and a great scholar. He was the first who shewed that neither the Greeks or Romans were acquainted with the burlesque stile, which is only a relick of barbarism. He died in 1681.

VAUBAN (the Marshal de) born in 1633. His *Real Tithe* * was an idea which it was impossible to carry into execution, and indeed was a most impracticable scheme. He has, however, left us several memoirs worthy of so good a member of the state. He died in 1707.

VAUGELAS (Claudius Favre de), born at Chamberry, in 1585. He was one of the first that purged and methodized the French language, and of those who were capable of writing poetry in Italian, without being able to do the same in French. He retouched, from time to time, his translation of *Quintus Curtius*, for thirty years. Every person who would write well, should correct his work: during his life. He died in 1650.

LE VAYER (Francis, born at Paris, in 1588. He was preceptor to Monsieur, brother to Louis XIV. and instructed the King himself for the space of a year. He was Historiographer of France, Counsellor of State, a great Pyrrhonist, and publicly known for such: however, this sceptic character prevented not his being intrusted with so considerable a charge.

* This I suppose to be a modus of ascertaining the exact tenth value of the produce of the land, payable to the Church, or the Lords of the Manors. But is it not a thing extraordinary, that Voltaire should only mention this person in the character of a common essayist, who had distinguished himself both by his practice and writings as the greatest engineer of the age; which services had raised him to the first military honours, and obtained him the rank of Marshal? *Translator.*

There is a great deal of science and reason to be met with in his works, though they are too diffusely written. He was the first who argued with success against the opinion which becomes us so little, that our morals are better than those of the Ancients.

His Treatise *On the Virtue of the Heathens*, is in esteem among the learned. His motto was,

De las cosas mas seguras,
La mas segura es dudar;

In all the cases thought most clear,
To doubt the safest will be found;

like that of Montaigne, *What do I know?* He died in 1672.

VEISSIERES (Mathurin de la Croze) born at Nantes, in 1661. A Benedictine of Paris. His freedom of thinking, and his being a Prior, which forbade such a liberty, made him quit both his Order and his religion. He was a living library, and his memory was a prodigy.

Besides the many useful and agreeable things he was master of, he had studied others that lay out of the course of general literature; as the ancient language of the Egyptians, for instance. He wrote a work much esteemed, intitled, *The Christianity of India*. What is most curious in it is, that the Bramins believed in the Unity of the Godhead themselves, though still leaving the people in the possession of their idols.

The rage of scribbling is such, that they have written a Life of this private man, in a volume as large as that of Alexander. This short extract, which appears yet too long, might have sufficed. He died at Berlin, in 1739.

VERGIER (James) born at Paris, in 1675. He was with regard to La Fontaine, what Campistron was in comparison of Racine, a natural, but feeble imitator. He was murdered by some robbers, in 1720. They have given us to understand, in the Dictionary of Moreri,

eri, that he had written a lampoon against a certain powerful Prince, who had him assassinated. The story is false.

VERTOT (René Aubert), born in Normandy, in 1655. An elegant and agreeable historian*. He died in 1735.

VICHART DE SAINT-REAL (Cæsar), born at Chambery, but educated in France. His *History of the Conspiracy of Venice*, is a master-piece †. His *Life of Christ* is a very different performance. He died in 1692.

VILLARS DE MONFAUCON (the Abbé de), born in 1635, and famous for his *Count de Gabalis*. 'Tis a part of the ancient Mythology of the Persians. The author was killed, in 1673, by a pistol-shot. It was said that the Sylphs had assassinated him, for having revealed their mysteries.

VILLARS (the Marshal Duke de), born in 1652. The first volume of the *Memoirs* which bear his name, was written by himself. He could repeat all the best passages of Corneille, of Racine, and of Moliere. I heard him, one day, say to a certain famous Minister of State, who appeared surprised at his remembering so many verses of Plays, "I have not *acted* so often as you, " but I know more of the matter." He died in 1734.

VILLEDIEU (Madame de). Her *Romances* brought her into reputation. I do not mean, however, to stamp a value upon all the *Novels* with which France has been, and still continues to be, overwhelmed; they have been all, except *Zaide* ‡, the productions of feeble Geniuses, who possess a facility of writing things unworthy to be read by persons of common sense. They are, for the most part,

* The province of history which he chose, was the revolutions of states. 'Tis the most useful, as well as the most interesting and entertaining part. *Translator*.

† Otway has written a play on it. *Ibid*.

‡ I think he might have justly added, *The Princess of Cleves*, by the same author. See the article *LA FAYETTE*. *Ibid*.

devoid even of imagination; and four pages of Ariosto contain more fancy in them than can be met with in all those insipid pieces which impure the taste of young people. She died in 1683.

VILLIERS (Peter), born at Coignac, in 1648. A Jesuit. He cultivated letters, as in general most of that Order do. His sermons, and his poem on the Art of Preaching, had some reputation in his time. His stanzas upon solitude are much superior to those of St. Amant, which were once so greatly esteemed, but are not at present deemed worthy of an Age which so far exceeds that of St. Amant. He died in 1728.

VOITURE (Vincent), born at Amiens, in 1598. He was the first in France who obtained the title of *un bel esprit*. He had little more than that sort of merit in his writings, upon which one might form a taste; but this merit was at that time very rare.

* We have some very pretty verses of his, but only few in number. Those he wrote for the Queen, Anne of Austria, and which they have not printed in his collection, are an example of the gallant freedom which was privileged at the Court of that Princess, whose mildness and goodness were worn-out with the Frondeurs.

== == == ==

Je pensais si le Cardinal,
J'entens celui de la Valette,
Pouvait voir l'éclat sans égal,
Dans lequel maintenant vous êtes *;
J'entens celui de la beauté;
Car auprès je n'estime guère,
Cela soit dit sans vous déplaire,
Tout l'éclat de la Majesté.

* It was then the usage to strike off the final letters of a verse, if they happened to interfere with the measure, or the rhyme; as *vous êtes*, for *vous êtes*, in the above instance. The English and Italians make free with the same *poetica licentia*. The French poetry is too much straitened, and was formerly rather too prosaic.—
Voltaire,

I doubt me if the Cardinal,
 I mean his eminence Valette,
 Can see your eminence, o'er all
 That on a throne was ever set.
 The rank I hint at is your beauty,
 All other pomps or titles near,
 (Forgive, if I offend in duty,)
 Mean and contemptible appear †.

He wrote both Italian and Spanish verses too with success. He died in 1648.

It is of no consequence to extend this Catalogue further: there are comprized in it a small number of great Geniuses, a pretty large list of Imitators, and we might have given a much longer catalogue of the Learned. It will be rare, for the future, to see new Geniuses rise up, unless other manners, and another sort of government, should give a new turn to the minds of men. It will be impossible to see men of universal knowledge, because every science is now become unbounded; so that each student must confine himself to the cultivation of a small portion of that vast field which the Age of Louis XIV. had broke up.

* The thought in these lines is borrowed from the Ancients; and not from the Poets, but the Philosophers; one of whom calls beauty *natural empire*, and another styles it *royalty without force*. M. Voltaire should have told us upon what occasion this address was written, or to what circumstance, relative to Valette, it alluded. He is too summary a writer. *Translator.*

CELEBRATED ARTISTS.

M U S I C I A N S.

THE French music, at least the vocal, has not hitherto been of the same taste with that of any other nation: nor could it be so, because the French prosody is different from that of all Europe. We always rest upon the last syllable, and all the other nations lean upon the penultima, or ante-penultima, as well as the Italians. Our language is the only one which has words terminating in *e* mute; and these *e*'s, which are not pronounced in reading, or in common speech, are marked in the accompanied recitative, and this in an uniform manner; as *glor-ieu, victor-ieu, barbari-eu, furi-eu*, &c. This renders the major part of our songs, and our recitative, insupportable to those who have not been used to it.

Our climate also refuses that lightness to the voice, which the Italian skies afford it; nor have we the custom that is practised in Rome, and other States of Italy, to deprive men of their manhood, in order to render their voices finer than those of women*. All this, joined to the slowness of our singing, which makes a strange contrast with the vivacity of our manners, must ever be the cause that French music can be relished by the French alone.

However, notwithstanding these reasons, foreigners, who have resided for some time in France, confess that our musical composers have shewn considerable address, in accommodating their airs to our words, and that this musical manner of pronunciation is often a happy ex-

* It must be so; for, with an equal sweetness, their superior strength gives them an advantage. *Translator.*

pression; but then it is so only for ears accustomed to it, and requires a most perfect execution.

Our instrumental music is also a little infected with the monotony and slowness which are objected to our vocal music: but many of our symphonies, and above all our dancing tunes, have been better received in other nations. They are performed in many Italian Operas; and there are scarcely any other used at a certain King's Theatre, who has established the best Opera in Europe, and who, among his other singular talents, has most assiduously cultivated that of music*.

JOHN-BAPTIST LULLI, born at Florence, in 1633, brought into France at fourteen years old, and then only a performer on the violin, was the father of true music in France. He knew how to accommodate his art to the genius of the language, which was the only way to succeed. It is remarkable, that at that time the Italian music preserved pretty much of the same gravity, and that noble simplicity, which we still admire in the recitatives of Lulli.

Nothing can more resemble those recitatives than the famous Motet † of Luigi, sung in Italy with so much success in the seventeenth century, and which begins thus:

Sunt breves mundi rosæ,
Sunt fugitivi flores,
Frondes veluti annosæ,
Sunt labiles honores.

The rose's scent is brief,
The flowers soon decay;
And like the autumn leaf,
Earth's glories fade away.

It should be observed, that in this music of meet declamation, which is the *mélopée* || of the Ancients, it must be principally the natural beauty of the words that produces the beauty of the chaunt. We cannot well

* The King of Prussia. *Translator.*

† The word is Mottetto, in Italian, and signifies any piece of Church music. *Ibid.*

|| *Mélopée*, accompanied recitative. *Ibid.*

declaim what does not deserve it. This is a point on which they were much mistaken in the days of Quinault and Lulli. Poets were jealous of the Poet, but envied not the Musician. Boileau objected to Quinault,

Ces lieux communs de morale lubrique,
Que Lulli réchauffa des sons de sa musique.

The common-place of lascious morals,
Which Lulli heightened by his chorals.

The tender passions that Quinault so well expressed, were under his pen a portrait of the human heart, rather than a *lascious moral* †. Quinault, by his diction, heightened the music more than the art of Lulli elevated his poetry. It required these two great men, and capable Actors, to render some scenes of Atys, of Armida, and of Roland, an exhibition such as neither ancient nor modern times had ever enjoyed. Unconnected Airs, or light Sonnets, are not to be put in comparison with such noble scenes. Those detached Airs, or familiar Songs, in the stile of our Christmas Carols, or the Venetian Ballads, were all the taste at that time. The slihter the music, the more easily it was retained in the memory. But the Recitative was so fine, that Rameau has not been able to equal it. “I want *Singers*,” he often says; but Lulli needed only *Actors*. Rameau tickles the ears, but Lulli charmed the soul. It was one of the happinesses of the æra of Louis XIV. that Lulli and Quinault were cotemporaries. He died in 1687.

After Lulli, all the Musicians, as Colasse, Campra, Detouches, and the rest, have been only his imitators, till at last Rameau has appeared, who has risen above them all by the richness of his harmony, and has rendered Music almost a new art.

With regard to our Church Musicians, though there are many famous ones in France, their compositions have not yet been performed in other countries.

† However, Quinault himself was not so very indulgent to his muse, as Voltaire seems to be; for it is said, that, in his more serious moments, he repented him often of the too *lascious morals* of some of his pieces. *Translator.*

P A I N T E R S.

IT is not with a Painter, as it is with a Musician. A Nation may have a species of Music which may please none but itself, because the genius of the language may admit of no other; but Painters should represent nature, which is the same in all countries, and is seen with the same eyes.

A Painter, to have a good reputation, should have his pictures bear a price among foreigners. It is not sufficient that he has got a few flatterers about him, or is commended in News-paper paragraphs or complimentary verses. His pieces must be bought.

What often contracts the genius of Painters, is what should seem to enlarge it. It is the academical taste, the manner they are apt to copy from those who preside. Academies are certainly very useful institutions for forming pupils, especially if the Directors work in the great stile themselves. But if the President has a confined taste; if his manner be dry or hard; if the figures are disproportioned; if the pictures are painted like fan-mounts; the scholars, being curbed by imitation, or the desire of pleasing a bad master, lose intirely all idea of real nature.

There is a kind of fatality attending all Academies. Not one piece that is called academical, has ever yet been reckoned a work of genius. Shew me a man fearful of not being able to catch the manner of his cotemporaries, and you will find his productions to be formal and constrained. Shew me another of a free spirit, fond of the nature that he copies, and you will acknowledge his success. Almost all the great Artists have either flourished before the establishment of Academies, or have employed
their

their pencils in a different taste from that which reigned in such societies.

Corneille, Racine, Despréaux*, and the Painter Le Moine, not only took a different path from their contemporaries, but had them all for their enemies.

NICHOLAS POUSSIN, born at Anderley, in Normandy, in the year 1599, was the pupil of his own genius, but perfected himself at Rome. He was styled the Painter of *Men of Wit*; and might also have been styled that of *Men of Taste*. He had no other fault, except his aggravating the dark shadings of the Italian School.

He was in his time the greatest Painter in Europe. Being invited from Rome to Paris, he fell a victim to envy and party, which made him quit his country. This misfortune has happened to more than one Artist. Poussin returned back again to Rome, where he lived poor, but contented. His philosophy raised him above fortune. He died in 1665.

EUSTACHIUS LE SUEUR, born at Paris, in 1617, having no other master than *Vouet*, became, however, an excellent Painter. He had carried his art to the highest degree, when he died, at the age of thirty-eight, in 1655.

BOURDON and LE VALENTIN were also famous. The three best paintings that adorn the Church of St. Peter, at Rome, are those of Poussin, of Bourdon, and of Valentin.

CHARLES LE BRUN, born at Paris, in 1619. He had scarcely distinguished his talent, when the Superintendant Fouquet, one of the most liberal and the most unfortunate men that ever lived, granted him a pension of twenty-four thousand livres, of the present currency.

It is remarkable that his picture of Darius's Family, which is at Versailles, is not disgraced by the colouring of that of Paul Veronese, which hangs opposite to

* One might suppose from this passage, that Corneille, Racine, and Despréaux, were all Painters. But this is Voltaire's manner of writing. He just hints, *en passant*, that servile imitation is as great a disadvantage in poetry, as in painting. *Translator.*

it; and surpasses it much, in the design, the composition, the dignity, the expression, and the fidelity of the *Costume* *. The prints or impressions taken from his paintings of Alexander's battles, are more in request than those of the battles of Constantine by Raphael and by Julio Romano. He died in 1690.

PETER MIGNARD, born at Troyes, in Champagne, in 1616, was the rival of Le Brun for some time; but posterity do not see him in that light. He died in 1695.

CLAUDIUS GELEL, called CLAUDE LORRAIN. His father, who bound him apprentice to a pastry-cook, did not foresee that his son would one day become one of the first Landscape-painters in Europe. He died at Rome, in 1678.

CASS. There are some pictures of his that begin to bear a high price. They render justice too late, in France, to good artists. Their middling performances do too much injury to their master-pieces. The Italians, on the contrary, excuse the middling, on account of the excellent ones. Every other nation endeavours to extol their own country; but the French seem to prefer foreigners, in every thing.

JOSEPH PAROSSEL, born in 1648, was a good Painter, but surpassed by his son. He died in 1704.

JOHN JOUVENER, born at Rouen, in 1644, a pupil to Le Brun, but inferior to his master, though a good Painter. All his pieces have a yellow cast in them. He saw every thing in this light, from a singular conformation of his organs of sight †. He died in 1717.

JOHN-BAPTIST SANTIERRY. He painted several admirable easel-pieces ‡, of a colouring just and tender.

* An attention to the different customs of times and places, which a Painter should observe in his pictures. *Transl.*

† It is more natural, I think, to impute this circumstance to the accidental humours of his body, than to the peculiarity of his visual faculty. People affected with the jaundice, see every thing of a yellow complexion. *Ibid.*

‡ Pictures to be set in frames, in contradistinction to *al fresco*, or ceiling paintings. *Ibid.*

His picture of Adam and Eve is the most beautiful piece of painting in Europe. That of St. Theresa, in the Chapel of Versailles, is a master-piece of grace; and all that can be objected to it, is its being too voluptuous an object for an altar.

LA FOSSE distinguished himself by a merit pretty nearly of the same kind.

BON BOULOGNE was an excellent Painter. The best proof of it is, that his pictures sell very dear.

LOUIS BOULOGNE. His paintings, which are not without their merit, are less esteemed, however, than those of his brother.

RAOUS, an unequal Painter; but in his best pieces he has equalled Rembrandt.

RIGAULT. Although he had little reputation in any thing but Portrait-painting, the large picture in which he represents Cardinal Bouillon opening the Holy Year, is a *chef-d'œuvre* equal to the best works of Rubens.

DE TROYE painted in the taste of Rigault. His son drew some history-pieces that are much esteemed.

WATTEAU was in the beautiful, very nearly what Teniers was in the grotesque. He formed scholars whose pictures are in request.

LE MOINE has, perhaps, surpassed all these Painters, by the composition of the Saloon of Hercules, at Versailles. That apotheosis was a piece of flattery designed to please Cardinal Hercules de Fleury, who had nothing in common with the fabulous hero but his name. It had been better, in the gallery of a King of France, to have represented an apotheosis of Henry IV.

Le Moine, envied by his brother-artists, and thinking himself not sufficiently recompensed by the Cardinal, destroyed himself, in despair, in 1737.

Some others have excelled in painting animals, as DESPORTES and OUDRY; others have succeeded in Miniature, and a great number in Portrait, painting. Some artists, and particularly the famous VANLO, distinguish themselves, at this day, in greater works; so that it is to be hoped this art will not be lost among us.

OF SCULPTORS, ARCHITECTS, ENGRAVERS, &c.

SCULPTURE was carried up to its perfection under Louis XIV. and sustained itself in its full merit under Louis XV.

JAMES SARRATIN, born in 1598, executed master-pieces at Rome, for Pope Clement VIII. and worked afterwards at Paris with the same success. He died in 1660.

PETER PUGET, born in 1662, an Architect, Painter, and Sculptor; famous for several works that may be seen both at Marfeilles and at Versailles. He died in 1695.

LE GROS and THEODON have embellished Italy with their works. Each of them made at Rome two Models, which bore away the prize from all their competitors, and are reckoned among the *chefs-d'œuvres*. Le Gros died at Rome, in 1719.

FRANCIS GIRARDON, born in 1627, has equalled all that has come down to us of the works of Antiquity, by his Baths of Apollo, and his Monument of Cardinal Richelieu. He died in 1715.

The COISEVAUX and the COUSTOUX, with many others, distinguished themselves at that time, but have been much surpassed since, by four or five of our modern Sculptors.

CHAUVEAU, NANTEUIL, MEULAN, AUDRAN, HEDELING, LE CLERC, DREVET, POILLY, PICART, and DUCHANGE, succeeded also by better artists, have excelled in the engraving of Copper-plates; and their prints are

are placed in the cabinets of those who cannot afford the expence of Paintings.

Some mere Goldsmiths, such as **BALIN** and **GERMAIN**, have deserved to be ranked among the most celebrated Artists, from the beauty of their designs, and the elegance of their workmanship.

It is not so easy for a genius born with a fine taste in Architecture, to exhibit his talents, as it is to all other artists. He cannot raise noble monuments of his skill, except when Princes order them to be erected. More than one Architect has possessed talents that were useless to himself and the world.

FRANCIS MANSARD was one of the best Architects in Europe. The Castle, or rather the Palace of **Maisons**, near **St. Germain's**, is a master-piece, because he was left intirely at liberty to indulge his own genius in the edifice.

JULIUS-HARDOUIN MANSARD, his nephew, acquired an immense fortune under **Louis XIV.** and was Superintendent of the buildings. The fine Chapel of the Invalids is executed by him. He could not display all his talents on that of **Versailles**, where he was cramped by the ground.

It has been remarked of the City of **Paris**, that it has only two fountains in a good taste; the old one of **John Gougeon**, and the new one of **Bouchardon**; and even these are very ill placed. It has likewise been objected, that it has no other magnificent Theatre but that of the **Louvre**, which is never made use of; that audiences are forced to assemble in Play-houses built without taste, proportion, or ornament, and equally defective in the situations, as in the construction; while such a number of country-towns afford them examples of which they have not yet benefited.

But France has been distinguished by other public works of much greater importance; by her vast Hospitals; her Magazines; her magnificent Bridges; her Quays; her immense Mounds to restrain the rivess within their channels; her Canals; her Sluices; her Ports; and, above all, by the Military Architecture of so many frontier-places,
where

where solidity is joined to beauty. Every one knows the works raised upon the designs of PERRAULT, of LEVAU, and of DORBAY.

The art of Gardening was created and perfected by LE NOTRE, for Pleasure-Grounds; and by LA QUINTINIE, for the Fruit and Kitchen Gardens. It is not true, that La Notre carried his simplicity so far as familiarly to embrace the King and the Pope. His pupil, Collinau, assured me, that those anecdotes, repeated in so many Dictionaries, were false; but indeed one need not such a testimony to be assured that an Overseer of Gardens could not use the freedom of kissing Kings and Popes on *both sides their ears* *.

The engraving in precious stones; the Dies for Medals; the casting of types for Printing; all these are signs of the rapid progress of the other Arts.

The Clock and Watch-makers, who may be considered as a sort of practical Natural Philosophers, have given cause to admire the ingenuity of their workmanship.

They have shaded their silks, and even the gold which is worked up with them, with an art and taste so curious, that though they are only worn for sumptuous apparel, they deserve to be treasured up as the monuments of skill and industry.

They began to make China-ware at St. Cloud, before they attempted it in any other part of Europe.

In short, the last Age has put it in the power of the present to collect into one body, and to transmit to posterity, the deposit of all the Arts and of all the Sciences, carried as far as human industry could extend them; in which work a society of ingenious men, endowed both with capacity and learning, have jointly laboured †.

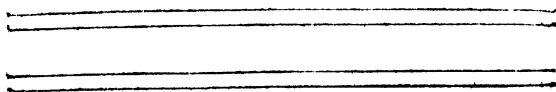
This extensive and immortal undertaking seems to accuse the shortness of human life. It was commenced by

* Kissing first one cheek, then the other, as is said in these Dictionaryal Memoirs. *Translator*

* The French Encyclopædia. *Ibid.*

Messieurs D'ALEMBERT and DIDEROT, thwarted and persecuted by envy and ignorance. This is the fate of all great enterprizes. It were to be wished that some foreign compilers had not disgraced this important work by puerile declamations, and common-place infipidities; which, however, are not capable of preventing the original part of it from being serviceable to the world.

I N T R O-



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

AGE of LOUIS XIV.

CHAP. I.

IT is not solely the Life of Louis XIV. that we have undertaken; our object is of a higher nature. We would endeavour to describe to posterity, not only the actions of a single man, but the spirit, and the genius of men, in an age the most enlightened that ever appeared.

All times have produced heroes, and statesmen; all nations have experienced revolutions; all histories are pretty equal, to those who would only load their memory with matters of fact. But those who reflect, and, what is still more rare, those who are endowed with a distinguishing taste, reckon but four ages in the history of the world. These four happy eras are those in which the arts were brought to perfection, and which, serving as epochas to the greatness of the human understanding, are an example to posterity.

VOL. I.

B

The

The first of those, to which true glory is annexed, is that of Philip and of Alexander; or rather of Pericles, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Plato, Apelles, Praxiteles; and this honour was limited to Greece; the rest of the world, then known, remaining still in a state of barbarism.

The second age is that of Cæsar and Augustus, distinguished also by the names of Lucretius, of Cicero, of Titus-Livy, of Virgil, of Horace, of Ovid, of Varro, and of Vitruvius.

The third is that which succeeded the taking of Constantinople, by Mahomet II. The Reader may recollect, that at that time was seen in Italy, a family of private citizens bring to pass an event, that might have been thought an achievement for the Kings of Europe. This was the Medici family, distinguished in Florence by the title of the *Lodovici*, but the Turks drove out of Greece. This was the end of the glory of Italy. The fine arts had there begun to revive again, and the Italians honoured them with the title of *liberal*, as the ancient Greeks used to characterize them under the name of *Hyblæa*. Every thing then tended towards perfection.

The arts, as at first transplanted from Greece to Italy, met there with a congenial soil, in which they ripened suddenly. France, England, Germany, Spain, would in their turn taste of these fruits; but, either they never travelled to those climates, or else quickly degenerated there.

Francis I. encouraged the Learned; but it was those who were merely so. He had architects, but he had neither Michael Angelo's nor Palladio's, among them. He strove in vain to establish schools for painting, in his kingdom; but the Italian painters he invited made no French pupils. A few epigrams, and some loose tales,

* This word is not to be understood in the moral sense of it, here. The Italian expression of *virtù*, refers merely to a science in the fine arts, such as is comprehended in the knowledge of a *quadrato*; a quality quite distinct from the *virtus* of the Romans. Voltaire would mislead by the equivoque of the term.

composed

composed all our poetry; and Rabelais was our only book in prose, that was current at the time of Henry II.

In a word, Italy alone was in possession of every art and science, excepting music, which had not then been brought to any perfection, and experimental philosophy, equally unknown, every where; and which Galileo afterwards introduced to the world.

The fourth age is that which is named the Age of Louis XIV. and is, perhaps, the one of the four that approaches the nearest to perfection. Enriched with the discoveries of the three former, it excelled, in certain things, the three others put together. None of the arts, it must be confessed, were carried farther, than under the Medici's, the Augustus's, and the Alexanders'; but the human understanding became much more enlightened. True philosophy was not known till that time; and it is but justice to say, that commencing from the last year of Cardinal Richelieu, and proceeding to those which immediately succeeded the death of Louis XIV. there came to pass, in our arts, in our minds, in our manners, as well as in our government, a general revolution, which ought to serve as an eternal mark of the true glory of our country. This happy influence did not even confine itself to France; it extended also to England, and excited an emulation which that profound and ingenious nation then stood in need of; it inspired a taste in Germany, and introduced the sciences into Russia; it even re-animated Italy, which had begun to languish, and all Europe is indebted for its politeness and its social spirit, to the Court of Louis XIV.*

* What a declamation, and thoroughly French! It puts one in mind of a dancing-master in some play, who, when *Miss Harris* elopes with her lover, imputes the indiscretion entirely to her *not having learned to dance*. *Redeunt Soturnia regna*. France gave the *ton* to all Europe! Louis failed in his scheme of universal monarchy.—Mariborough and he differed in that point; but Voltaire, to make him amends, has given him an universal empire over the arts, sciences and literature. Was it Descartes that instructed Newton? Was it Boileau who inspired Milton? And did not Shakespear and Bacon precede *Le Siècle de Louis Quatorze*?

Voltaire speaks here in prose, almost with as much hyperbole, as

It is not pretended, that these four ages were exempt from misfortunes or from crimes. The perfection of arts, cultivated by private and peaceable individuals, could not prevent Princes from being ambitious, the people from falling into sedition, or the priests and monks from being sometimes turbulent and knavish. All ages were alike, with regard to the wickedness of men; but I know only of these four eras distinguished for persons of extraordinary talents.

Before the age which I stile that of Louis XIV. and which commenced about the time that the French Academy was established, the Italians denominated all the *Ultramontanes* * barbarians; and it must be confessed, that then the French merited, in a great measure, this character. Their forefathers joined the romantic chivalry of the Moors, to the Gothic grossness of manners; and had among them scarcely any of the polite arts; which proves, that the useful ones were neglected: for when a people have provided what is necessary, the next thing they think of, is the elegancies and superfluities of life. And it is not to be wondered at, that painting, sculpture, poetry, eloquence, or philosophy, were almost unknown to a nation, which having ports on the Ocean and the Mediterranean, had, however, no fleet; and who indulged themselves in luxury to excess, without having even the coarsest manufactures fabricated in their country.

Fontaine does in verse, where he addresses Racine, on his being appointed historiographer to Louis XIV.

*On nous promet l'histoire, & c'est un haut projet.
J'attends beaucoup de l'art, beaucoup plus du sujet.
Il est riche, il est vaste, il est plein de noblesse;
Il me ferait trembler pour Rome, & pour la Grèce.*

This history is, indeed, a noble object.
Much from thy art is hoped, more from the subject,
A theme so rich, so great, so full of glory!
I tremble for the Greek and Roman story.

* The countries on the other side the Alps; France, Germany, &c. They learned this from Greece too, who stiled all nations but their own so.

The

The Jews, the Genoese, the Venetians, the Portuguese, the Flemings, the Hollanders, and the English, by turns carried on the commerce of France, which was ignorant of the very principles of it. Louis XIII. at his accession to the throne, was not master of a single vessel: Paris did not contain quite four hundred thousand souls, and was not decorated with above four handsome edifices, the other towns of the kingdom resembling those villages that are situated on the other side the Loire. The noblesse, garrisoned throughout the country in castles, or towers, surrounded by moats, oppressed the tillers of the soil. The high-ways were almost impassable, the cities without police, the state without money, and the government most generally without credit among other nations.

One must not dissemble, that since the decline of the Charlemagne family, France has languished, more or less, in the same decay, because she had hardly ever the advantage of a good government.

It is necessary, in order to render a state powerful, either that the people should enjoy a freedom founded on laws, or that the sovereign authority should be absolute, or without controul. In France, the people in general were slaves, till about the time of Philip Augustus; the nobility tyrants, till Louis XI.; and the Kings, always occupied in maintaining their authority against their vassals, were never at leisure enough to consider about the prosperity of their subjects, nor the power to render them happy.

Louis XI. enlarged the prerogative royal considerably, but did nothing for the felicity or glory of the nation*. Francis I. gave rise to commerce, to navigation, to letters, and all the arts; but his life was too unfortunate to make them strike root in France, and they all died away with him. Henry the Great was endeavouring to rescue France from the calamities and barbarism into which thirty years of discord had plunged her, when he

* Louis XI. as a French Historian expresses himself, *fut le premier qui mit les rois hors de page.*

was assassinated in the capital, amidst the very people whose welfare he was exerting himself about. Cardinal Richelieu, wholly occupied in lowering the House of Austria, in abolishing the Calvinists, and reducing the power of the nobles, did not possess a power peaceable enough to reform the nation ; but he commenced, however, this happy work.

So that during an interval of nine hundred years, the genius of the French was cramped under a Gothic government, in the midst of divisions and civil wars, having neither laws nor customs established, and changing from age to age a language always barbarous; the nobles without education addicting themselves, by turns, to war and idleness; the clergy living in disorder and ignorance; and the people without industry, crouching under their misery.

The French bore no part, either in the great discoveries, or in the happy inventions of other nations. Printing, gunpowder, glass, the telescope, the sector, the air-pump, the true system of the Universe, were no property of theirs. They employed themselves in tilts and tournaments, while the Spaniards and Portuguese were discovering and conquering the Eastern and Western worlds. Charles V. had rendered the treasures of Mexico current in Europe, before the subjects of Francis I. had discovered the barren country of Canada. But even from the little that the French did, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, one may be able to judge what they are naturally capable of, under proper auspices.

We purpose now to shew what they were, under Louis XIV.

It must not be expected to meet with here, any more than in the history of the preceding times, tedious details of wars, of sieges, of towns taken and recovered by arms, surrendered and restored again by treaties. A thousand circumstances which might have been interesting to cotemporaries, become of no consequence to posterity, and are entirely lost in the contemplation of the great events which have decided the fate of Empires.

It

It is not every fact that has happened, which deserves to be recorded. We shall, therefore, in the following history, only have regard to what may merit the attention of all times, to what may delineate the genius and the manners of men, to whatever may serve for instruction, and recommend the love of virtue, of the arts, and of our country.

We shall first shew what France and the other States of Europe were, before the birth of Louis XIV.; after which the great events, both political and military, of his reign, shall be then described. The interior government of the kingdom, the most important object to the people, shall be treated of separately. The private life of Louis XIV. the particulars of his Court, and of his reign, will occupy a large space in this work. Other parts shall be appropriated to the arts, the sciences, and to the progress of the human mind in this age. We shall finally speak of the Church, which has been so long connected with the state, which sometimes disturbs, and sometimes strengthens it; and which, though instituted for the instruction of morals, is too often impured by politics and human passions.

C H A P. II.

The States of Europe before Louis XIV.

CHRISTIAN Europe, all except Russia, might for a long time have been considered as a sort of great Republic divided into several States, some monarchical, and others mixt. Of the latter, some were aristocratical, and others popular; but all connected with one another; all professing the same system of religion, tho' divided into several sects; all acknowledging the same principles of public justice and policies, unknown to the other nations of the world. • • •

'Tis from these principles that the European nations do not make slaves of their prisoners taken in war; that they respect the ambassadors of their enemies; that they

have agreed among themselves about the pre-eminence and the rights of certain princes, as the Emperor, the Kings, and other lesser potentates; and above all, that they have condescended together in that sound policy of preserving among the States, as far as possibly they can, an even balance of power; assiduously employing negotiations, even in the midst of war—exchanging ambassadors with one another, or pensioning spies in a less honourable station, who may advise all the Courts of the projects of any particular one, give at the same time the alarm to Europe, and defend the weaker States from the invasions which the stronger are too generally apt to undertake.

Since Charles V. the balance leaned towards the House of Austria. This powerful family were, about the year 1630, mistresses of Spain, of Portugal, and the treasures of America; the Low Countries, the Milanese, the Kingdom of Naples, Bohemia, Hungary, even Germany, (if one may say so) were become their patrimony; and if so many States had been united under any single prince of this family, it must be acknowledged that all the rest of Europe must have submitted to his empire.

OF G E R M A N Y.

THE German Empire is the most powerful neighbour of France. It is more extensive, and though less rich, perhaps, in money, it is far more fruitful in hardy and athletic men, who patiently endure the yoke of labour. The German Nation is governed, pretty nearly, as France was formerly by the first Kings of the Capet race, who were Chiefs often ill obeyed, by several of their great, and also many of their inferior vassals. At present, sixty Free Towns, which are called Imperial ones; about as many secular Sovereigns; near forty Ecclesiastical Princes, be they Bishops or Abbots; nine Electors, among whom may now be reckoned four Kings; and in fine the Emperor, Chief of all these Potentates; form this great Germanic body, which has been preserved unto these days, through the phlegmatic

ric temper of the Germans, with almost as much regularity, as there was, formerly, confusion in the French government.

Each member of the Empire has his rights, his privileges, and his duties; and the laborious knowledge of so many laws, which are often contested, is what is called, in Germany, the *Study of the Laws of Nations*, for which that nation is so famous.

The Emperor himself is not, in reality, richer or more powerful than a Doge of Venice. It is well known that Germany, being divided into Free Towns and Principalities, can afford nothing to the Chief of all these petty States, except a pre-eminence, with vast honours, indeed, but without dominions, without money, and consequently without power. To the title of Emperor, there is not annexed one single village. Nevertheless this dignity, often as vain as it is void, became so powerful in the hands of the Austrians, that it was much feared they would convert this Republic of Princes, into an absolute Monarchy.

Two parties then divided, and still divide, the Christian World, particularly Germany. The first is that of the Catholics, more or less obedient to the Pope. The second is that of the enemies to that spiritual and temporal authority claimed by the Pope and the Catholic Prelates. These latter are distinguished by the general name of Protestants, though they are divided into Lutherans, Calvinists, and other appellations, that hate one another as cordially as they do Rome.

Germany, Saxony, a part of Brandenburg, the Palatinate, part of Bohemia, of Hungary, the States of the House of Brunswick, Wirtenburgh, and Hesse, follow the Lutheran Religion, which they stile Evangelical. All the Free Imperial Towns have likewise embraced this sect, which appears to be better fitted than the Catholic Religion, to people jealous of their Liberty.

The Calvinists, that are dispersed among the more powerful Lutherans, form but a very inconsiderable party. The Catholics comprehend the rest of the Empire,

pire, and having the House of Austria at their head, were, without doubt, of the most importance.

Not only Germany, but all the Christian States still bleed with the wounds they received in so many religious wars; a rage peculiar to Christians, unknown to Infidels, and the unhappy consequence of that dogmatic spirit, so long introduced into all ranks and conditions. There are few points of controversy that have not occasioned a civil war; and it must be a matter of wonder to foreign nations, perhaps to our own posterity, that our forefathers should have continued to slaughter one another, for so many years, while they were preaching the doctrine of patience.

I have already shewn how Ferdinand II. * was near changing the German Aristocracy into an absolute Monarchy, and how he was as near being dethroned by Gustavus Adolphus. His son Ferdinand III. who inherited his politics, and who like him made war in his closet, reigned during the minority of Louis XIV.

Germany was not at that time so flourishing as it is become since; luxury was there unknown, and the conveniencies of life were then very rare, even among the Great. They were not introduced till towards the year 1686, by the French refugees who went thither to establish their manufactures. This populous and fertile country wanted both commerce and money. The gravity of their manners, and the slowness peculiar to the Germans, deprived them of those refinements and pleasing arts, which the sagacity of the Italians had long since cultivated, and which the industry of the French from that time endeavoured to bring to perfection.

The Germans, though rich at home, were poor every where else; and that poverty, joined to the difficulty of reuniting, in a short time, so many different people under the same standards, rendered them as they are at present, incapable of carrying a war, and supporting it for any

* See the Essay on General History, addressed to Madame the Marchioness of Chatelet.

length of time, into any of the neighbouring countries. But the French generally make the Empire itself the seat of war against the Emperors. The difference in the government and genius of the people, seems to render the French fitter for attack, and the Germans for defence.

OF SPAIN.

SPAIN, governed by the eldest branch of the House of Austria, spread more terror after the death of Charles V. than the German nation. The Kings of Spain were incomparably more rich and more absolute. The mines of Mexico and Potosi seemed to furnish them with means to purchase the Liberty of Europe. Every one has heard of the scheme for a monarchy, or rather for an universal superiority, over our Christian continent, which was formed by Charles V. and pursued by Philip II.

The Spanish grandeur, under the reign of Philip III. was but a vast body, without substance, which had greater repute, than strength.

Philip IV. who inherited his father's weakness, lost Portugal by his negligence, Roussillon by the weakness of his arms, and Catalonia by an abuse of despotic power. Such Kings could not long be successful, in their wars with France. If the divisions and faults of their enemy gave them some advantage, they lost the fruits of them, by their incapacity. Besides, the privileges of the people they ruled over, gave them a right to be refractory. The Castilians had the prerogative of not fighting out of their own country; the Arragonians were continually disputing their freedom with the Royal Council; and the Catalonians, who considered their Kings as their greatest enemies, would not suffer them even to raise recruits in their provinces.

However, Spain, united with the Empire, threw a tremendous weight into the Balance of Europe.

Of

OF PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL, at that time, became again a kingdom. John Duke of Braganza, who was reckoned a very weak Prince, wrested that province from a King far weaker than himself. The Portuguese, from necessity, cultivated the commerce which Spain, from pride, neglected. They became leagued with France and Holland, in 1641, against Spain. This revolution in Portugal was of more importance to France, than the most signal victories would have been. The French Minister, who had not in the least contributed to this event, reaped from it, without any trouble, the greatest advantage that can possibly be had over an enemy, that of seeing him attacked by an irreconcilable competitor.

Portugal, throwing off the yoke of Spain, spreading its commerce, and increasing its power, recalls here the idea of Holland, which enjoyed the same advantages, though in a very different manner.

OF the UNITED PROVINCES.

THIS little State of the Seven United Provinces, a country fertile in pasture, but sterile in grain, unhealthy, and almost drowned by the sea, was, for about half a century, a singular example in the world, of what can be effected by the love of liberty, and indefatigable labour. These people, poor, few in numbers, less trained to war than the lowest of the Spanish militia, and who were yet thought nothing of in Europe, resisted all the forces of their master and tyrant, Philip II; eluded the designs of several Princes, who would have assisted, only to enslave, them; and have established a sway, which we have seen able to balance the power of Spain itself. That desperation, which tyranny naturally provokes, first made them have recourse to arms; Liberty inspired their courage, and the Princes of the House of Orange made them excellent foldiers. Hardly had they subdued their masters, when they established a form of govern-

government, which preserves, as far as it is possible, an equality in the State, the most natural right of mankind.

This State, of so new a species, was, from its foundation, closely attached to France; they were united by one interest; their enemies were common to both. Henry the Great and Louis XIII. have been its allies, and its protectors *.

OF ENGLAND.

ENGLAND, much more powerful, affected the sovereignty of the sea, and pretended to hold a balance between the Powers of Europe; but Charles I. who reigned since 1625, unable to support the weight of that balance, felt the sceptre already slip from his hand. He wished to render his authority in England independent of the laws, and to alter the religion in Scotland. Too obstinate to desist from his designs, but yet too weak to execute them; a good husband, father, master, and an honest man, but an ill advised Prince; he engaged in a civil war, in which he lost, as we have already said, the throne, and his life also, on a scaffold, by a revolution almost unparalleled.

This civil war, begun during the minority of Louis XIV. prevented England, for a time, from engaging in the interest of her neighbours: she lost her importance with her good fortune; her commerce was interrupted; and the nations around her believed her sunk beneath her ruins, when on a sudden she became more formidable than ever, under the dominion of Cromwell, who enslaved her by carrying the gospel in one hand, and the sword in the other, and the mask of religion on his face, and who in his government concealed the crimes of an Usurper, under the talents of an able King.

* Pray why forget Queen Elizabeth?

Of

OF ROME.

THAT balance which England had long flattered herself to maintain, between the Potentates of Europe by her power, the Court of Rome endeavoured to support by her policy. Italy was divided, as it is now into several Sovereignities. That which belongs to the Pope, is sufficiently extensive to make him respectable as a *Prince*, but too inconsiderable to render him formidable as a *Potentate*.

The nature of that government does not contribute towards the peopling of his country, which is also deficient both in money and commerce; his spiritual authority, in which there is always a little of the temporal mixed, is equally abolished and abhorred by one-half of Christendom; and if by the other half he is looked up to as a father, he has children who sometimes oppose his authority, both with reason and success. It is the maxim of France to consider him as a sacred person but too assuming, whose feet they ought always to kiss but sometimes bind his hands.

We may yet trace, in all the Catholic countries, the steps which the Court of Rome had formerly taken towards universal monarchy. All the Princes of the religion, on their accession, send embassies of *obedience* as they are styled, to the Pope. Each Crown has a Cardinal in Rome, who takes the title of Protector. The Pope grants bulls for all the bishoprics, and expresses himself in them as if his power alone conferred those dignities. All the Italian, Spanish, and French bishops, call themselves so, by the Divine permission and by that of the Holy See. Many of the French prelates about the year 1682, rejected this formula, which was unknown in the first age; and in our days, in 1751 we have seen a bishop * courageous enough to omit it in a mandate, which ought to be transmitted to posterity; a mandate, or rather a singular precept, wherein

* Stuart Fitzjames, Bishop of Solisburs.

is expressly declared, what no Pontiff had ever yet dared to say, that all men, nay even infidels, are alike our brethren.

In fine, the Pope has preserved, in all the Catholic States, prerogatives which he could, certainly, never have maintained, if prescription had not given them a sanction. There is not a Kingdom in which there are not several benefices in his gift; and as a tribute he receives the revenues of the first year of all Consistorial livings.

The Monks, of whom the principal ones reside at Rome, are so many immediate subjects of the Popes, dispersed through all the States. Custom, which is all in all, and which causes the world to be ruled by prejudice, as much as by laws, would not permit the Princes intirely to remedy an evil, which was otherwise connected with things useful and holy. To swear allegiance to any one but one's sovereign, is high treason in a layman; but in the cloister, it is an act of religion. The difficulty of knowing how far one should obey this foreign sovereign; the easiness of letting one's self be carried away; the pleasure of shaking off a natural yoke to take up another of one's own choosing; the spirit of sedition, and the unhappiness of the times, have but too often seduced whole orders of Monks to serve Rome, against their own countries.

The enlightened spirit which has reigned in France, during this latter century, and which has extended itself through almost all ranks of life, has been the most effectual remedy for such a superstition. The many excellent books that have been written on this subject, have rendered material services, both to the Kings and to the people: and one of the happy changes which has, by this means, been made in our morals, under Louis XIV. is, that the Clergy all agree in thinking that they are first subjects to the King, before they are servants to the Pope. But jurisdiction, that essential mark of sovereignty, still rests with the Roman Pontiff. Even France, notwithstanding all the exemptions of the Gallican Church, suffers still an appeal to be made to the Pope, as the last resource in ecclesiastical causes.

If one wanted to dissolve a marriage, to marry a cousin, or a niece; to be absolved from one's vows, it is still to the Pope, and not to the bishop, that the application is to be made; the indulgences are there rated and the individuals of every nation there purchase their dispensations at extravagant prices.

These impositions, which are considered by many people as the consequences of the most absurd prejudices, and by others, as the remains of the most sacred rights, are still most artfully preserved. Rome manages her policy with as much address, as the Roman Republic made use of to conquer half the world then known.

No Court ever knew better how to conduct itself, according to persons and times. The Popes are generally Italians, grown grey in the service of the Church, without passions to blind their understanding. Their Council is composed of Cardinals, who resemble them, and who are all animated with the same spirit. From this Council are instructions sent forth which extend even to China and America. In this manner does it bear sway throughout the globe; and one might often have said of it, what a foreigner once did of the Roman senate, "I have seen a Consistory of Kings."

The most part of our Writers have very properly risen up with indignation against the ambition of the Court; but I know not any, who have done sufficient justice to its policy. I am doubtful whether any other nation could have preserved so many disputed prerogatives, for so long a time in Europe: any other Court would, probably, have lost them, either by intolence, or tameness; by remissness or precipitation; but Rome always accommodating her measures, either of firmness or flexibility, according as circumstances have required, has contrived to preserve to herself every thing that humanly speaking, it was in her power to keep.

She has been seen groveling under Charles V. formidable to Henry III. King of France; friend and enemy by turns, to Henry IV.; subtle with Louis XIII.; openly opposing Louis XIV. even at the time when he was most to be feared; and often the secret enemy of the Emperors

Emperors, whom she was more apprehensive of, than of the Grand Seignior.

Some rights, much pretensions, patience, and policy, are all that now remain to Rome, of its ancient dignity; who, six centuries ago, attempted to subject the Empire, and all Europe, to the Triple Crown. Naples is yet a subsisting testimony of that right which the Popes arrogated formerly to themselves, with so much artifice and presumption, of creating and bestowing Kingdoms. But the King of Spain, to whom that State belongs, now only leaves to the Court of Rome the honour and the danger of having a too powerful vassal.

As for the rest, the Papal State enjoyed a perfect peace, interrupted only by the little warfare which I have already spoken of, between the two Cardinal Barberinis, Nephews to Pope Urban VIII. and the Duke of Parma.

Of the REMAINDER of ITALY.

THE other Provinces of Italy attended to various interests. Venice feared both the Turks and the Emperor; with much difficulty she defended her Terra Firma States from the claims of Germany, and the invasions of the Grand Seignior. She was no longer that Venice which was formerly known to be the Mistress of the World of Commerce, and which, an hundred and fifty years before, had excited the envy of so many Kings. The wisdom of her government still subsisted, but her commerce being destroyed, deprived her of almost all her power; and the City of Venice was, from its situation, secured from being conquered, and, from its weakness, incapable of conquering.

The State of Florence enjoyed both peace and plenty,* under the government of the Medicis. Those arts, letters, and elegancies of life, which the Medicis' first gave rise to, still flourished; and Tuscany was then in Italy, what Athens had been in Greece. Savoy, torn

See the *Essay on General History*.

to pieces by a civil war, and harassed by the French and Spanish troops, at length became altogether united in favour of France; and in Italy, contributed much to weaken the Austrian power.

The Swiss preserved their freedom, as they still do, without endeavouring to oppress others. They hired out their troops to their neighbours who were richer than themselves; they were poor; they were unacquainted with all those arts and sciences which Luxury has created; but they were wise and happy.

Of the N O R T H E R N S T A T E S.

THE Nations of the North of Europe, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, were, like the other Powers, for ever in distrust, or at war, with one another. In Poland, the manners and government of the Goths and Franks reigned, as they do still there; an elective King, his power divided by the Nobles, an enslaved People, a weak infantry, a cavalry composed of the Nobles, not one fortified town, and hardly any commerce. This people were sometimes attacked by the Swedes, or by the Muscovites, and sometimes by the Turks. The Swedes, a nation much freer in its constitution, which admits even Peasants to be members of their public councils, but who were then more obedient to their Kings than Poland, were almost every where crowned with victory. Denmark which was formerly the terror of Sweden, was no longer formidable to any nation, and her real greatness only began under the two Kings Frederic III. and IV. Muscovy was yet but a barbarous nation.

Of the T U R K S.

THE Turks were not then what they had been under the Selim, the Mahomets, and the Solimans: their effeminacy had corrupted the Seraglio, without banishing cruelty from thence. The Sultans were at once the

the most despotic sovereigns in their Seraglio, and the least secure of their throne, or their lives : Osman and Ibrahim both died by the bow-string, and Mustapha had been twice deposed.

The Turkish Empire, weakened by these shocks, was also attacked by the Persians ; but as soon as it was relieved from that enemy, and the revolutions of the Seraglio were at an end, the Empire became once more a formidable enemy to Christendom. For from the mouth of the Boristhenes, even to the States of Venice, Muscovy, Hungary, Greece, and the Islands, have by turns fallen a prey to the Turkish arms : and from the year 1644, they persevered in the war of Candia, which was so fatal to the Christian States. Such were the condition, the power, and interests, of the principal nations in Europe, about the time of the death of Louis XIII. King of France.

THE SITUATION of FRANCE.

FRANCE being allied to Sweden, Holland, Savoy, and Portugal, and having the good wishes of other inactive nations, supported, against Spain and the Empire, a war destructive to both parties, and of fatal consequence to the House of Austria. That war was like all those which have been carried on for so many ages between the Christian Princes, in which millions of lives are sacrificed, and provinces destroyed, to gain after all some little frontier towns, which are seldom worth the price of the conquest.

The Generals of Louis XIII. conquered Roussillon, and the Catalonians had just submitted to the dominion of France, as the protectress of that liberty which they defended against their Kings ; but these successes did not prevent their enemies from taking Corbie, in 1637, nor from approaching even to Pontoise. Fear had driven half the inhabitants from Paris ; and Cardinal Richelieu, in the midst of his great projects for humbling the Austrian power, was reduced to the necessity of taxing

all the Court-Yards in Paris *, to oblige each to provide a foot-soldier for the war, and to repel the enemy at the very gates of the capital.

The French had done much damage to the Spaniards and the Germans, and had sustained as much from them, in turn.

The STRENGTH of FRANCE after the DEATH of LOUIS XIII. and the MANNERS of those TIMES.

THESE wars produced many illustrious Generals such as a Gustavus Adolphus, a Wallstein, a Duke of Weimar, Piccolomini, John de Wert, the Marshal Guebriant, the Princes of Orange, and the Count D'Harcourt. The Ministers of State were not less distinguished. The Chancellor Oxenstiern, the Duke d'Olivares, &c. but particularly Cardinal Richelieu, attracted the notice of all Europe. There is not any age in which foreign statemen and warriors have not rendered their name famous. It seems, unfortunately, that politics and arms are the professions most natural to man. We must forever fight or negotiate. The most fortunate man passes for the greatest, and the Public often impute that success to merit, which is only the effect of fortune.

War was not then carried on as we have since seen it, in the reign of Louis XIV. Their armies were not then so numerous. Since the siege of Meez †, by Charles V. there had not been seen a General at the head of fifty thousand men. They besieged and defended places with fewer cannon than in these days. The art of fortification was yet in its infancy. Pikes and arquebuses ‡ were then in use; and the sword was at that time the principal weapon, which is rendered almost useless, in the present discipline. They still preserved the ancient law of na-

* This Tax was imposed upon every house in the city that had a Court Yard, or Gate way, belonging to it, in order that it should fall only on the rich or great.

† A town in France.

‡ Short hand-guns.

tions, of declaring war by an Herald. Louis XIII. was the last who observed that custom: he sent a Herald at arms to Brussels, to declare war against Spain, in 1635.

Nothing was then more common than to see Priests at the head of armies. The Cardinal Infant, the Cardinal of Savoy, Richelieu, La Valette, Souffis Archbishop of Bourdeaux, Cardinal Theodore Trivulce, commander of the Spanish cavalry, had all worn the cuirass, and served personally themselves. One of the Bishops of Mendes had often been an Intendant of the army.

The Popes sometimes threatened these warlike Priests with excommunication. Pope Urban VIII. being offended with France, sent a message to Cardinal de La Valette, that if he did not lay down his arms, he would deprive him of his Cardinalship; but being soon after reconciled to France, he heaped benedictions upon him.

The Ambassadors, no less ministers of peace than the clergy, made no difficulty of leaving in the armies belonging to the allied powers to whom they were deputed. Charnacé, Envoy from France to Holland, commanded a regiment there, in the year 1637; and even since, the Ambassador D'Éstrade bore a colonel's commission in their service.

France had not, in all, more than fourscore thousand effective troops on foot. Her marine, instituted for many ages, a little renewed by Cardinal Richelieu, was renewed again under the administration of Mazarin. Louis XIII. had not above forty-five millions seven, ordinary revenue; but the silver was not at a currency of twenty-six livres the mark. These forty-five millions amount to about eighty-five millions of this time, when the arbitrary estimate of the silver mark is raised to forty-nine livres and a half; an exorbitant numerical valuation, and which the public interest and national justice should forbid ever to be augmented.

Commerce, which is now spread universally, was then confined to very few hands. The interior police of the Kingdom was entirely neglected; a glaring proof of a bad administration. Cardinal Richelieu, taken up with his own dignity, which was connected with the

the state, had begun to render France formidable abroad, without having made her flourishing at home. The public roads were neither repaired nor guarded; they were infested with highway men: the streets of Paris were narrow, ill paved, offensive with all manner of filth, and continually filled with robbers. By the Registers of Parliament, we may see, that the watch of that city was then reduced to forty-five men, ill paid, and little mindful of their duty.

Ever since the death of Francis II. France had been continually torn to pieces by factions or civil wars. The yoke had never been borne willingly or peaceably. The nobility were nursed in conspiracies. Plotting was then the fashion of the Court, as that of pleasing their Sovereign has been since.

This spirit of discord and faction had extended itself from the Court even to the smallest towns, and insinuated itself into every Community in the kingdom. Every thing was contested, because there was nothing settled. There was not a parish in Paris which did not come to blows, one processions fought with one another, for the honor of their banners. The Canons of our Lady were often seen in tumult with those of the Holy Chapel: and on the day that Louis XII. placed his Kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary, the Parliament of Paris and the Court of Chancery fought for precedence, in the very chapel of the saint they were both met to supplicate.

Almost all the Communities were up in arms, and almost every individual was possessed with the madness of duelling. This species of Gothic barbarity, formerly encouraged by Kings themselves, and then become the characteristic of the nation, contributed still as much as the foreign and civil wars to depopulate the country. We may with truth aver, that, in the course of twenty years, ten of which were spent in war, more Frenchmen fell by the hands of Frenchmen, than by those of their enemies.

We shall say nothing here of the method by which arts and sciences were cultivated; that part of the history of
our

our manners shall be given in its proper place. We shall only remark that the French nation was plunged in ignorance, without exception of those who thought themselves wiser than the vulgar.

They consulted astrologers, and believed in them. All the Memoirs of that time, to begin with the History of the President de Thou, are filled with predictions. The grave and severe Duke de Sully seriously records those that were foretold of Henry IV. This credulity, the most infallible mark of ignorance, was then to much in vogue, that they took care to select an astrologer near Queen Anne of Austria's chamber, at the birth of Louis XIV.

What is difficult to be believed, but is nevertheless related by the Abbot Vittorio Siri, a cotemporary and well informed writer, is, that Louis XIII. was from his infancy furnished *The Just*, because he was born under *Libra*, or the Sign of the Balance.

The same weakness which brought into fashion that absurd chimera of judicial astrology, gave credit also to sorcery, and notions of demoniacks. It became an article of religion. The priests were for ever conjuring out evil spirits; and the tribunals, composed of magistrates who ought to have been more enlightened than the vulgar, were constantly employed in trying forcerers. The memory of Cardinal Richelieu will for ever be reproached with the death of the famous Curate of Loudun, Urban Grandier, who was condemned to be burnt for a magician, by a commission signed by the Council. One is provoked to reflect, that the Minister and the Judges should have been so weak as to believe in the Devils of Loudun, or so cruel as to condemn an innocent man to the flames*. It will ever be remembered with astonish-

* The true reason of Grandier's persecution was his being thought, and perhaps justly, the writer of a lampoon, intitled the *Female Sodomaker of Loudun*, in which the birth and family of Richelieu were ridiculed. He was charged with necromancy, and possessing some of the *Urgaine* sisterhood with evil spirits; tried and convicted on the testimony of the following Devil; Astaroth, of the order of the Seraphim, and chief of the possessing demons; Iatus Celfus, Acan, Cerdon and Afinodeus, of the order of the Thrones; Alex, Zabulon, Nephtholim, Cham, Uriel, and Achis, of the order of Principalities:—

ment, even by the latest posterity, that the wife of the Marshal d'Ancre was burnt at the stake as a sorceress*.

We may yet see, in a copy of some Registries of the Châtelet, a process begun in 1601, about a horse that had been trained and managed by its industrious master, in such a manner as we may have sometimes seen examples of at a fair; and they would willingly have burnt both the horse and its master.

This is sufficient to give a general idea of the spirit and manners of the age which preceded that of Louis XIV.

The gross ignorance that was diffused through all orders of the state, introduced, even among the most virtuous and civilized, such superstitious practices as reflected a disprize on religion. The Calvinists, confounding the reasonable worship of the Catholics with the abuses they made of that worship, were but the more confirmed in their hatred against our Church. To our popular superstitions, often full of revelry, they opposed a rigid severity and savageness of manners, the common characteristic of almost all reformers. Thus was France degraded and rent asunder by the demon of party; and that spirit of sociableness which now renders the nation so amiable and distinguished, was then absolutely unknown. There were no houses where people of genius might assemble to communicate their knowledge to each other; no Academies; no regular Theatres: in fine, the manners, laws, art, society, religion, peace, and war, were unlike all that we have since seen in that era which is called *The Age of Louis XIV.*

that is, on the evidence of the *Ughlones*, who fancied themselves possessed by both infernal hierarchy. He was condemned to be burnt alive, and was accordingly executed, suffering with resolution and like a Christian.

Just as they were going to set fire to the stake, a large hamble-bed chanced to fly about his head; upon which a priest, who was standing by, declared it to be the Devil, (name not mentioned) that was come to carry on the soul of Grassier.

* She was accused of having exercised witchcraft against Mary de Medici; and being interrogated what ceremonies of sorcery she had used, she replied, *that only which great souls exercise over weak minds.*

CHAP

C H A P. III.

The Minority of Louis XIV. I stories of the French under the Great Condé, then Duke d'Enguien.

CARDINAL Richelieu and Louis XIII. happened to die; the one admired and hated, the other already forgotten. They left behind them to the French nation, which was then full of dissension, a strong aversion to the very name of Minister, and but little respect for the Throne. Louis XIII. by his will appointed a Regency. This Monarch, who was but ill obeyed during his life, flattered himself that he should be more respected after his death; but the first step taken by his widow, Anne of Austria, was to obtain a decree of the Parliament of Paris to annul the will of her husband. This body having been a long time in opposition to the Court, and who, under Louis, had scarcely supported the liberty of making remonstrances, cancelled the testament of their Sovereign with the same ease that they would have determined the cause of a private citizen*. Anne of Austria appealed to this Court to obtain an unlimited regency, because Mary de Medicis had done the same, after the death of Henry IV; and Mary de Medicis had indeed set the example, because that any other course would have been tedious and uncertain; that the Parliament, surrounded by her guards, could not refuse her request; and that an arret given by the Parliament and the Peers appeared to confirm her authority incontestably.

The custom which gave the regency to the Queen-mother, appeared then to the French a law almost as fundamental, as the one that precludes females from the

* Riencourt, in his History of Louis XIV. says, that the will of Louis XIII. was confirmed in Parliament. What deceived this Writer was, that Louis XIII. had, in reality, declared the Queen Regent, which article was confirmed; but he had also limited her authority, which part was cancelled.

Crown*. The Parliament of Paris having twice determined this point, that is to say, confirmed by its decrees alone this maternal right, seemed in effect to have conferred the regency: it considered itself, and not without some apparent truth, as the tutor of Kings, and each Councillor thought himself a part of the sovereignty. By the same act, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, brother to the King, received the empty title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, under the commanding Regent.

Anne of Austria was obliged, at first, to continue the war with her brother, Philip IV. whom she truly loved. It is difficult to say precisely, what occasioned that war. They demanded nothing from Spain, not even a *varre*, which should have been the patrimony of the Kings of France. They contended from the year 1635, because Cardinal Richelieu chose it; and most probably the reason of his choosing it was, that it might render his services necessary. He made an alliance with Sweden against the Emperor; and also with Duke Bernard de Saxe-Weimar, one of those Generals whom the Italians called *Condottieri*, that is to say, who sold their troops. He also attacked the Austrian Spanish branch, in those Ten provinces that we in general call by the name of Flanders; and he divided with the Dutch, who were then our allies, that Flanders which had not been conquered.

The strength of the war was on the side of Flanders. The Spanish troops issued from the frontiers of Hamault, to the number of twenty-six thousand men, conducted by an old experienced General, called Don Francisco de Melos. They ravaged the frontiers of Champagne, attacked Rocroi, and purposed marching even to the gates of Paris, as they had done eight years before. Their hopes were animated by the death of Louis XIII. and the apparent weakness of the state from a minority; and when they found themselves opposed only by an army inferior to them in numbers, and commanded by a young

* The Salique Law.

man of but one-and-twenty, they flattered themselves with certain success.

This inexperienced youth, whom they despised, was Louis de Bourbon, then Duke d'Enguieu, and since known by the title of the *Great Condé*. Most great generals have become so by degrees. This Prince was born one; the art of war seemed in him but a natural instinct. There was in Europe only he, and the Swede Turenne, whose genius at twenty years old, might have dispensed with experience*.

The Duke d'Enguieu had received, with the account of the death of Louis XIII. orders not to hazard a battle. The Marshal de l'Hospital, who was appointed to conduct and advise him, seconded these timid orders, from his great circumspection. The Prince minded neither the Court nor the Marshal; he confided his design to none but Gassion, the Major General, who was worthy the honour of being consulted by him; and they soon brought the Marshal to think a battle necessary.

It is remarked, that the Prince having settled everything the night before the battle, slept so soundly that they were obliged to awaken him for the engagement. The same thing is told of Alexander. It is natural that a young man, exhausted with the fatigue of preparations for so great a day, should fall into a heavy sleep; it is likewise so, that a genius suited to war, and acting without perturbation, should retain enough of calmness to suffer his body to repose. May 19, 1643.

* Turenne was page to Gustavus Adolphus in 1624. The King being ready to attack a body of Lithuanians, in Livonia, and having no adjutant by him, dispatched Turenne with orders to a General Officer to take advantage of a movement which he had seen made by the enemy. Turenne went, and returned, in the mean time the enemy had changed their march. The King was distressed at the order he had given, and Turenne said to him, "Sire, be pleased to pardon what I have done; but seeing the enemy had made a different movement, I gave a different order." The King made no reply: but at night when the page attended him at table, he made him sit down by him, and sup with him: he gave him an Ensigny in the Guards, in a fortnight after a company, and at last a regiment. Turenne was one of the greatest Officers in Europe.

The

The Prince gained the battle, it may be said, by himself; by a quick glance of the eye, which at once saw danger and resource, and by an activity free from confusion, which was directed opportunely to all quarters. It was he who with a few cavalry attacked that Spanish Infantry, till then invincible, as strong and close as the famous ancient Phalanx, and which opened with an agility which the former was incapable of, in order to discharge sixteen cannon enclosed in the middle of it. The Prince surrounded and attacked it three times. Scarcely had he gained the victory, when he forbade further slaughter. The Spanish Officers threw themselves on their knees to implore his protection against the fury of the victorious soldiery. The Duke d'Enghien was as anxious for their safety, as he had been for the conquest.

The old Count de Fuentes, who commanded the Spanish Infantry, died pierced through with wounds. Condé, on being told of it, said, "he should have wished to have so died, had he not conquered."

The respect with which Europe had been impressed by the Spanish troops, now inclined towards the French, who had not, during an hundred years, gained so celebrated a victory; for the bloody action of Marignano, rather disputed than gained by Francis I. against the Swiss, was as much won by the German Black corps, as by the bravery of the French. The battles also of Pavia and St. Quintin were yet more fatal to the honour of France. Henry IV. was so unfortunate as to gain no great advantages over any nation but his own. In the reign of Louis XIII. the Marshal de Guebriant had some slight successes, but they were always counterbalanced by losses. The battles which were capable of shaking empires, and that will rest for ever in the memory of men, were only fought, in those days, by Gustavus Adolphus.

The action of Rocroi became the epocha of the glory of France, as well as that of the Prince of Condé. He knew how to conquer, and to make advantage of a victory. His letters to the Court determined them on the

fin.

siege of Thionville, which Cardinal Richelieu had never dared to attempt; and at the return of his Councils, every thing was already prepared for that expedition.

The Prince of Condé marched across the enemy's country, deceived the vigilance of General Aug. 8, Beck, and at last took possession of Thion- 1643. ville. From thence he hastened to lay siege to Cirq, and made himself master of it. He obliged the Germans to repass the Rhine, and immediately followed them. He hastened to repair the defeats and losses which the French had sustained on these frontiers, after the death of the Marshal de Guebriant. He found Fribourg taken, and General Mercé lying before its walls, with an army much superior to his. Condé had with him two Marshals of France. The one was Grammont, and the other Turenne, who had been made a Marshal five months before, having served successfully in Piedmont, against Spain. 'Twas there he laid the foundation of that renowned character, which he afterwards obtained.

The Prince, with these two Generals, attacked the Camp of Mercé, which was intrenched on Aug. 31, two eminences. The combat was repeated 1644. ed three times, on three different days. It is said, that the Duke d'Enguien threw his General's staff into the enemy's trenches, and marched to recover it, sword in hand, at the head of the Regiment of Conti. It required, perhaps, such an intrepid action as this to encourage troops to such difficult attacks. This battle of Fribourg, more bloody than decisive, was this Prince's second triumph. Mercé occupied four days after. Philippsbourg and Mayence having surrendered, were at once both the proofs and the fruits of this victory.

The Duke d'Enguien returned to Paris, amidst the acclamations of the people, and received the token of acknowledgement from the Court. He left his army under the command of the Prince Marshal de Turenne; but this General, though very successful before, was now beaten at Mariendal. The Prince flies to the army, re-assumes the staff, and, to the glory of his Apol. 1645. commanding Turenne, adds that of retriev-

ing

ing his defeat. He attacked Merci, in the plains of

Aug. 3, Norlingen, and gained a complete victory.

1045. The Marshal de Grammont was there taken prisoner; but General Glen, who commanded under Merci, was made captive at the same time, and Merci himself was numbered with the dead. This General, esteemed one of the ablest Captains, was interred near the field of battle; and on his tomb was engraved, *Sto Victor, Heroem calcas*: "Stop, Traveller, thou treadest upon an Hero."

15679.

The fame of the Duke d'Enghien then eclipsed every

Oct. 7, other name. He soon after besieged Dun-

1646. kirk, in the sight of the Spanish army, and was the first who conquered that place for France

So much success and so many services procured him rather more jealousy than reward from the Court; and rendered him as much an object of fear to the Minister, as to the enemy. They removed him from the scene of his conquests and his glory, and sent him into Catalonia, with troops very undisciplined, and as ill paid.

1647. He invested Lerida, and was obliged to raise the siege. They accuse him, in some books, of too much vain parade, in having opened the trenches to the sound of violins, not knowing that it was then the custom of the Spaniards*.

The fluctuation of affairs soon obliged the Court to recall Condé back to Flanders. The Archduke Leopold, brother to the Emperor Ferdinand III. had laid siege to Lens in Artois. Condé placed once more at the head of those troops that had been used to conquer under his command, led them directly against the Archduke. This was now the third time he had joined battle, against the odds of superior numbers. The only military oration he made use of, was this: "My friends, remember Rocroi, Fribourg, and Norlingen." This action of Lens complicated his glory. Turenne had the honour, on that day, to lend most powerful assistance towards a victory that served in some sort to humble him.

* Their instrument is rather the Guitar.

But, perhaps, he never appeared so great, as in so gallantly seconding his rival in name.

He himself disengaged, and supported the Marshal de Grammont, who was giving way with Aug. 10,
the left wing; and took General Beck 1648.
prisoner. The Arch-Duke, with the Count Foenfaldagne, with difficulty escaped by flight. The Spaniards and the Imperialists, which composed this army, were dispersed; they lost above a hundred pair of colours, and thirty eight pieces of cannon; which was a very considerable article at that time. Three thousand men fell in that action, five thousand were taken prisoners, the rest all deserted; so that the Arch-Duke was left without an army.

Those who would truly be instructed, may remark, that, since the foundation of their monarchy, the French had never gained, one after another, so many battles, and such glorious ones, by the conduct of her generals, and the bravery of her troops.

While the Prince of Condé, now properly so called *, thus reckoned the years of his youth by the number of his victories; and the Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIII. had so well sustained the character of a Son of Henry IV. and the honour of July
France, by the conquest of Gravelines, Courtray and 1644.
Mardyke; the Viscount Turenne had taken Nov.
Landau, drove the Spaniards from Treves, 1644.
and re-established the Elector.

He likewise, in conjunction with the Swedes, gained the battle of Lavingen as also that of Sommerhausen; and drove the Duke of Bavaria, at Nov.
the age of near fourscore, out of his territories. 1647.
The Count De Marcourt took Balagnier, and beat 1645.
the Spaniards. They also lost Portolongone in Italy; and twenty ships, with as many galleys of France, which comprised almost the whole of the marine re-established by Richelieu, defeated the 1616.
fleet of Spain, on the coast of Italy.

* His father died in 1616.

But this detail ends not here. The arms of France likewise invaded and conquered Lorrain, from the Duke Charles IV. a warlike Prince, but unsteady, imprudent, and unfortunate; who saw himself at the same time despoiled of his dominions by France, and kept prisoner by Spain. The allies of France pressed hard upon the Austrian power, both in the North, and in the South. The Duke of Albuquerque, General of the Portuguese, won the battle of Badajoz, against the Spaniards. Tortenson defeated the Imperial troops near Ta-

May, bor, and gained a compleat victory. The
1644. Prince of Orange, at the head of the Dutch
Mar. forces, penetrated into Brabant.
1645.

The King of Spain, beaten on all sides, beheld Roussillon and Catalonia in the hands of the French. Naples having also revolted from him, submitted itself to the Duke of Guise, the last Prince of that branch of a house so fruitful in illustrious and dangerous men.

This person, who passed but for a daring adventurer, because he happened to be unsuccessful in his pursuit, had at least the glory of hazarding himself singly aboard a small bark, of passing through the whole Spanish fleet, and defending Naples, without any other succour than his own personal bravery.

On considering so many misfortunes and losses fallen upon the House of Austria, so many repeated victories by the French, and seconded by the succours of their allies, one might well suppose, that Vienna and Madrid only waited to be called upon to throw open their gates; and that the Emperor and the King of Spain should be almost without an acre of territory. And yet, five years of glory, scarcely interrupted by the least reverse of fortune, produced but very few material advantages—much bloodshed, but no revolution. Nay, if any such event was to be apprehended, it was rather for France herself, who, in the midst of so much apparent prosperity, was nearly brought to ruin.

C H A P. IV.

The Civil War:

THE Queen, Anne of Austria, absolute Regent, had made Cardinal Mazarin the Master of France, and of herself. He held over her that sort of dominion, which an artful man may easily exercise over a woman born with weakness enough to be governed, and sufficient obstinacy to persist in her election.

We read, in some Memoirs of these times, that the Queen placed no confidence in Mazarin, but on the insufficiency of Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, whom she had at first chosen for her Minister. This Bishop has been described as incapable of government. It is believed he was so, and that the Queen employed him, for a time, merely as a screen, to avoid giving offence to the nation, by the choice of a second Cardinal, and a foreigner. But a thing that cannot be believed, is, that Potier began his transient Ministry, by declaring to the Dutch, that "they must conform to the Catholic religion, if they expected to remain in the alliance of France." He should also have made the same proposition to the Swedes.

Almost all the Historians repeat this absurdity, because they had read it in some Court Memoirs, and other tracts of the Frondeurs. There are a number of articles, in those Memoirs, either misrepresented by passion, or related from popular reports. The Puerile should not be cited, and the Absurd ought not to be credited.

It is very probable that Cardinal Mazarin was the Minister designed, for a long time, in the Queen's mind, and even while Louis XIII. was yet living. This cannot be doubted, after reading the Memoirs of La Porte, first valet-de-chambre to Anne of Austria. Inferior persons about a Court, who are witnesses to all the interior of it, often get at the knowledge of things, that the Parlia-

ment, or even the heads of parties, know nothing of, nor sometimes so much as suspect.

Mazarin used his power with moderation at first. One must live in intimacy with a Minister to be able to delineate his character; to say what degree of courage, or weakness, he had in his nature; and whether he was an honest man, or a knave: so that, without investigating what Mazarin was, we shall content ourselves with only telling what he did.

He affected, on the commencement of his elevation, as much humility, as Richelieu had assumed of haughtiness. Instead of having himself attended by guards, and appearing in public with a royal state, he went abroad with the most modest train, and shewed an affability, and remarkable condescension, in every circumstance where his predecessor had behaved with intolerance and inflexibility. The Queen endeavoured to conciliate his government and person, both to the people, and the court, and succeeded in her purpose. Gaston, Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII. and the Prince of Condé, supported her power, and had no other emulation, but to serve the State.

It required imposts to carry on the war against Spain and the Emperor. The finances of France were, ever since the death of Henry the Great, as ill conducted as in Spain, and Germany. The Administration was a chaos, where the greatest ignorance reigned, and the embezzlement of the public money was at the highest. But this depredation did not operate upon such considerable objects, as in the present age. The State was eight times less in debt; they had not armies then of two hundred thousand men to maintain, no immense subsidies to pay, nor any naval war to sustain.

The revenues of the kingdom amounted, in the first years of the Regency, to near seventy five millions of livres, of the then currency. This sum had been sufficient, if there had been any œconomy in the Minister. But in 1646 and 1647, there was a necessity of applying to new resources. The Suprintendant, at that time, was a common peasant of Sienna, named Particelli Emeri, who

Foul was baser even than his birth, and whose pride and profligacy roused the indignation of the Kingdom against him.

This person contrived resources equally burlesome and absurd. He created the offices of Comptrollers of Faggots, of sworn Sellersmen of Hay, of Kings' Counsellors, Criers of Wine, and also sold patents of nobility. The revenue of the Hotel de-Ville in Paris, amounted then to only about eleven millions. They cut off some quarters from the renters, augmented the fees of admission, created several offices of Masters of Requests, and withheld about fourscore thousand crowns of the salaries of the magistrates.

It is easy to imagine how much the public spirit revolted against two Italians, come into France without any fortune, and enriched by the spoils of the nation, which afforded such a handle against them. The Parliament of Paris, the Masters of Requests, the other Courts, and the annuitants, raised a clamour against them. In vain Mazarin removed his creature Emei from the post of Superintendant, and banished him to one of his estates; the nation continued outrageous that this man should be master of a foot of land in France; and held Cardinal Mazarin in detestation, although even at that very time he had concluded the great business of the Peace of Munster. For it is worth remarking, that this famous treaty and the Barricadoes were in the same year, 1648.

The civil wars commenced in Paris, as they did in London, about a trifle.

The Parliament of Paris possessing the right of assenting or dissenting upon all edicts or taxes, warmly opposed these new impositions, and acquired the confidence of the people, by thwarting and distressing the Minister. 1647.

They did not begin by an insurrection: a people are provoked and emboldened by degrees. The populace might at first have betaken themselves to arms, and chosen a leader, as they did at Naples. But the Magistrates and Officers of the State proceeded with more deli-

deliberation, and commenced with preserving all becoming decorum, as far as the spirit of party would permit.

Cardinal Mazarin thought that, in artfully dividing the magistrature, he should prevent any further trouble; but inflexibility was opposed to suppleness. He suppressed four years fine of all the Superior Courts, in remitting to them the *Paulette*; that is to say, an exemption from the tax contrived by Paulet, under Henry IV. for insuring the property of their posts. This retrenchment was not a grievance, but it preserved the four years tenure to the Parliament; and he thought to disarm them by this favour.

The Parliament scorned this proffer, which would have exposed them to the censure of preferring its own interest to that of the other assemblies. It therefore made its arret of Union with the other Courts of Justice. Mazarin, who could never pronounce French well, having said that this decree of *Oignon* was outrageous, and having had it annulled in Council, the single word *Oignon* rendered it ridiculous; and as men are not apt to truckle to those they despise, the Parliament became thence more hardy.

It demanded peremptorily that they should dismiss all the Intendants, considered by the nation as extortioners, and that they should abolish that new species of Magistracy instituted under Louis XIII. without passing through the usual forms. This was to soothe the nation, as much as to pique the Court. It determined, that, according to the ancient laws, no citizen was to be imprisoned, without his natural judges being advertised of it, within the space of twenty-four hours; and nothing appeared to be more just.

The Parliament proceeded further: It abolished the Intendant, by an arret, with orders to the King's Attornies in their districts to bring information against them.

* A yearly spend paid to the Crown, by the Officers of Judicature, or the *Procureurs*, to insure the succession of their places to their descendants.

Thus

Thus the resentment against the Minister, strengthened by the love of the public good, threatened the Court with a revolution. The Queen gave way; she offered to abolish the Intendants, desiring only that she might be permitted to continue three of them; but this was refused her.

While these troubles were in agitation, the Prince of Condé gained the famous victory of Lens, Aug. 20.
1648. which consummated his glory. The King, who was then but about ten years of age, cried out upon this occasion, "The Parliament will be sorry at this news." This expression makes it sufficiently appear that the Court at that time considered the Parliament of Paris but as a conspiracy of rebels.

The Cardinal and the Courtiers gave it no other appellation; but the more this body resented their being deemed rebels, the more obstinate they continued.

The Queen and the Cardinal resolved to have three of the most factious Magistrates taken up; Novion Blanc-ménil, *Président à Mortier*, as he is styled; Charton, President of a Board of Inquests; and Broussel, an old Counsellor, and Clerk of the Great Chamber. These were not chiefs of the male-contents, but their tools. Charton, a man of mean parts, was noted by the nickname of *I say now*, because he began and concluded all his speeches with those words. Broussel had nothing to recommend him, but his grey hairs, his hatred to the Minister, and his custom of always exclaiming against the Court, upon every occasion whatsoever. His confederates esteemed him not, but the rabble idolized him.

Instead of carrying them off, privately, in the silence of the night, the Cardinal thought to awe the people by having them publicly arrested in open day, while *Te Deum* was singing at Notre-Dame, for the victory of Lens, and the Swiss of the Chamber were carrying into the church seventy-three pair of colours taken from the enemy. This was, in effect, what caused the subversion of the Kingdom.

Chariton slipped away, Blanc-ménil was taken without resistance, but it was not so easy a matter to carry off Broussel. An old maid-servant, singly, on seeing her master forced into a coach by Comminges, Lieutenant of the life-guards, raised a mob, which surrounded the coach, and tore it open; but the French guards dispersed them, and the prisoner was conducted along the high road to Sedan. His arrest, so far from intimidating the people, inflamed and hardened them the more. They shut up the shops, extended the great iron chains that were then placed at the entrance of the principal streets, and made other barricades; while four hundred thousand voices cried out "Liberty and Broussel."

It is difficult to reconcile all the particulars related by Cardinal de Retz, Madame de Motteville, the Advocate General Talon, and many others; but they all agree in the principal articles. During the night that succeeded this commotion, the Queen ordered about two thousand men of the troops cantoned at four leagues from Paris, to guard the King's house. The Chancellor Seguier had gone before to the Parliament, preceded by a Lieutenant and Guards*, to annul all their arrêtés, and even, as was then said, to prohibit that assembly.

But that very night the Faction had assembled together at the Coadjutor's†, and every thing was prepared to put the citizens in arms. The populace stopped the Chancellor's coach, and overturned it. He with difficulty made his escape, with his daughter in law the Duchess of Sully, who obstinately accompanied him on that occasion. He retreated in disorder into the Hotel de Luines, pressed and insulted by the mob. The Lieutenant of the Police came to conduct him to the Palais Royal, escorted by two companies of the Swiss Guards, and a detachment of the

* The word is *Huqueton*, which signifies a particular sort of soldiery, so called from their uniform; something resembling our Battle axe Guard, called *Bois-taillers*.

† Cardinal de Retz.

Gens d'armes. The populace fired upon them, killed some, and wounded the Dukes of Sully in the arm.

Two hundred barricadoes were instantly formed, and extended to within an hundred paces of the Palais Royal. All the soldiers, after seeing Aug. 26,
1648. some of their party fall, drew back, and became quiet spectators of the fray. The Parliament in a body marched on foot to the Queen, through the barricadoes, which were opened to them, and demanded the discharge of their imprisoned members. The Queen was obliged to release them, and by that very Act encouraged the Faction to further outrages.

The Cardinal de Retz boasted that he alone had armed all Paris on that day, which was distinguished by the name of the *Barricades*, and was the second of this kind. This singular person was the first Bishop in France that ever raised a civil war, without making religion even a pretence for it. He has given a description of himself in his Memoirs, which are written in an elevated stile, with an impetuosity of genius, and an inequality, which forms a lively image of his own character. He was a man who immersed in an excess of debauchery, and then labouring under the natural effects of it, harangued the people, and became their demagogue. He preached up faction and sedition. He had been, at the age of twenty-three, the principal in a conspiracy against Cardinal Richelieu's life. He was the contriver of the Barricadoes, hurried the Parliament into cabals, and the people into sedition. What appears the most extraordinary, is, that the Parliament, at his instigation, set up their standard against the Court, before they had acquired the aid of any Prince, foreign or domestic.

This assembly had been for a long time considered in different lights, by the Court and by the people. If one was to take the decision of the Court, and all our Ministers, the Parliament of Paris was merely a chamber of justice, erected to determine causes between plaintiff and defendant. It held its power at the sole will and

pleasure of the Crown. It had no other claim to pre-eminence, before the other Parliaments of the Kingdom, than that of its antiquity, and a more considerable jurisdiction. It was not the Court of Peers, but because the Court resided at Paris. It had no more right to make remonstrances, than the other assemblies; and even this right was only a matter of pure grace and indulgence. It had succeeded, indeed, to those Parliaments which formerly represented the French nation; but it retained of those ancient assemblies nothing but the name alone. And as an irrefragable proof of this, the States-General were substituted in the place of the assemblies of the nation; and the present Parliament of Paris no more resembled those that were held under our first Kings, than a Consul of Smyrna, or Aleppo, can be compared to a Consul of ancient Rome.

This sole mistake of the name was the pretence assumed by a body of ambitious Lawyers, who, having bought their offices, would challenge to themselves the power of the conquerors of the Gauls, and the nobles who derived siefs from the Crown. This body had ever made an ill use of the privileges which must necessarily be indulged to a tribunal always subsisting in a capital city. It published an arrêt of exilement once against Charles VII.; it instituted a criminal process against Henry III.; and had at all times opposed, as much as in its power, the sovereign authority; and under the minority of Louis XIV. and the most gentle of governments, with the most indulgent of Queens, it would commence a civil war with its Prince, after the example of the Parliament of England, which at that time held its King a prisoner, and afterwards took off his head. These were the opinions and the conversations of the cabinet.

But the Citizens of Paris, and all who wore, or were dependant on, the Long Robe, regarded the Parliament as a more august body, which had ever rendered justice, with a most respectable integrity; that had nothing in view, but the good of the State, and pursued that point, at the peril of its own existence; that bounded

its ambition to the glory of restraining that of the favourite; and which had ever held the balance even, between the Prince and people: so that without flaying to inquire into the origin of its rights or powers, they imputed to it rights the most sacred, and powers the most incontestable, when they saw it sustain the cause of the public against obnoxious Ministers. They stiled it "The Father of the State;" and made no difference between that claim which derived the Crown to their Kings, and that which authorized the Parliament to restrain their power.

Between these two extremes, a just medium was difficult to be determined; for, in truth, there was no law well acknowledged, but that of the time, or occasion. Under a strong government, the Parliament was weak; but under a feeble King, it assumed a vigour; and at this time might be justly applied what Monsieur de Guimené said, when this Body complained under Louis XIII. that the deputies of the Nobles were suffered to have precedence of it, "Gentlemen, you will take the lead, under a Minority."

We shall not here repeat all that has been written about these troubles, nor transcribe volumes to lay before the Reader so many details of transactions, which, though then matters interesting and important, are at present scarcely remembered. But we ought to relate whatever may serve to shew the character of the Nation, and pay less attention to what is usual in all civil wars, than to what distinguished that of *La Fronde*.

Two powers established to preserve peace in the nation, a Parliament of Paris and an Archbishop, having begun the commotion, the people very naturally concluded their own insurrection to be authorized. The Queen could not appear in public without being insulted. They called her nothing but Dame Anne; or, if any title was annexed to that appellation, it was only one of reproach. They with rancour charged her with sacrificing the Nation to her partiality for Mazarin; and, what was still more mortifying, she heard songs and ballads,

ballads, which are still remembered as monuments of wit and malice, roared out in the streets, publishing the suspicions they affected to have of her chastity. Madame de Motteville said, with her noble and sincere *naïveté*, that “these insolences gave the Queen concern, and raised her compassion for the deceived citizens.”

She fled from Paris with her children, her Minister, Jan. 6, the Duke of Orleans brother of Louis XIII. and the Great Condé himself, to St. 1649. Germain’s, where almost the whole Court lay upon straw. They were reduced to pawn the jewels of the Crown. The King often wanted common necessities. The Pages of the Queen’s Chamber were discharged, because it was not in her power to maintain them. At that time the Aunt of Louis XIV. daughter of Henry the Great, and wife to the King of England, then a fugitive in Paris, was reduced to the extremes of poverty; and her daughter, afterwards married to the brother of Louis XIV. was often obliged to continue in bed, for want of fire to sit by; while the people of Paris, infatuated with their phrenzy, paid not the least attention to the distresses of so many royal personages.

Anne of Austria, whose wit, accomplishments, and goodness, have been so much extolled, was hardly ever in France but unhappy: a long time treated as criminal by her husband, and persecuted by Cardinal Richelieu, she had her papers seized at Val-de-Grace, and was obliged to sign a confession in full Council, of her having been guilty against the honour of the King her husband. When she was delivered of Louis XIV. the King refused to salute her, though it was the custom, on such occasions; and this affront affected her health so much, that it endangered her life. Finally, in her regency, after having heaped favours upon all supplicants that applied to her, she saw herself driven from the capital, by a sickle and furious populace. She and her sister-in-law, the Queen of England, were both of them memorable examples of the reverse of fortune, which even crowned heads

are not exempt from ; and her mother-in-law, Mary de Medicis, was even still more unhappy.

The Queen, with tears in her eyes, intreated the Prince of Condé to take upon him the charge of being the King's protector. The conqueror of Rocroi, of Fribourg, of Lens, and of Norlingen, could not counteract such signal services. He was flattered with the honour of defending a Court that he thought ungrateful, against the Fronde, which sought his support. The Parliament had then the Great Condé to contend with, and yet were determined to hazard the war.

The Prince of Conti, brother to the Great Condé, equally envious and incapable of rivalling him ; the Duke of Longueville, the Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Bouillon ; wrought upon by the turbulent spirit of the Coadjutor, and fond of change, flattering themselves to raise their grandeur upon the ruins of the State, and to make the blind rage of the Parliament serve the private purposes of their party, went and tendered their assistance to the League. A General was appointed in the Great Chamber to an army they had not on foot ; and every individual set a tax on himself to levy troops. There had been twenty additional Councillors of the Parliament created by Cardinal Richelieu ; but the rest of that body, from a poorness of spirit common to all popular assemblies, seemed still to persecute his memory, through them. They treated them with contempt, affected not to consider them as members of the same body, and imposed a fine upon each of them, of fifteen thousand livres, towards carrying on the war against the Crown, and to purchase peace for themselves from the Eternity.

The Great Chamber, the Court of Inquests, the Court of Requests, the Court of Exchequer, and the Court of Aids, which had all exclaimed against the common slight and necessary taxes, and above all, against the augmentation of the Tariff*, which did not exceed two hundred thousand livres, raised themselves a sum of ten millions,

* A book of rates, in which the duties payable on imports and exports are set down,

of our present currency, for the subversion of the country. An arret was made to authorize the seizing on Feb. 15, any cash belonging to the partisans of the 1649. Court, where-ever it could be found. They got by this means to the amount of about twelve hundred thousand of our livres. They raised twelve thousand men by an arret of Parliament. Every Gate-way * furnished a man and horse. This corps was called the Cavalry of the Gates. The Coadjutor had a regiment of his own, which was named the Corinthian regiment, because he was titular Archbishop of Corinth.

Without the names of the King of France, of the Great Condé, of the capital of the kingdom, this war of the Fronde would have been as ridiculous as that of the Barberini. They could not tell why they had taken up arms. The Prince of Condé besieged five hundred thousand citizens with only eight thousand men. The Parisians took the field, adorned with feathers and ribbands. Their evolutions were the jest of the disciplined troops. They would take flight upon seeing two hundred of the royal forces in a body together. Every thing that related to them was turned into ridicule. The regiment of Corinth having been beaten by a handful of men, that defeat was called *The first Epistle to the Corinthians*.

Those twenty Counsellors who had been obliged to subscribe fifteen millions of livres each, received no other honour than the being called the *Twenty Fifteens*.

The Duke of Beaufort-Vendôme, grandson to Henry IV. the idol of the people, and the instrument made use of to put them into commotion, a Prince of great popularity, but small talents, was publicly the object of the Court raileries, and even of the Fronde itself. They never mentioned him but under the appellation of *King of the Mob*. A ball having given him a confusion on his arm, he called it a *confusion*.

The Duchess of Nemours says, in her Memoirs, that the Prince of Condé presented to the Queen a little

hump-backed dwarf, armed cap-à-pié. "Behold," said he, "the generalissimo of the Parisian army!" This piece of contempt was pointed at his brother, the Prince of Conti, who was crook-backed, and had been chosen General by the Frondeurs. However, this same Condé was himself afterwards General of the very same troops; and Madame de Nemours adds, that he said the history of this war should only be written in Doggerel*.

The city troops that used to march out of Paris, and come back always beaten, were received on their return with hooting and laughter. They never repaired all these little checks in any other way than by couplets and epigrams. Taverns and brothels were the tents where they held their councils of war, in the midst of jesting, singing, and all manner of dissolute revelry. Their licentiousness was so unbounded, that, one night, the principal Officers of the Fronde, having met the Holy Sacrament carrying through the streets to a person they suspected to be Cardinal Mazarin, drove the procession back again, with the fluts of their swords. And once seeing the Coadjutor, Archbishop of Paris, come and take his seat in Parliament, with a dagger in his pocket, the handle of which was perceived, they cried out, "Behold our good Archbishop's breviary!"

A herald at arms was sent to St. Antony's gate, accompanied by a gentleman in ordinary of the King's chamber, to offer propositions. The Parliament would not suffer him to enter, though they admitted into the Great Chamber, an envoy from the Archduke Leopold, who was then at war with France.

In the midst of all these troubles, the nobles assembled themselves in a body, at the Augustines, appointed their prebends, and publicly held their sessions. One would have concluded, that this was in order to reform the Kingdom, and to convene the states-general; but it was all on account of a fool, that the Queen had conceded

* Butler very luckily hit off, and happily executed, this thought, in his Hudibras, in burlesquing a contemporary war of the same sort in England.

to Madame de Pons*. Nothing surely could be a stronger instance of that lightness of character which the French are generally charged with.

The civil strife which laid England waste exactly at the same time, served sufficiently to shew the different characters of the two nations. The English, in their dissensions, manifested a sanguinary animosity, and a well-directed rage. They fought desperate battles, and the sword decided every thing. They erected scaffolds for the conquered; and their King being taken prisoner, was brought before a court of justice, interrogated concerning the abuse which he was charged with having made of his power, condemned to lose his head, and executed before the eyes of his people, with as much order, and the same formalities of justice, as Feb. 9, 1649 †. would have been observed in the case of any common individual who had been capitally sentenced. Notwithstanding such horrible commotion, London remained perfectly exempt from any of the calamities incident to a civil war.

The French, on the contrary, hurried themselves into sedition, through caprice and wantonness. Women were at the head of factions, and gallantry formed and dissolved cabals. The Duchess of Longueville engaged Turenne, created a Marshal just before, to make the army he commanded for the King revolt from its allegiance.

This was the same army which the famous Duke of Saxe-Weimar had raised. It was commanded, after his death, by Count d'Erlach, of an ancient family in the Canton of Berne. It was this Count d'Erlach who gave these troops to France, and secured to her the possession of Alsace. The Viscount Turenne endeavoured to bring

* The granting a *tabouret*, or stool, is the permitting a person the honour of sitting in the Royal Presence. It may be supposed that this Council was held in order to dispute the precedence thereby granted.

† This event happened on the 30th of January, in that year. An Historian may mistake a fact, from the contrariety of relations; but Voltaire is inexcusable for mistaking a date, which any English Almanack might have ascertained.

him over, and then Alsace would have been lost to Louis XIV.; but he was not to be seduced, and preserved the Weimarian forces steady to their engagements. He was even commissioned by Cardinal Mazarin to arrest the Viscount.

That great man, unfaithful then through weakness, was obliged to fly like a fugitive from an army of which he was General, in compliance to a woman who slighted his passion; and became, from General to the King of France, Lieutenant to Don Esle van de Gamane, with whom he was beaten at Rethel, by Marshal du Plessis-Praslin.

Every one knows the billet of the Marshal d'Hocquincourt to the Duchess of Monbatzon: "Peronne is "at the service of the fairest of the fair;" and the couplet is also remembered, written by the Duke de la Rochefoucault for the Duchess of Longueville, when he received, at the battle of St. Antoine, a musket-shot which deprived him of his sight for some time:

To win her heart, and gain so rich a prize,
I war with Kings, and would assault the skies.

There is a letter preserved in the Memoirs of Mademoiselle*, written by Gaston Duke of Orleans her father, the address of which is, "To Mesdames of the Marshal-
"lesses de Camp, in the army of my daughter against
"Mazarin."

The war was concluded and renewed several times; and there was hardly any person engaged in it, who did not often change sides. The Prince of Condé, having brought back the Court in triumph to Paris, amused himself with making a jest of those he had so ably defended: and finding that his glory and services were not proportionably rewarded, began to turn Mazarin into ridicule, to insult the Queen, and brave the Government he despised. He is said to have addressed a billet to the Cardinal, *all' illustrissimo Signore Bequino*†; and to have said to him one day, leaving the room, "Adieu, "Mars!" He encouraged a Marquis of Jarjay to make love

* Montpensier.

† To the most illustrious Scoundrel.

to the Queen, and resented her being offended at it. He leagued with the Prince of Conti, his brother, and the Duke of Longueville, who had deserted the cause of the Fronde. They had called the party of the Duke of Beaufort, at the commencement of the regency, the *Importants*; and they called that of the Prince of Condé, the *Petits-maitres*, because they aimed at becoming masters of the State. There remain, at present, hardly any remembrances of all those troubles, but this name of *Petit-maitre*, now generally given to our young, uneducated gentry, and the appellation of *Frondeurs*, which is applied to all male-contents against Government.

They employed on both sides, the basest and most shocking artifices. Joly, a Counsellor of the Chatelet, and afterwards Secretary to Cardinal de Retz, took it into his head to make an incision in his arm, and let off a pistol in his chariot, in order to pretend that the Court had attempted to assassinate him.

Some days after, to divide the party of the Prince of Condé and the Frondeurs, and render them irreconcilable, a shot was fired at the carriage of the Prince of Condé, which killed one of his footmen. This was called a *Joliad improved*. Whose contrivance was this? Was it the device of Cardinal Mazarin? He was strongly suspected of it. Cardinal de Retz, the Duke of Beaufort, and old Broussel, were charged with it, in full Parliament, and acquitted.

All parties abused, negotiated with, and betrayed each other, by turns. Every person of importance, or who aimed at being so, was in hopes of raising his fortune upon the ruins of the Public, while the Public-Good was in every body's mouth. Gaston was jealous of the glory of the Great Condé, and of the influence of Mazarin. Condé neither loved or esteemed either of them. The Coadjutor of the Archbishopric of Paris wanted to be made a Cardinal, by the nomination of the Queen; and he then devoted himself to her, to obtain this foreign dignity, which procured him no authority, though it brought a considerable revenue.

Such

Such was then the force of prejudice, that the Prince of Conti, brother to the Great Condé, would also cover his princely head with the same red hat, and such was likewise the power of intrigue, that an Abbé, without the pretensions either of birth or merit, whose name was La Rivière, disputed this Roman hat with a Prince. But neither of them obtained it: the Prince, because he was despised; La Rivière, because they made a jest of his ambition: so that the Coadjutor carried it from them both, by sacrificing the Prince of Condé to the resentments of the Queen.

These resentments had no other foundation than the self-interested quarrels between Condé and Mazarin. No crime of state could be charged against Condé; however, he and his brother Conti, ^{January 18,} ^{1650.} with their brother-in-law Longueville, were arrested at the Louvre, without any manner of process or legal form, but solely because Mazarin was afraid of him. This proceeding was actually contrary to all law; but none of the parties troubled their heads, at that time, about such a punctilio.

The Cardinal, in order to entrap the Princes, made use of one of his political finesses. It was pretended that the Frondeurs had a design to assassinate the Prince of Condé: Mazarin made him believe, that he was about arresting one of the conspirators who should become evidence against them; and that it was necessary his Highness should sign an order to the Gens-d'armes of the Guard, to surround the Louvre. Thus did the Great Condé himself certify the warrant for his own detention. One cannot have a stronger instance that politics often consists in falsehood, and the skill is to detect the deceiver.

The Prince of Condé might have governed the State, if he would only have condescended to use the address of rendering himself agreeable; but he chose only to be admired. The people of Paris, who had set up their barricades for an old doating lawyer, lighted up bonfires when the Defender and Hero of France was carried off to the Castle of Vincennes.

What shews how much appearances are apt to deceive, is, that this imprisonment of these three Princes, which might be expected to have thrown their Faction into a lethargy, was what roused it the more. The Princesses of Condé, the mother, though exiled, remained still in Paris, and presented a remonstrance to the Parliament; and the Prince of Condé's wife, after many perils having taken refuge in the City of Bourdeaux, aided by the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, made that City rise, and armed Spain in her cause.

All France re-demanded the Great Condé; and if he had just then appeared, the Court would have been undone. Gourville, who from a simple valet-de-chambre to the Duke of Rochefoucault, was become a man of consequence, from his character of a prudent daring, had formed a plan for delivering the Princes from their confinement. One of the persons engaged in this plot, had the folly to confess himself to a Priest of the Fronde, and this unworthy Priest told the secret to the Coadjutor, who was then an enemy to the Great Condé. Thus the enterprize failed, by the revealing a Confession; which, however, was a common breach of confidence, in those unhappy times.

One may see, in the Memoirs of the Counsellor of State Lenet, more curious than known, how much power, in those times of unbounded licentiousness, or trouble, of iniquity, and even of impiety, the Priests had over the minds of the people. He relates, that in Burgundy, the Dean of the Holy Chapel, attached to the Prince of Condé, offered his services to bring all the Preachers to harangue in his favour from their pulpits, and to make all the Priests use their arts in the article of Confessions.

To give an example of the manners of the times, the same Writer tells us, that when the wife of the Great Condé took refuge in Bourdeaux, the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault marched before her, at the head of a troop of young men of fashion, exclaiming, "Long live Condé!" adding some obscene expressions against Mazarin,

Mazarin, and calling out to her to repeat the exclamation.

A year after, these same Frondeurs, who had sold the Great Condé, and the other Princes, to the timid revenge of Mazarin, forced the Queen to open their prison, and banish her Minister out of the Kingdom. Mazarin went himself to Havre, where Feb. 13, 1651. they were confined, to set them at liberty, and was received by them with the contempt which he had reason to have expected; after which he retired to Liege. Condé returned to Paris, amidst the acclamations of the very people who had before hated him so much. His presence renewed the cabals, the dissensions, and the murders.

The nation remained in this state of confusion for some years longer. The Government employed no measures but such as were feeble and irresolute, and appeared to be in a very unstable condition; but then the revolvers were not more firmly united among themselves; which was all that saved the Court. The Coadjutor, sometimes friend, and sometimes enemy, to the Prince of Condé, raised a party in the Parliament, and among the people, against him. He dared, at the same time, to serve the Queen, by opposing the Prince; and to provoke her, by forcing her to drive Cardinal Mazarin farther from France, who retired to Cologne.

The Queen, by a contradiction very common to weak Governments, was obliged to receive his services and his affronts at the same time; and to name to the Cardinalate that very Coadjutor who had raised the barricadoes, and had constrained the Royal Family to fly from their capital, and then besiege it.

C H A P. V.

A Continuation of the Civil War, to the End of the Rebellion in 1654.

AT length the Prince of Condé resolved upon a war, which he should have commenced at the time of the Fronde, if he aimed at becoming master of the State; or have never undertaken, if he had been a good subject. He left Paris, and went to stir up Guienne, Poitou and Anjou, and to solicit against France the power of Spain, to which he had been so lately a most formidable enemy.

Nothing can more strongly mark the madness of the times, and the fortuitousness which then governed most of the events, than what happened to this Prince, just at that crisis. The Queen sent an express after him from Paris, with such proposals as would have induced him to return and lay down his arms. The Courier made a mistake, and instead of going to Angerville, where the Prince was, he went to Augerville; so that the letter came to hand too late. Condé said, that had he received it sooner, he would have accepted the proposition of peace; but having by that time got at such a distance from Paris, it was not worth the trouble of returning. Thus did the blunder of a Courier, and the mere caprice of the Prince, replunge France into a civil war again.

Upon this occasion, the Cardinal, who from the extremity of his exile at Cologne had still governed the Court, re-entered the Kingdom, not like a Minister coming to re-assume his post, but rather as a Sovereign who was come to re-take the possession of his dominions; for he was attended by a small army of about seven thousand men, levied at his own expence; or it might be said, rather at that of France with the public money, which he had made private property of.

It was told the King in a proclamation upon that occasion, that the Cardinal had really levied these forces,

at his own cost; which contradicts the assertions of those who have written, that on his leaving the Kingdom, he was not master of a fund to yield him necessary support.

He made Marshal Hocquincourt General of his little army. All the Officers wore green scarfs, the colour of the Cardinal's livery. Each party was distinguished by its scarf. The King's was white, and the Prince of Condé's *Isabelle**. It was matter of surprize that Cardinal Mazarin, who had, till then, affected so much modesty, should presume to make an army wear his livery, as if he had a distinct interest in the State from his master. But he could not resist the vain temptation. This was the very thing that had been done before, by the Marshal D'Ancre, and which did not a little contribute to his ruin. But the same insolence succeeded with the Cardinal. The Queen approved it, and the King, then of age†, attended by his brother, went forth to meet him.

On the first account of his return, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII. who had demanded the banishment of Mazarin, raised troops in Paris, without knowing how to employ them. The Parliament renewed its arrêts, outlawed the Cardinal, and offered a reward for his head. The records were searched, to see what price was fixed on the head of an enemy to the Kingdom; and it being found, that in the reign of Charles IX. the sum of fifty thousand crowns had been voted in Parliament, to whomsoever should bring in Admiral Coligny‡ alive or dead; it was thought proper, by way of acting according to precedent, to proffer the same recompence to any one who would assassinate the Cardinal Prime Minister.

This proclamation, however, did not tempt any one to earn these fifty thousand crowns; and which, if they

* The Isabelle colour is a sort of light bay.

† In his thirteenth year. The Kings of France are allowed of age then.

‡ His crime was turning Protestant; and the persecution he suffered on that account, forced him, in self-defence, to take part with the Huguenots. He escaped from this proclamation, but afterwards was one of the victims at the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

had, would never have been paid. In any other nation, or at any other time, such a bribe would have found an assassin; but it served then only as a subject for mirth and ridicule. The *Blots* and the *Marignys*, wits and jokers of those days, who were gay and idle enough to laugh and sport in the midst of tumults and discord, posted up in Paris an advertisement offering the sum of a hundred and fifty thousand crowns, to be divided in such and such proportions; so much for cutting off the Cardinal's nose, so much for an ear, so much for an eye, so much for rendering him an eunuch, &c.

This piece of ridicule was the only effect produced by the proscription against the person of the Minister; but his moveables and his library were confiscated, by a second arrêt; and the money arising from the sale, and designed to go in aid of the assassinating fee, was embezzled by the receivers, as was that of all the taxes levied at that time.

The Cardinal, on his part, employed neither poison nor assassination against his enemies; and notwithstanding the malignity and madness of so many parties and animosities, they committed not such enormous crimes, the principals were less cruel, and the people less furious, than in the time of the League; for this was not a religious war*.

December, 1651. The strange stupidity that predominated at that time, possessed the whole body of the

Parliament of Paris so much, that after having formally proclaimed an assassination which every body laughed at, it made an arrêt, by which several of their Counsellors were ordered to proceed towards the frontiers, to take measures against the army of Cardinal Mazarin, that is, to oppose the Royal forces.

Two of these Counsellors were inconsiderate enough to collect together a number of peasants, and break down

* This is the manner of Voltaire. Such dissingenuous sarcasm runs through all his writings, upon this subject. He affects to impute the common frailties, vices and corruption, of men, to the principle merely pretended for their actions. The Inquisition, for instance, is not a religious, but a political institution,

some of the bridges, over which the Cardinal was preparing to pass. One of them, named Bitaut, was immediately taken prisoner by the King's troops, released through indulgence, and made the jest of all parties.

In the mean time the King being then of age, dissolved the Parliament at Paris, and transferred it to Pontoise. Forty of the Members who were ^{August 6,} attached to the Court, obeyed the mandate, ^{1652.} but the rest refused to submit. Behold now two Parliaments in the same body, who, to compleat the confusion of the times, issued arrêts against one another, as in the times of Henry IV. and of Charles VI.

At the same time that this body proceeded to extremities against the King's Minister, they declared the Prince of Condé guilty of high-treason, who had only taken arms against that very Minister; and from the most unaccountable absurdity imaginable, but the belief of which all their former proceedings may justify, it ordered the new-raised troops of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, to march against Mazarin, and at the same time forbade a shilling to be issued out of the public treasury to maintain them.

Nothing better was to be expected from a set of Magistrates, who, acting out of their sphere, and ignorant either of their rights, of their powers, and of all matters both of politics or war, assembled themselves and decided every thing in tumult; declaring frequently on the ~~side~~ or parties that they had not even thought of the day before; and at which they were themselves astonished, immediately after.

The Parliament of Bourdeaux took part, at this time, with the Prince of Condé; but it preserved a more uniform conduct: because, from its being further removed from the Court, it was less embroiled with contending factions. But more considerable objects now began to interest all France.

Condé having confederated with the Spaniards, took the field against the King; and Turenne having quitted those same Spaniards with whom he had been beaten at Rethel, had reconciled himself to the Court, and again

commanded the royal army. The narrowness of their finances permitted neither of the parties to support large armies, but small ones no less decided the fate of the Kingdom. There are times when a hundred thousand men may not be able to take one or two towns; and there are others, when a battle between seven or eight thousand shall overthrow or establish a Throne.

Louis XIV. nursed in adversity, with his mother, his brother, and Cardinal Mazarin, wandered from Province to Province, having hardly more troops attending him, than he used afterwards to have, even in times of peace, for his sole guard; while five or six thousand men, part Spanish troops, and the rest levied by the partisans of the Prince of Condé, pursued him into the very heart of his own Kingdom.

The Prince of Condé, in the mean time, marched from Bourdeaux to Montauban, took the towns in his way, and every where increased his strength.

All the hopes of the Court were placed on Turenne. The royal army was stationed at Gien upon the Loire. The troops of the Prince of Condé were encamped within a few miles of it, under the command of the Duke of Nemours, and the Duke of Beaufort. The dissensions between these two Generals had like to have proved fatal to the Prince's party. The Duke of Beaufort was incapable of any military command; and the Duke of Nemours was esteemed rather as an amiable man, and a gallant soldier, than as an expert officer; so that between them they very near ruined the army. The soldiers knew that the Great Condé was at a hundred miles distance, and were fallen into despair, when, at midnight, a Courier arrived in the Forest of Orleans, and presented himself before the advanced guard. The centinels at once discovered this Courier to be the Prince of Condé in person, who had come post from Agen, in disguise, through many perils, to put himself at the head of his army.

His appearance did much, and his un hoped arrival had a still better effect. He knew that whatever is sudden and unexpected, is apt to transport us. He profited

on the instant of the confidence and the spirit which his presence had inspired. The distinguishing talent of this Prince in war, was the forming promptly the most daring resolves, and the executing them with as much conduct as vigour.

The royal army was divided into two bodies. Condé engaged the corps that was posted at Blenau, commanded by Marshal d'Hocquincourt, and this corps was routed almost as soon as attacked. Turenne could not be apprized of it. Cardinal Mazarin, in a terror, fled to Gien, in the middle of the night, to awaken the King, who was in bed, and acquaint him with the ill news. His little Court were thrown into consternation. They proposed to save the King by flight, and to conduct him privately to Bourges. The Prince of Condé, victorious, approached to Gien, and augmented their dread and despair. Turenne raised their spirits by his intrepidity, and saved the Court by his admirable conduct. He stationed the few troops he had left, with so much generalship, and made such advantage of the ground and the time, that he prevented Condé from further profiting of his success. It was difficult then to determine which of the two acquired the greatest honour; Condé by the victory, or Turenne in depriving him of the fruits of it. It is true, that in this battle of Blenau, so long famous in France, there were not above four hundred men slain; but the Prince of Condé was not the less near the point of rendering himself master of all the Royal Family, and getting his enemy Cardinal Mazarin in his power. One can hardly recollect an instance of greater interests, or a more pressing danger, dependent on so inconsiderable an action.

Condé, who did not flatter himself to surprise Turenne, as he had done Hocquincourt, set forward with his army towards Paris. He halted to that city, there to enjoy his glory, and to avail himself of the favourable dispositions of an infatuated people. The admiration the people were struck with, on account of this last engagement, the particulars of which were exaggerated; the hatred they

they bore to Mazarin; with the same and presence of the Great Condé, seemed, for a time, to render him absolute master of the capital. But in fact all their minds were divided, and each party was subdivided into factions; which is generally the case in all domestic troubles*.

The Coadjutor de Retz, now a Cardinal, and reconciled, though only in appearance, to the Court, which feared him, and in which he had no confidence, was no longer a demagogue of the people, nor bore a principal sway in their assemblies. He governed the Duke of Orleans, and opposed Condé. The Parliament fluctuated between the Court, the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince, though the whole popular clamour was unanimous against Mazarin. Each of the parties privately attended to its own interest; and the people were a boisterous sea, whose waves were driven different ways by so many contrary winds. The shrine of St. Genevieve was carried in procession through the streets of Paris, to obtain the expulsion of Cardinal Mazarin; and the common people were as confident of her working this miracle for them, as they were that she would cause it to rain†.

Nothing was talked of but negotiations between the chiefs of the parties, deputations from the Parliament, assemblies of the Chambers, seditions among the populace, and the country in military array. They mounted guard at the gates of the monasteries. The Prince had called in the Spaniards to his aid. Charles IV. Duke of Lorraine, who had been driven out of his dominions, and whose only remaining property was an army of eight thousand men, which he annually hired out to the King of Spain, marched these troops to Paris. But Cardinal Mazarin gave him better pay to return again, than the Prince of Condé had been able to give him for coming; and the Duke of Lorraine consequently soon

* It must always be so; for in intestine commotions, a nation cannot be united by one common interest, as they are, when a foreign enemy becomes the object.

† This Saintess is always invoked in France, upon occasions of great drought.

quitted France, ravaging the country in his route, and carrying off the pay of both parties.

Condé now remained in Paris, with a decreasing power, and an army still more weak. Turenne conducted the King and his Court July 1652. towards the capital. The King, then fifteen years old, was a spectator, from the hill of Charonne, of the battle of St. Antony *, in which these two generals, with only handfuls of troops, performed such exploits, that the reputation of each, before thought incapable of increase, became augmented by them.

The Prince of Condé, with a few Lords of his party, and a small number of soldiers, sustained and repulsed the charge of the whole royal army. The King and Mazarin viewed the action from an eminence. The Duke of Orleans, uncertain what side to declare for, kept himself quiet in his Palace of Luxemburg. Cardinal de Retz remained cantoned in his diocese. The Parliament waited the issue of the battle, to know what arrêts to make. The Queen in tears was on her knees in the Carmelite Chapel. The people, who then equally feared the troops of the King and of the Prince, had shut up the gates of the city, and would not suffer a single person to enter or go out, while the greatest personages of France were furiously engaged in battle against each other, and shedding their blood in the suburbs. It was there that the Duke of Rochefaucault, so illustrious for his wit and bravery, received a wound over his eyes, which deprived him of sight for some time. A nephew of Cardinal Mazarin's was killed in the action, and the people considered this as some revenge. It was a shocking sight to see numbers of young men of rank and fashion carried off killed or wounded, to St. Antony's Gate, and refused entrance.

At length Mademoiselle †, the daughter of Gaston, taking part with Condé, which her father was afraid to

* One of the gates of Paris, in the suburbs of which this battle was fought.

† De Montpensier.

do, ordered the Gate to be opened to the wounded, and had the rashness to order the cannon of the Bastile to be fired upon the King's troops. The royal army was obliged to retire: Condé gained nothing but glory; but Mademoiselle lost herself for ever, in the affections of the King her cousin, by the outrageousness of this action; and Cardinal Mazarin, who knew the ambition of that Princess to espouse a crowned head, said then, "Those cannon have killed her husband"

The generality of Historians here make a display to their readers of nothing but battles, and great feats of courage, or policy, performed in the field, or the Cabinet; but those who know what shameful shifts were resorted to, in what misery the whole people were involved, and to what mean practices the principals themselves were reduced, must reflect on the heroes of that time with more compassion than admiration.

One may be able to form a judgment of these distresses, even from a few particulars confessed by Gourville *, who was attached to the Prince of Condé. He acknowledges that he himself, in the exigences of the cause, was obliged to embezzle a sum of money he had received for another purpose; and that he seized a Collector of the Post-tax in his own house, and made him pay a ransom. He speaks of such matters as meer things of course in those unhappy times.

The pound of bread was then sold in Paris at the price of twenty-four of our sous †. The people suffered; there were not alms sufficient for the poor; and many of the Provinces felt a famine.

Could any thing be more shocking than what passed during this war before Bourdeaux? A gentleman was taken by the royal forces, and they cut off his head on the instant. The Duke of Rochefoucault made immediate reprisal, by hanging up a gentleman, prisoner, of the King's party: and yet this same Duke of Rochefoucault passed for a great philosopher. But the horror

* In his Memoirs.

† A sou is a penny.

of such actions was qualified, on considering the great interests of the party chiefs *.

But, at the same time, could there be any thing more ridiculous than to behold the Great Condé kiss the shrine of St. Geneviève, in a procession, rub his rosary against it, and then hold it up to the people? And does not such mummary shew how much your heroes are obliged to condescend and court the mob †?

Neither decency nor decorum were preserved, either in their words or actions. Omer Talon relates ‡, that he heard some of the Counsellors, in their Parliamentary debates, speaking of the Cardinal Prime Minister, call him a scoundrel. One of the Members, named Quatre Sous, openly abused the Prince of Condé, in full Parliament. Nor did they stop here. They used to kick and cuff each other, in the very Court of Sessions.

They came to blows in the Chapel of Notre-Dame, on a dispute about precedence between the President of the Inquests and the Dean of the Great Chamber, in 1644; and the women of the populace were suffered, in 1645, to get within the bar of the Court, begging on their knees that the Parliament might be made to rescind the new taxes then imposed.

Such disorder and confusion, of every kind, continued from 1644 'till the year 1653; beginning at first without tumult, but ending, at last, in a general sedition, from one end of the Kingdom to the other.

The Great Condé forgot himself so far, as to strike the Count de Rieux, son to the Prince d'Elbeuf, 1652. at the Duke of Orleans'; which was not the way to regain the hearts of the Parisians. The Count de Rieux returned the blow to the victor of Rocroi,

* "The justice of the cause is lost in the magnitude of the object," said a modern great Law Lord, in an argument upon the American war. Political and religious maxims differ, it seems. "Thou shalt not do evil, even though good should come of it."

† This was not the character that was given of this Prince, a few pages before. "The Prince of Condé might have governed the State, if he would only have condescended to use the address of rendering himself agreeable; but he chose only to be admired." See Page 49. last paragraph.

‡ In his Memoirs.

of Fribourg, of Norlingen, and of Lens. This strange affair ended in nothing. Monsieur * sent the son of the Duke d'Elbeuf to the Bastile, for a few days, and there the matter rested.

The quarrel between the Duke of Beaufort and the Duke of Nemours, his brother-in-law, was a more serious business. They fought a duel, with four seconds on each side. The Duke of Nemours was killed by the Duke of Beaufort; and the Marquis de Villars, surnamed *Orondates*, who seconded Nemours, killed his antagonist Héricourt, whom he had never seen before.

There was not even the shadow of justice in those times. Duels were frequent, depredations continual, and debaucheries practised in the most barefaced manner; but, in the midst of all these disorders, there still subsisted a gaiety, which rendered them less dismal.

After the bloody, but ineffectual, battle of St. Antony, the King could not enter Paris, and the Prince could not long remain there. A popular insurrection, and the massacre of several of the citizens, of which he was supposed to be the author, rendered him odious to the people. However, he had still his faction in the Parliament. That body, little awed then by a vagrant Court, driven as it were from its capital, overpowered by the cabals of the Duke of Orleans, and of the Prince, appointed by an arrêt the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, though the King was in his majority. This was the same title they had given to the Duke of Mayenne, in the time of the League. The Prince of Condé was also declared Generalissimo of the armies. The two Parliaments of Paris and Pontoise, contesting each other's authority, issuing arrêts against each other, and by such confusion rendering themselves the contempt of the nation, agreed however in one point, the calling aloud for the expulsion of Mazarin; so much the hatred conceived against that Minister, seemed then to be the essential characteristic of a Frenchman.

* The Duke of Orleans, so styled, as 'tis the title of the King of France's brother, which he was to Louis XIII.

All parties, at this time, were weak ; that of the Court as much so as the rest ; money and men were deficient to them all ; factions however still multiplied ; and their battles produced on each side only losses and regrets. The Court found itself, at last, under the necessity of sacrificing Mazarin once more, who was deemed by the public voice the cause of these troubles, though he was only the pretence. He left the Kingdom a second time ; and to increase the reproach of this measure in the Court, the King, Aug. 12,
1652. in the very rescript of his banishment, publicly commended his services, and regretted his exile.

Charles I. King of England, lost his head upon a scaffold, for having, at the commencement of his troubles, sacrificed the life of his friend Strafford to his Parliament. Louis XIV. on the contrary, became the peaceable master of his Kingdom, by suffering the banishment of Mazarin : so that the same weakness had very different effects. The King of England, by abandoning his favourite, emboldened a people who were impatient for war, and who hated Kings. Louis XIV. or rather the Queen-mother, in banishing the Cardinal, took away all pretence for revolt, from a people tired of the war, and who were fond of royalty.

The Cardinal had scarcely set out for Bouillon, the place of his new retreat, when the citizens of Paris, from their own free motion, sent a deputation to the King, to pray his return into Oct. 20,
1652. his capital. He accordingly made his public entry ; and every thing appeared so peaceable, that it was hardly to be imagined that a few days before every thing had been in confusion.

Gaston d'Orleans, unhappy in his enterprizes, which he never new how to conduct, was exiled to Blois, where he passed the remainder of his life in repentance. He was the second son of Henry the Great who lived and died without much glory *. „Cardinal de Retz, per-

* M. Voltaire seems a little to forget himself here. He gave a very different character of this personage, before, in these words : “ The Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII. had so well sustained the
“ character

haps as indiscreet as daring and ambitious, was arrested at the Louvre; and after being carried from prison to prison, led a long time a vagabond life; which he finished, at length, in a retreat, where he acquired those virtues, which his active spirit had kept him a stranger to, during the agitations of his fortune.

Some of the Counsellors who had been the greatest delinquents in their administration, were only punished with exile; others restrained themselves within the business of their employs; and some of the rest were brought back to their duty, by an annual stipend of five hundred crowns, which Fouquet, Procurator-General, and Superintendent of the Finances, paid them privately*.

The Prince of Condé, however, forsaken in France by all his partisans, and but ill assisted by Spain, continued an unhappy war on the frontiers of Champagne. Some factions still subsisted in Bourdeaux; but they were soon after appeased.

This calm in the Kingdom was an effect of the banishment of Cardinal Mazarin; notwithstanding which, scarce was he exiled by the general outcry of all France, and by a mandate from the King, when Louis XIV. recalled him again. He was astonished at seeing himself re-enter Paris in perfect tranquility, and with as much power as ever. Louis XIV. received him like a father, and the people as a Master. An entertainment was made for him at the Hôtel-de-Ville, in the midst of the acclamations of the citizens; and he threw money to the populace. But they say, that in the midst of his joy upon this happy reverse of fortune, he marked a contempt for our inconstancy. The Parliament, which had so lately proclaimed a reward for his head, as if he had been an outlawed robber, now strove who should be foremost to solicit his Patronage; and that very Parliament, imme-

* character of a son of Henry IV. and the honour of France, by "his conquest of Gravelines, Courtray, and Mardyke." See Page 31.

* Memoirs of Gourville.

diately after, condemned the Prince of Condé to death, for contumacy *. Such changes are frequent in such times as those; but the more humiliating to the Judges themselves, as they are obliged to censure so severely the very person, of whose treason they were themselves equally sharers and abettors. March 27, 1653.

The Cardinal, who urged this sentence against Condé, married one of his nieces to the Prince of Conti, his brother; which sufficiently proved that this Minister's power was without controul.

The King reunited the Parliaments of Paris and of Pontoise, and prohibited the assemblies of the Chambers. The Parliament remonstrated, one of the Counsellors was sent to prison, and others were sent into exile. The Parliament became mute, and things began to wear a new face throughout.

C H A P. VI.

The State of France until the Death of Cardinal Mazarin, in 1661.

WHILE the State had been so divided within, it was attacked and enfeebled from without. All the fruits of the battles of Rocroi, of Lens, and of Norlingen, were lost. The important town of Dunkirk was retaken by the Spaniards; they drove the French out of Barcelona, and recovered Casal in Italy. 1651.

However, notwithstanding the tumults of a domestic war, and the heavy weight of a foreign one, Cardinal Mazarin had the address and good fortune to conclude the famous peace of Westphalia †, by which the Emperor and the Empire sold to the King and Crown of France the sovereignty of Alsace for 1648.

* A Law term for non-appearance to answer a charge, on a legal summons.

† Called also that of Munster.

three millions of livres, payable to the Archduke; that is to say, for about six millions of our present currency.

By this treaty, which became the groundwork of all future ones, a new Electorate was created for the House of Bavaria. The rights of all the Princes and the Imperial Cities, with the privileges of the lesser classes, were therein ascertained and confirmed. The power of the Emperor was restrained within narrow bounds, and the French, in conjunction with the Swedes, became the legislators of the Empire.

This glory to France was, at least in part, owing to the arms of Sweden. Gustavus-Adolphus had first shaken the Empire, and his Generals still pursued the blow, under the reign of his daughter Christina. Her General Wrangel was on the point of entering Austria; Count Königsmark was in possession of one-half of Prague, and was besieging the other, when this peace was concluded. To bring the Emperor to such terms, cost France only about a million a year subsidy to Sweden.

Sweden likewise gained by these treaties much greater advantages than France. She got possession of Pomerania, and many other places, besides a considerable sum of money. She obliged the Emperor to cede to the Lutherans, the patronage of several benefices that were formerly in the possession of Roman Catholics. Rome exclaimed against such a piece of sacrilege, saying that the cause of God was betrayed; while the Protestants boasted that the peace was sanctified by stripping the Papists. Their own interests naturally determine the opinions of men.

Spain declined being a party in this peace, and for very political reasons: for seeing France involved in civil wars, the Spanish Minister hoped to derive some advantages from the divisions of the Kingdom. The German forces being disbanded, became a new resource to Spain. The Emperor, since the peace of Munster, had marched near thirty thousand men into Flanders, in about four years time. This was a violation of the

treaty. But such compacts are rarely more faithfully observed.

The Spanish Ministers had the prudence, on the commencement of the negotiations of Westphalia, to strike up a separate peace with Holland. The Spanish Monarchy was wise enough, at last, to consider no longer as enemies, and to acknowledge for sovereigns, those very people, whom it had for so long a time treated as rebels, and unworthy of pardon; and those Republican States increased their riches, and confirmed their tranquility and grandeur, by coming into terms with Spain, without falling out with France.

They became so powerful, that in a war they engaged in some time after with England, they had at sea a hundred ships of the line; and the victory 1653. was frequently doubtful between the English Admiral Blake and the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp, who were at sea, what Condé and Turenne were at land. France, at that time, had not ten vessels that could mount fifty guns fit to be sent out of their harbour; and her marine was declining daily.

Louis XIV. found himself, in 1653, absolute master of a Kingdom still tottering with the convulsions it had sustained; labouring under disorders in every branch of the Administration, but with great resources in itself; having no ally, except Savoy, to assist in an offensive war, but having no longer any foreign enemy except Spain, which was at that time in a weaker condition than France. All the French who had been active in the civil wars had submitted, except the Prince of Condé, and a few of his partisans; one or two of whom continued faithful to him through friendship, or greatness of soul, as the Counts of Coligni and Bouteville; and the rest, because the Court did not think them worth purchasing at their own price.

Condé, become General of the Spanish forces, found himself unable to recruit an army, which he had himself rendered weak, by the ruin of their infantry, in the actions of Rocroi and Lens. He led on new-raised troops, which he had not time to train, against the ve-

teran regiments of France, which he had taught to conquer under him, and which were now headed by Turenne.

The fate of Turenne and of Condé was, to be always successful, when they fought at the head of the French troops; and to be beaten, when they commanded the Spanish forces. Turenne barely saved the remains of the Spanish army at the battle of Rethel, when, from being General to the King of France, he condescended to become Lieutenant to a Spanish General. The Prince of Condé had the same ill fortune, before Arras.

The Archduke and he laid siege to that city. Turenne besieged them in their camp, and forced ¹⁶⁵³ ₁₆₅₄ their lines. The troops of the Archduke were put to flight. Condé, with only two regiments of French and Lorrainers, sustained alone the efforts of Turenne and his army; and while the Archduke fled, defeated the Marshal d' Hocquincourt, routed the Marshal de la Ferté, and retired in a manner victorious, by covering the retreat of the beaten Spaniards. The King of Spain wrote a billet, upon that occasion, in these words: "I have learned that every thing was lost, but that you have recovered all again."

It is hard to say what the good or ill success of battles is owing to. But it is certain that Condé was one of the most eminent genius's in war that ever appeared, and that the Archduke and his Council opposed every measure, that day, that was proposed by Condé.

Arras relieved, the Spanish lines forced, and the Archduke put to flight, crowned Turenne with glory; but 'tis worthy of notice, that in the letter written in the King's name to the Parliament †, on occasion of this victory, the intire success of the campaign was imputed to Cardinal Mazarin, and the name of Turenne not even mentioned in it. The Cardinal, 'tis true, had

* D. n. Lleras de Gamara.

† Dated from Vincennes, September 11, 1654.

been posted some leagues from Arras with the King, and had also been in the camp at the siege of Stenai, which Turenne carried, in his march to the relief of Arras. There had likewise been some councils of war held in his presence. Upon these pretences, he challenged to himself all the honour of the events; but the vanity of these pretensions brought upon him such a weight of ridicule, as all the power or his humility was not sufficient to support him under.

The King was not at the action of Arras, though he might have been present. He had been in the trenches before Stenai; but Cardinal Mazarin would not suffer him further to expose his person, on which the safety of the State, and the power of the Minister, so much depended.

Mazarin, on one side, absolute master of France, and of the young King; and on the other, Don Lewis de Haro, who governed Spain and Philip IV. continued, under the names of their respective sovereigns, this war, which was but feebly supported. The name of Louis XIV. was not yet much spoken of in the world, and the King of Spain was never so much as mentioned. There was at that time only one sovereign in Europe that had any personal character. This was Christina, Queen of Sweden, who governed alone, and sustained the honour of a throne which was neglected, disgraced, or unknown, in every other State.

Charles II. King of England, a fugitive in France, with his mother and brother, there amused his misfortune and his hopes. A private individual had subdued England, Scotland, and Ireland. Cromwell, an usurper worthy of a crown*, had taken the title of Protector, and not that of King; for the English knew how far the rights of a King extended, but were unacquainted with the limits of a Protector's authority.

He confirmed his power by knowing how to relax it, as occasion served; he encroached not upon the privi-

* This is the second compliment of the kind Voltaire has paid him. See before the last lines of his account of England, in his *States of Europe*.

leges of the people, which they were jealous of * ; billeted no soldiers in the city of London ; imposed no taxes they could murmur at ; offended not their eyes with princely pomp ; indulged himself in no pleasures ; hoarded up no treasure ; and distributed justice with that strict and impartial hand, which distinguishes not the Great from the Small.

The brother of Pantaleon Sà, Ambassador from Portugal to England, presuming that his irregularities would escape unpunished, because the person of his brother was sacred †, insulted some of the citizens of London, and had one of them assassinated, in revenge for the resistance of the rest. For this fact he was tried and condemned to be hanged. Cromwell, who had the power of pardoning him, suffered the law to take its course, and the same day signed a treaty with the Ambassador.

Never was commerce so free and flourishing ; never was England so rich. Her victorious fleets rendered her name respected throughout all nations ; while Mazarin, solely occupied in adding to his sway and his riches, suffered in France the justice, the commerce, the marine, and even the finances of the Kingdom to languish. Master of France as much as Cromwell was of England, after the civil war was at an end, he might have done for the country he governed, every thing that Cromwell had done for his. But he was a foreigner ; and the soul of Mazarin, though it had not the barbarity, possessed not the greatness of that of Cromwell.

All the States of Europe, which had despised the alliance of England under James and Charles I. solicited it under the Protector. Even Queen Christina, though she abhorred the murder of Charles I. entered into a league with a tyrant whom she esteemed.

Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro made use of all their political craft to be received as allies by the Pro-

* M. Voltaire seems rather too partial to this usurper ; and sets history at naught, to compliment him.

† By the Law of Nations,

rector. He indulged himself for some time in the vanity of seeing himself courted by two of the most powerful States in Christendom.

The Spanish Minister offered to assist him in taking Calais; and Mazarin proposed to besiege Dunkirk, and put him in possession of that town. Cromwell had then his choice between the keys of France and of Flanders. He was also much courted by Condé; but he did not chuse to negotiate with a Prince who was in possession of nothing but a name, who was without support in France, and without power in Spain.

The Protector at length determined the point in favour of France, but without entering into any particular treaty, or parcelling out their conquests before-hand. He was desirous of rendering his usurpation illustrious by more signal enterprizes. His intention was to conquer Mexico from the Spaniards; but they happened to get a timely hint of it. However, Cromwell's fleet took Jamaica from them, which the May 1655. English have kept the possession of ever since, and which secures their commerce in the New World.

It was not 'till after the conquest of Jamaica, that Cromwell signed his treaty with the King of France, but without saying a word of Dunkirk, at the time. The Protector treated with him on the foot of equality. He obliged the King to give him the title of Brother, in his letters; and his Secretary signed before the Plenipotentiary of France, the minute of the treaty that was to be preserved in England. But he acted truly like a superior, in obliging the King of France to banish out of his dominions Charles II. and the Duke of York, grand-children of Henry IV. to whom France owed an asylum. A greater sacrifice of honour could not be made to fortune.

While Mazarin was perfecting this treaty, Charles II. solicited one of his nieces in marriage; but the bad situation of his affairs, which prompted the Prince to such a measure, was the reason of his meeting with a denial. It was even suspected, that the Cardinal had formed the design of marrying to Cromwell's son the niece he had refused

refused to the King of England. This is certain, however, that afterwards, upon finding the recovery of his rights became a less desperate hope in Charles II. he wanted to renew the proposal; but it was then declined in turn.

The mother of these two Princes*, Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry the Great, living in France without resources, was reduced to the necessity of soliciting the Cardinal to obtain her dower, at least, from Cromwell. This must have been an extreme of the most mortifying humiliations, to be obliged to beg for subsistence from the man who had spilled her husband's blood upon a scaffold. Mazarin made but feeble instances in England, in the name of that Queen, and then told her he could not prevail. She remained in Paris in great poverty, and under the disgrace of having implored the compassion of Cromwell; while her sons were obliged to enter into the armies of Condé and of Don John of Austria, to learn the art of war against France, which had forsaken them.

The children of Charles I. being thus driven out of France, took refuge in Spain. The Spanish Ministers exclaimed in all the Courts of Europe, and particularly at Rome, both by speech and writing, against a Cardinal who sacrificed, they cried, the laws divine and human, honour and religion, to the murderer of a King; and who banished out of France Charles II. and the Duke of York, cousins of Louis XIV. to oblige the executioner of their father. The only reply that was made to these outcries of the Spanish Court, was to produce the offers they had made themselves to the Protector.

The war was carried on in Flanders with various success. Turenne having besieged Valenciennes, with the Marshal de la Ferté, experienced the same disappointment that Condé had met with before Arras.

July 17, 1650. The Prince, seconded then by Don John of Austria, more worthy to fight by his side than the Archduke was, forced the Marshal de la Fer-

* Charles and James Stuart.

té's lines, took him prisoner, and delivered Valenciennes. Turenne did then what Condé had done before, on a similar occasion. He saved the beaten army, and every-where made head against the enemy. He even in a month after went to besiege and take the little town of La Chapelle. This, perhaps, was the first time that ever a routed army had dared to undertake a siege.

This march of Turenne, so much commended, after which he took La Chapelle, was eclipsed by one of more eclat, of the Prince of Condé. Turenne had scarcely sat down before Cambray, ^{May 30,} ^{1658.} when Condé at the head of only two thousand horse, forced his way through the army of the besiegers, and having defeated all that opposed him, threw himself into the city. The inhabitants received their deliverer on their knees. Thus these two great men, opposed to each other, displayed the utmost powers of their genius. They were equally admired in their retreats, as well as in their victories, in their good conduct, and even in their oversights, which they had always the address to repair. Their talents put a stop, by turns, to the progress of each monarchy; but the disorder in the finances of Spain and France was still a greater obstacle to the success of either.

The league entered into with Cromwell gave France, at length, a distinguished superiority. On one side, Admiral Blake went and burnt the Spanish galleons, near the Canary Islands, and thus destroyed the only resources with which the war was to be supported. On the other hand, twenty English men of war went and blocked up the port of Dunkirk; and six thousand veteran troops, which had effected the revolution of England, were brought over to reinforce the army under Turenne.

Thus was Dunkirk, the most important place in Flanders, besieged both by land and sea. Condé and Don John of Austria, having collected together all their forces, marched to its relief. All Europe was attentive to the event. Cardinal Mazarin brought Louis XIV. near the

the scene of action, but would not suffer him to enter into it, though he was then about twenty years old.

The King staid at Calais; and it was there that Cromwell sent him a superb embassy, at the head of which was his son-in-law Lord Falconbridge. The King, in return, sent to England the Duke of Crequi, and Mancini, Duke of Nevers, nephew to the Cardinal, with a suite of two hundred gentlemen. Mancini carried a letter to the Protector from the Cardinal. The stile of it was remarkable. Mazarin says, that "He is concerned not to be able in person to pay the respects due to the greatest man in the world." In this manner did he compliment the assassin of Henry IV's son-in-law, and the uncle of Louis XIV. his master.

In the mean time, the Prince Marshal Turenne attacked the army of Spain, or rather that of Flanders, near Dunes. It was commanded by Don John of Austria, son of Philip IV. by an actress, and who, two years after, became brother-in-law to Louis XIV *. The Prince of Condé was in the action, but had no command, so that it was the less difficult for Turenne to conquer. The six thousand English contributed greatly to the victory, which was compleat. The two English Princes, who were afterwards Kings, saw their misfortunes augmented on that day by the ascendancy of Cromwell.

June 14,
1658.

The abilities of the Great Condé could not prevail against the best troops of France and England. The Spanish army was destroyed. Dunkirk surrendered soon after. The King hastened with his Minister to see the garrison march out of the town. The Cardinal would not suffer Louis XIV. to appear either as a warrior or a King. He had no money to distribute among the soldiery; nor had he hardly any established household. He used to dine at the tables of Mazarin or of Marshal Turenne, when he was with the army. This neglect of the royal dignity did not in Louis XIV. proceed from any disregard of pomp, but from the narrow cir-

* By the marriage of Louis XIV. to the daughter of Philip IV.
cumstances

circumstances of his finances, and the vanity of the Cardinal, who would assume all splendor and authority to himself.

Louis only entered Dunkirk to deliver it into the possession of Lord Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador. Mazarin endeavoured by some finesse to elude the treaty, and not surrender the place. But Lockhart threatened, and English sturdiness prevailed over Italian chicanery.

Many have affirmed, that the Cardinal, who had imputed the taking of Arras to his own conduct, endeavoured to persuade Turenne to resign to him also the honour of the affair of Dunes. Du Bec-Crepin, Count of Moret, came, they say, from the Minister, to propose to the General to write a letter, by which it might appear that the Cardinal had himself arranged the whole plan of the operations. Turenne rejected the proposition with just contempt, scorning to suffer a falsehood to obtain which would have been disgraceful to the soldier, and ridiculous in the church-man. The same weakness that prompted Mazarin to make the overture, made him conceive an enmity against Turenne which continued till his death.

In the midst of this first triumph, the King fell ill at Calais, and remained for many days in a dangerous state. Immediately all the Courtiers turned their attention towards Monsieur his brother. Mazarin exerted his arts, his flatteries, and his promises, upon the Marshal Du Plessis-Praslin, the old governor of that Prince, and upon the Count of Guiche, his favourite.

A party was formed in Paris bold enough to write to Calais against the Cardinal, who was taking his measures for quitting the Kingdom, and conveying his immense riches into some place of safety. An Empirick of Abbeville cured the King with an emetic wine, which the Court-physicians looked upon to be a poison. This good man sat on the side of the King's bed, and said, "The young man is very ill, but he shall not die." As soon as he began to recover, the Cardinal exiled all those who had caballed against him.

Sept. 15,
1658. A few months after, died Cromwell, at the age of fifty-five*, in the career of the projects he was forming, both for the confirmation of his power, and for the glory of the nation. He had humbled Holland, imposed a treaty on Portugal, vanquished Spain, and obliged France to solicit his alliance. He said, a little before he expired, upon hearing with what haughtiness his Admirals had behaved at Lisbon, "I would have the English Republic as much respected as ever the Roman Commonwealth was."

His physicians announced his death to himself; but I do not believe what has been said, that in that moment he acted the enthusiast and the prophet, declaring that God would work a miracle in his favour. Thuroloe, his secretary, says, that he only replied, "Nature can do more than physicians." This expression was not that of a prophet, but of a man of common sense. Probably thinking that his Doctors might be mistaken, he meant, in case of his recovery, to assume the credit of having predicted his cure, in order to render, by that pretence, his person more respectable, and even more sacred.

He was buried with all the pomp of legitimate majesty, and left behind him, in Europe, the character of an intrepid man, sometimes fanatic, sometimes knavish, and of an usurper who knew how to reign.

Sir William Temple says, that Cromwell had formed a design, some little time before his death, to join with Spain against France, and to get possession of Calais with the assistance of the Spaniards, as he had got Dunkirk by the help of the French. Nothing was more consonant with his character and policy. He would have been the idol of the English, had he thus despoiled, one after another, two nations which they equally hated. But his death put an end to his great designs, to his tyranny, and to the glory of England.

* He was in his sixtieth year; born at Huntingdon, in 1599, and died in 1658. Four or five years in a man's life, is nothing; with Voltaire.

It is remarkable that they put on mourning for Cromwell at the Court of France, and that Mademoiselle^{*} was the only person who refused paying that compliment to the memory of a man who had murdered a King that was her relation †.

We have already seen ‡ that Richard Cromwell succeeded peaceably, and without opposition, to the Protectorship of his father, as a Prince of Wales would have done to a King of England. Richard soon made it appear, that the character of a single man often determines the fate of empires. His genius and disposition were the very reverse of his father's. He possessed all the mild virtues of social life, and had none of that intrepid ferocity which makes every thing bend to its own interest. He might have preserved the inheritance gained him by his father's labours, if he had taken away the lives of three or four of the principal Officers in the army who opposed his elevation. But he chose rather to resign the government, than to preserve it by assassinations. He retired and lived a private life, almost unknown, to the age of ninety, in the country of which he had been the Sovereign.

After his abdication of the Protectorship, he went to France; and it is certain, that at Montpellier, the Prince of Conti, brother to the Great Condé, happening one day to be in his company, but without knowing any thing more of him than that he was an Englishman, said, "Your Oliver Cromwell was a great man; but what a pitiful wretch must his son Richard be, not to have known how to enjoy the fruits of his father's crimes!" However, the same Richard lived happy, which was what his father never had done.

Some time before this event, France beheld another example, yet more memorable, of the same contempt for a Throne. Christina, Queen of Sweden, came to Paris. It was certainly matter of wonder, to see a young Queen, who, at the age only of twenty-seven, had renounced a

* De Montpensier.

† Her uncle by marriage.

‡ In the foregoing General History.

sovereignty,

sovereignty, of which she was every way worthy, to enjoy tranquillity and freedom.

It is shameful in the Protestant writers * to have presumed to say, without any kind of proof, that she quitted the Crown only because she could not keep it. She had formed this design from the age of twenty, and had kept it maturing in her mind seven years. Such a resolution, so superior to all vulgar notions, and so long meditated on, should stop the mouths of those who reproach her for levity, and an involuntary abdication. One of these charges destroys the other. But it has ever been the fate of whatever is great, to be attacked by persons of little souls.

To judge of the singular genius of this Queen, one need only read her letters. She says, in a letter she wrote to Chanut, formerly Ambassador from France to her, " I have possessed without pride, and resign without regret; have no fears therefore with regard to me. " My happiness depends not upon fortune." She wrote thus to the Prince of Condé: " I hold myself as much " honoured by your esteem, as by the Crown I lately " wore. If after having resigned, you should think me " less worthy of it, I shall then acknowledge that the " tranquility I so much aimed at, has cost me dear: I " shall not, however, repent my having purchased it, " even at the expence of a diadem; and I shall never " obscure the lustre of a deed which appears to myself " so noble, by an ignoble regret. If you condemn " this action, all the apology I have to offer is, that I " should not have contemned the advantages which Fortune had made me mistress of, if I had found them necessary to my happiness; and that I should have pretended even to the Empire of the World, could I have

* She had turned Catholic at Rome, which might perhaps have provoked their righteous spirits to speak so disrespectfully of her. It were a consummation most devoutly to be wished, that Priests of all religions could be taught that their province extends only to the *morals*, not to the *consciences* of men. There would be more of *the* firm in the world, if these presumptuous casuists would leave the latter to shift for itself.

“ been as well assured of succeeding or dying in the attempt, as the Great Condé might have been.”

Such was the soul of this illustrious personage; and such was her stile in our language, though she seldom spoke it*. She was mistress of eight languages. She had been the disciple and friend of Descartes, who died at Stockholm in her palace, not being able to obtain the smallest pension in France, where even his writings were prohibited, on account of the only good things that were in them†.

She had encouraged all those to come to Sweden, who were capable of affording her instruction. Her mortification at not finding any such persons in her own nation, had given her a disgust at reigning over a people who were merely soldiers. She thought it better to live upon equal terms with persons of reason and reflection, than to hold a superior rank over men without genius or learning. She had studied all the arts, in a region where they were not before known; and her desire was to fix her residence in the midst of them, in Italy. She only went to France to pass through it, as the Sciences were but just dawning there. Her taste determined her to settle at

* M. Voltaire might have remarked on something superior to stile, in this letter. Her saying to Condé, “ That though she had sacrificed her Crown to purchase her tranquillity, she should still think even that blessing too dearly earned by the loss of his esteem,” is one of the highest and politest compliments that human wit could frame in any language. The whole letter is admirable.

† M. Voltaire does not tell us what those *good things* were. His philosophy was wretched stuff, with his *vortices* and his *plenum*; so that we are not to look there for any of his *good things*. He was accused of Atheism; but it would not be fair to suppose M. Voltaire picked up his *good things* in those parts of his writings against which this charge was brought, as he defends him from it; and so he does Vani-
ni, at the same time (a). Our author is a person of the most universal charity I know. Turks, Jews, and Infidels, are sure to find him a ready advocate. If he is any-where deficient in that great principle, it is towards the Christians. Those he leaves in abler hands. Christ help the poor people, for him.

M. Voltaire differs widely from the Biographer of Descartes, in the article of *no pension*, who says that one of three thousand livres had been settled on him by the King of France, in the year 1647.

(a) See under Descartes, in the foregoing list of Writers.

Rome;

... to accommodate herself to her situation, she forsook the Lutheran Church, and turned Catholic. Indifferent to either one or the other, she made no scruple of conforming, in appearance, to the opinions of the people among whom she was resolved to live*.

She had quitted her Kingdom in 1654, and at Inspruck publicly performed the ceremony of her abdication. She was much admired at the Court of France, tho' there was not a woman to be met with in it, whose sense or talents were equal to her own. The King saw, and paid her due respect, but seldom conversed with her; for being kept in ignorance during his youth, his natural good sense rendered him timid.

The Nobility and Courtiers saw nothing remarkable in this philosophic Queen, except that she danced ill, and did not dress in the French taste. But persons of sense found nothing to condemn in her, except the murder of Monaldeschi, her gentleman-usher†, whom she caused to be put to death at Fontainebleau, in her second journey to France. Whatever crime he had been guilty of against her, she ought, after having renounced her authority, to have applied for justice elsewhere, and not have commanded the execution of it herself. It was not a Queen who punished a subject, but a woman who terminated an affair of gallantry by a murder. It was one Italian that assassinated another by the order of a Swedish woman, in the palace of a King of France. Nobody should suffer punishment but by the laws. Christina even in Sweden would not have had a right to put any one to death; and surely, what would have been a crime at Stockholm, could not be innocent at Fontainebleau. Those who have justified this action, deserve such rulers. The shame and cruelty of this deed tarnished the glory of that philosophy which had prompted her to quit a throne. She would have been punished in England, or in any country where laws are respected; tho'

* According to the proverb: "When you are at Rome, &c".

† Or *equerry*. The French word *écuyer* signifies either. Monaldeschi is called a *Marquis*, in the history of this strange event.

France shut her eyes to this outrage against the authority of the King, against the right of nations, and against all humanity*.

After the death of Cromwell, and the resignation of his son, England remained a year in the confusion of anarchy. Charles Gustavus, on whom Queen Christina had conferred the Kingdom of Sweden, rendered himself formidable in Germany, and the North. The Emperor Ferdinand had died in 1657; but his son Leopold, seventeen years old, though King of Hungary and Bohemia,

* A writer named *La Beaumelle*, who has misrepresented the Age of Louis XIV. and who had his work printed at Francfort, with a parcel of notes equally scandalous and false, says, upon this subject, that Christina had a right to put Monaldeschi to death, because she did not travel *incognito*; and adds, that Peter the Great, coming into a Coffee-house in London quite foaming with rage, because, as he said, one of his Generals had told him a lie, declared that he was almost tempted to cut him in two with a stroke of his sabre; and that an English merchant who was by, told the Czar, that if he had done so, his Majesty would have been condemned to be hanged.

One cannot help being astonished here at the insolent absurdity of such a story. Is it possible to be supposed that the Czar Peter should publish in a Coffee-house, that any of his Generals had lied to him? Do they cut men in two, now-a-days, with one stroke of a sabre? Does an Emperor go and complain to an English merchant that his General had told him a fib? In what language did he speak to this merchant, he that knew not a word of English? How could this Note-writer say, that Christina, after her abdication, had a right to get an Italian to be assassinated at Fontainebleau, and add, by way of proving it, that they would have hanged Peter the Great, in London, for such another feat? We shall be obliged sometimes to contradict the absurdities of this same writer. In matters of history, one should not be too proud to answer him; as there are too many readers who suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the falsities of an Author who writes without shame or reserve. VOLTAIRE.

Christina herself had conceived pretty much the same notion with *La Beaumelle*; for, on being reprehended by the Minister on account of this action, she answered, that "though she had resigned her Crown, she had not divested herself of the sovereign authority over her own domestics." Mazarin, not chusing to involve himself in a quarrel with the King of Sweden, contented himself with only hinting to her Majesty, that her longer residence in France might not be agreeable to the nation: upon which she decamped forthwith.

had not been elected *King of the Romans**, in his father's life-time.

Mazarin endeavoured to make Louis XIV. Emperor. This attempt was chimerical; it was requisite either to bully or to bribe the Electors. But France was neither strong enough for the first, nor rich enough for the second purpose: the first overtures, therefore, upon this idea, made at Francfort by the Marshal of Grammont and by Lionne, were withdrawn as soon as proposed. Leopold was elected; and all that the politics of Mazarin could effect, was to enter into a League with the

August
1658.

German Princes, to preserve the treaty of Munster, and give a check to the authority of the Emperor over the Empire.

France, after the battle of Dunes, was powerful abroad, by the glory of its arms, and the bad state to which the rest of the nations were reduced; but internally it suffered; it was exhausted of money, and required peace to recruit itself.

The people, in the Christian Monarchies, have seldom any interest in the wars of their Sovereigns. Mercenary forces levied by the mandate of a Minister, and commanded by a General who implicitly obeys him, make a number of destructive campaigns, while the Kings in whose names they keep the field, have neither hope, nor design, to conquer or retain one another's dominions. The victorious nation receives no profit from the spoils of the vanquished; it pays the whole expence; it suffers equally, in the good or ill success of its arms; and a peace becomes almost as necessary after the most signal victory, as when the enemy has got possession of its frontiers.

Two things were requisite to the Cardinal, to compleat his ministry; to make a peace, and secure the tranquillity of the state, by the marriage of the King. The cabals during his illness, made him sensible how much an heir to the Crown was necessary to the great-

* It is necessary, by the Germanic Constitution called the *Golden Bull*, that any Prince of the Empire be first made King of the Romans, to entitle him to be Emperor.

ness of a Minister. These considerations determined him to negotiate a match for Louis XIV. immediately. Two parties presented themselves to his mind, the daughter of the King of Spain, and the Princess of Savoy. The King's affections were otherwise engaged. He was most extremely in love with Mademoiselle Mancini, one of the Cardinal's nieces. Born with a tender heart, and of a firmness in his purposes, full of passion, and void of experience, he might have been capable of resolving to marry his mistress.

Madame de Motteville, favourite with the Queen-Mother, whose Memoirs carry a great air of veracity, says, that Mazarin was tempted to leave the King's passion to its own course, and place his niece upon the throne. He had already married one of her sisters to the Prince of Conti; another to the Duke de Mercœur; and the niece that Louis XIV. had attached himself to, had been asked in marriage by the King of England*. These were titles, perhaps, which might have justified his ambition.

He had the address to sound the Queen-Mother upon this subject. "I am much afraid," said he, one day, "that the King is violently bent upon marrying my niece." The Queen, who knew the heart of the Minister, was very certain that he wished what he pretended to apprehend. She answered him with the spirit of a Princess of the Austrian blood, the daughter, wife, and mother of Kings, and with that resentment which the Minister had provoked her to, by appearing for some time before to act quite independantly of her; "If the King could be capable of such a meanness, I would put myself, with my second son, at the head of the whole nation, both against him and against you."

Mazarin, it is said, never forgave the Queen this reply; but had the prudence to comply with her sentiments, and even assumed to himself an honour and a merit in opposing the passion of Louis XIV. His power required not the support of a Queen of his own blood.

He was also diffident of the character of his niece; and thought he should the more firmly establish the influence of his ministry, by avoiding the dangerous vanity of raising his family too high.

In the year 1656, he had sent Lionne to the Spanish Court, to negotiate a peace, and demand the Infanta. But Don Louis de Haro, convinced that however weak Spain was, France was not in a better condition, had rejected the Cardinal's propositions. The Infanta, daughter of the first marriage, was designed for the young Leopold. The King of Spain, Philip IV. had then, by his second marriage, only one son, whose weakly infancy afforded no great prospect of his living. They chose, therefore, that the Infanta, who might probably become the heiress of such considerable dominions, should transfer her rights rather into the House of Austria, than into one that was the enemy of her nation. But soon after, Philip IV. having another son, Don Philip Prosper, and his wife proving again with child, the danger apprehended in giving her to the King of France, appeared to him the less, and the battle of Dunes had rendered the peace necessary.

Spain promised the Infanta, and demanded a¹⁶⁵⁹ suspension of all hostilities. Mazarin and Don Louis met, on the frontiers of France and Spain, in the Isle of Pheasants*. Though the marriage of a King of France and a general peace were the objects of their conferences, yet more than a month was idly passed in arranging the difficulties which occurred upon precedence, and in regulating the ceremonies. Cardinals rank themselves equal to Kings, and superior to other Princes. France claimed with better pretence a pre-eminence before other Kings. However, Don Louis de Haro insisted on, and obtained, a perfect equality between Mazarin and himself, between France and Spain.

The conferences continued four months. Mazarin and Don Louis displayed their utmost skill in politics;

* So called, from the number of those birds found there. the

the art of Mazarin lay in cunning, and that of Haro in deliberation. The latter made use of but few words, and whatever the other said was equivocal. The genius of the Italian Minister was to over-reach; that of the Spanish Minister, to keep on his guard*. It is said, that he made this reflection on the Cardinal; "He pursues one great error in politics, which is, that he would ever deceive."

Such is the vicissitude of human affairs, that of this famous Pyrenean treaty, there do not remain two of the articles at this time subsisting. The King of France kept possession of Roussillon, and so he would have done independent of the peace; but with regard to Flanders, the Spanish monarchy retains nothing there. France was then joined in a necessary alliance with Portugal, but she is no longer so; now every thing is changed. But if Don Louis de Haro said, that Cardinal Mazarin could deceive, it might well be said since, that he could foresee. He had a long time meditated an alliance between the Houses of France and Spain. They quote that famous letter of his, written during the negotiations of Munster. "If the Most Christian King could get the Low-Countries and Franche-Compte in dower with the Infanta, we might then pretend to aspire to the succession of Spain, notwithstanding any renunciation ~~that~~ might be made to it on the marriage; and this is not a very distant prospect, as there is only the life of the Infant, her brother, to exclude it." This Prince was Balthazar, who died in 1649."

The Cardinal, however, evidently deceived himself, in supposing that the Low-Countries and Franche-Comté would be given as a portion to the Infanta. Not even a single town was stipulated for her dower. On the contrary, several considerable towns were restored to Spain that the French had taken from them, as St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, Oudenarde, and other places. But some of them were retained. The Cardinal, in-

* The different characters of their two nations could not be better described, than they are in the persons of these Ministers.

deed, was not deceived in saying, that the renunciation would, one day, ere long, be of no avail; but then those who give him the credit of such a prediction, must make him foresee that Prince Balthazar would die in 1649; that after him the three sons of the second marriage should all die in the cradle; that Charles, the fifth of all the male children, should have no posterity; and that this Austrian King should, one day, make a will in favour of a grandson of Louis XIV. In fine, the Cardinal did indeed foresee how little any renunciation would signify, in case the heirs-male of Philip IV. should happen to fail; and unexpected events have chanced to justify his supposition, after an interval of above fifty years.

Maria Theresa being expected to have those towns for her portion that France had surrendered, brought by her marriage contract only five hundred thousand gold crowns; and it cost the King more money to go and receive her on the frontiers. These five hundred thousand crowns, then worth two million five hundred thousand livres, became, however, the subject of great contest between the two Ministers; and France finally never received more than a hundred thousand francs of the money.

So far was this marriage from producing any other advantage, present and real, except that of peace, that the Infanta renounced all right she might ever be entitled to claim to any of the territories of her father; and this renunciation was ratified by Louis XIV. in the most solemn manner, and afterwards registered in the Parliament.

These renunciations, and these five hundred thousand gold crowns by way of portion, seem to be the usual articles of marriage between the Infantas of Spain and the Kings of France. Queen Anne of Austria, daughter to Philip III. was married to Louis XIII. on the same conditions; and when Isabella, daughter to Henry the Great, was affianced to Philip IV. King of Spain, there was no more stipulated for than five hundred thousand crowns of gold as her dowry; and of which there never was

was a livre paid: so that it appears there was then no manner of advantage in those great matches; and that the daughters of Kings were married to Kings with scarcely any thing more than their wedding-clothes given them.

The Duke of Lorrain, Charles IV. of whom France and Spain had great reason to complain, or rather who had great cause of complaint against them, was comprehended in this treaty; but merely as an unfortunate Prince, whom they used as they pleased, because he had it not in his power to render himself respected. France restored him his dominions, after demolishing Nanci*, but restricted him from keeping any troops on foot. Don Louis de Haro obliged Cardinal Mazarin to get the Prince of Condé received into favour, by threatening to give him the sovereignty of Rocroi, of Chatelet, and other places of which he was then in possession: so that France recovered these cities and the Great Condé also both together. He had lost his post of Grand Master of the King's household, which was afterwards given to his son, and brought back nothing to France but his fame.

Charles II. nominal King of England, more unhappy than the Duke of Lorrain, came near the Pyrenées, while the negociations of peace were in agitation. He implored the assistance both of Mazarin and Don Louis. He flattered himself that their Kings, who were his cousin-germans, being now united, would at last undertake to vindicate a cause common to all Sovereigns; more especially as Cromwell was then dead. But he could not obtain even an audience, either with Mazarin or Don Louis. Lockhart, the ambassador from the Republic of England, was at St. John de Luz. He made himself respected still, even after the death of the Protector; and both the Ministers, from the fear of offending this Englishman, refused even to see Charles II. They looked upon his re-establishment as an impossible event, and supposed that all the English factions, however at variance with one another, would unani-

* The capital city of Lorrain.

mously unite against ever acknowledging a King. They happened both of them to be mistaken; for Fortune, a few months after, effected what these Ministers might have had the glory of accomplishing. Charles was recalled into his dominions by the English themselves, without any one Power in Europe having attempted to prevent the murder of his father, or exerted itself in any manner towards the restoration of the son. He was received on the plains of Dover by above twenty thousand of his subjects, who fell on their knees before him. Some old people who had been among the number, told me, that the whole multitude shed tears upon that occasion. There never was, perhaps, a spectacle more moving, nor a revolution more sudden. This change of fortune was consummated in less time than the Pyrenean treaty was concluded; and Charles II. was in quiet possession of England, before Louis XIV. was even married by proxy.

At length Cardinal Mazarin returned with the King and his new Queen to Paris. A father who had married his son without giving him up the possession of his fortune, would not have acted otherwise than Mazarin did upon this occasion. He came back more powerful, and more jealous of that power, and even of his honours, than ever. He insisted and obtained that the Parliament should ~~come~~ ^{assemble} in a body and address him. This was without precedent in the Monarchy, but it was not thought too great a reparation for the injury the Parliament had done him. He no longer gave his hand to the Princes of the Blood in the third degree, as formerly; and he that was forced to admit Don Louis de Haro as his equal, now treated the Great Condé as his inferior.

He then appeared in public with regal pomp, having, besides his ordinary guards, a company of mousquetaires, which is at present the second company of the King's guards. There was no longer any free access to his person; and if any one was bad politician enough to ask a favour from the King, he was ruined. The Queen-mother, so long an obstinate patroness of Mazarin against all

all France, was left without influence, as soon as he found he could rule without her assistance. The King her son, trained up in an implicit submission to this Minister, was not able to shake off the yoke she had imposed upon him, as well as on herself. She respected her own work, and Louis XIV. dared not attempt to reign while Mazarin lived.

A Minister is excusable for the evil he may do, when the helm of state is forced into his hands by tempests; but in a calm, he is guilty of all the good he does not perform. Mazarin did none to any one but himself, either directly, or through the medium of his family. Eight years of absolute sway and tranquility, since his last return till the time of his death, were not marked by any establishment, either glorious or useful; for the College of the Four Nations was only an appointment by his will.

He managed the finances like the agent of a Lord who was in his debt. The King asked money sometimes from Louquet, who answered him, "Sire, there is not a sou in your Majesty's Exchequer, but Monsieur the Cardinal can lend you some." Mazarin was worth about two hundred millions, according to our present computation*. 'Tis said, in many Memoirs, that he amassed great part of these riches by means that were beneath the dignity of his station. 'Tis reported also that he used to be a sharer in the prizes of the privateers; though this was not proved against him. The Dutch, however, suspected him of it, and they had no such idea of Cardinal Richelieu.

'Tis said, that on his death-bed he betrayed some stings of conscience, though outwardly he affected courage. At least he feared, on account of his treasures, and therefore made a present of them all to the King, hoping he would restore them to him again; an idea in which he was not deceived; for the King returned him the legacy in about three days. He died at last; and there

*en millions sterling, reckoning the livre at a shilling.

March 9,
1661. did not appear to be a single person in the Kingdom who regretted him, except the King; for this Prince had already learned to dissimble. The yoke began to sit heavy on him, and he was impatient to reign. He, however, affected to appear sensible of a loss that put him in possession of his sceptre.

Louis XIV. and the whole Court went into mourning for Cardinal Mazarin; an uncommon compliment to a subject, but which Henry IV. had before paid to the memory of Gabrielle d'Etrées.

We shall not stop here to examine whether Cardinal Mazarin was a great Minister or no. 'Tis enough for us to speak of his actions, and leave posterity to form their own judgments on them. The generality of people are apt to suppose a great extent of understanding, and a genius almost divine, to be the lot of those who have governed kingdoms with any success. But it is not superior penetration that makes statesmen—it is their character. Men, however differing in their portions of sense, see pretty much alike their own interests. A Citizen of Amsterdam or Berne is as wise in this point, as Sejanus, Ximenes, Buckingham, Richelieu, or Mazarin; but our conduct and our enterprises depend solely upon the temper of our minds, and our success depends on fortune.

For example: If a General of the character of Pope Alexander VI. or his son Borgia, had commanded at the siege of Rochelle, he would have invited into his camp the principal chiefs of the town, under the confidence of a solemn oath, and then assassinated them. Mazarin would have carried the town, two or three years later, by bribing and dividing the citizens. Don Louis de Haro would not have hazarded the attempt. Richelieu raised a dike in the sea, in imitation of Alexander, and entered the town a conqueror. But a little stronger tide, or a little more activity on the part of the English, would have saved Rochelle, and caused the attempt of Richelieu to be deemed rash.

of

The characters of men may be judged from their enterprizes. We may venture to pronounce that Richelieu was possessed of a proud and a revengeful temper; that Mazarin was prudent, supple, and avaritious; but to ascertain to what point a Minister has understanding, we must converse with him frequently, or peruse his writings. It happens often among Statesmen, as it does every day among courtiers, that those who have the best talents frequently fail, while persons with more patience, resolution, suppleness, and consistency in their characters, generally succeed.

In reading the Letters of Cardinal Mazarin, and the Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz, we may easily perceive that Retz was the superior genius. Yet Mazarin was all-powerful, and Retz was overpowered. In short, it is certain, that to make an able Minister, a man need often possess but a middling genius, good sense, and good fortune; but to be a good Minister, his ruling passion must be a love for the public welfare. The great statesman is he who leaves great monuments behind him that are of advantage to his Country.

The monument which immortalizes Cardinal Mazarin, is the acquisition of Alsace. He added this province to France, at the very time that she was exclaiming against him; and by a singular fatality, did more good to the kingdom ~~when~~ he was persecuted by it, than during the tranquility of an uncontrouled power.

C H A P. VII.

Louis XIV. governs by himself. He forces the Spanish-Austrian branch to allow him precedence, and the Court of Rome to make him satisfaction. He purchases Dunkirk. He gives assistance to the Emperor, to Portugal, and to the States-General; and renders his Kingdom flourishing and formidable.

THERE was scarcely, in any Court, more cabals and hopes than while Cardinal Mazarin lay on his death-bed. The women who pretended to beauty, flattered themselves with the idea of governing a Prince of two-and-twenty, already such a dupe to love as to have offered his crown to his Mistress. The young Courtiers promised themselves to have the reign of favouritism renewed. Every Minister expected the first place. None of them ever supposed that a King kept in ignorance of all affairs of state, would attempt at once to take upon him the cares of government. Mazarin had prolonged the minority of the King as much as possible. He instructed him only a short time before his death, and then only because the King insisted upon it.

It was so far from being suspected he would govern alone, that not one of those who had acted under the former Minister, ever thought of asking the King when they should confer with him. The only question was from them all, "To whom shall we apply?" Louis XIV. answered, "To me." But they were still more surprised, on finding him persevere in this determination. He had, for some time, consulted his faculties, and essayed in secret his talents for governing. His resolution once taken, he maintained it to the last moment of his life. He marked out to each of his Ministers the limits of his power, obliging them to deliver in an account of whatever fell within their departments to himself at stated times, reposing in them just so much confidence as was necessary to give them credit in their Ministry,

Ministry, but watching carefully over them to prevent their abusing it.

Madame de Motteville tells us, that the character of Charles II. King of England, who was then said to govern by himself, had inspired Louis XIV. with an emulation of the same kind. If that was true, he far excelled his example; for he deserved all his life what was at first pronounced of Charles.

He commenced his personal government with regulating the finances, which were left in confusion by a long course of speculation. Discipline was also as much established among the troops, as in the Treasury. Magnificence and propriety gave a lustre to his Court. Even in its pleasures there appeared both a splendour and grandeur. All the arts were patronized, and all contributed to the glory both of the King and of the kingdom.

This is no proper place to consider him in his private character, or in the interior of his government. This shall be performed in another part of this work. Suffice it here to say, that the nation, which since the death of Henry the Great had never seen a real King, and which abhorred the rule of a Prime Minister, was inspired with admiration and hope, when they saw Louis XIV. acting at twenty-two, what Henry had done at fifty. If Henry IV. had had a Prime Minister, he would have been ruined, because the aversion to such a person would have incited a number of powerful factions. If Louis XIII. had not had one, that Prince, whose feeble and distempered body had enervated his mind, must have sunk under the weight of government. Louis XIV. might without danger have had, or not had, a Prime Minister; for then there remained not the least trace of former factions; there was now in France only a master and his subjects. He, from the first, demonstrated that he was ambitious of every kind of glory, and that he would be as much respected abroad, as absolute at home.

The former Kings of Europe claimed an exact equality among one another; which was very natural; but

but the Kings of France have ever challenged a precedence, on pretence of the antiquity of their race and of their Kingdom; and if they gave place to the Emperors, it was because men are seldom apt to controvert a right of usage.

The head of the German Republic, though an elective Prince, and of very little power in himself, takes the lead indisputably before all the other sovereigns, on account of his title of Cæsar, and the succession from Charlemagne. The German Chancery did not even allow the other Potentates the addition of Majesty; and yet the Kings of France might have justly disputed precedence before the Emperors, because France had founded the real Western Empire, the name of which only subsists in Germany. They had in their favour not only the superiority of an hereditary Crown over an elective dignity, but the further advantage of an uninterrupted succession of Kings, which reigned over a great monarchy many ages before any of those families throughout the world which are now in possession of Crowns, had attained to any degree of elevation. They challenged, at least, precedence before the other States of Europe; and alledged for their claim the title of Most Christian, which the Kings of Spain disputed by opposing that of Catholic; and ever since Charles V. had held a King of France prisoner at Madrid, the Spanish haughtiness was the farther from ceding this pre-eminence. The English and the Swedes, though they alledge not any of these honorary additions, avoid as much as possible an acknowledgment of this superiority to either of them.

At Rome these claims were formerly debated. The Popes, who used then to confer Kingdoms by their bulls, concluded, with much stronger reason, they had a right to settle the rank between the Crowned Heads. That Court, where every thing is transacted with the greatest ceremony, was the tribunal which discussed these vanities of greatness. France was there always allowed the precedence, when she was more powerful than Spain; but since the reign of Charles V. Spain had neglected

no occasion of being admitted to a footing of equality at least. The dispute remained undecided ; a step more or less in a procession, an arm-chair placed near an Altar, or opposite to a Pulpit, were their triumphs, and established their titles to this pre-eminence. The folly of a point of honour in this article, was as extreme, among Crowned Heads, as the madness of duelling was among the inferior ranks of men.

It happened that at the entry of a Swedish Ambassador into London, the Count d'Estrade, Ambassador from France, and Baron Watteville, the Spanish Ambassador, disputed the precedence. The Spaniard, having been more liberal of his money, and having a larger retinue, gained the London populace on his side. The coach-horses of the French Ambassador were killed, and the suite of Count d'Estrade, wounded and dispersed, left the Spaniards to march through the streets with swords drawn, as in triumph.

Louis XIV. being informed of this insult, recalled his Ambassador from Madrid, and ordered the Spanish one to quit France ; stopped the conferences that were then carrying on in Flanders about settling the Frontiers ; and sent a message to King Philip IV. his father-in-law, that if he did not acknowledge the superiority of the Crown of France, and make reparation for this affront by a formal satisfaction, the war should be immediately renewed.

Philip IV. not choosing to plunge his Kingdom into a new war for the precedence of an Ambassador, sent the Count de Fuentes to declare to the King, at Fontainebleau, in presence of all the foreign Ministers who were then in France, " that the Spanish Ministers, for the future, should never have any competition with those of France." This was not an unequivocal acknowledgement, indeed, of the pre-eminence of France, but it was an authentic proof of the weakness of Spain. That Court, still proud, murmured a long time at its humiliation. Several Spanish Ministers since then renewed their former pretensions, and obtained an equality at Nimeguen.

But

But Louis XIV. then acquired by his firmness a real superiority in Europe, in making it appear how much he was to be feared.

He had scarcely made an end of this inconsiderable affair with so much grandeur, but he marked it still more, upon an occasion where his glory seemed to be less interested. The young French Officers, in the wars which had been long carried on in Italy against Spain, had given to the circumspect and jealous Italians the idea of their being a forward and over-bearing nation. Italy, indeed, regarded all the nations with which she was overflowed, as barbarians, and the French to be as barbarous as the rest, but gayer and more dangerous, who introduced pleasures into every house, shewing a contempt for the people, at the same time, and adding insult to debauchery. They were feared every where, but particularly in Rome.

The Duke of Crequi, Ambassador to the Pope, had disgusted the people of Rome by his haughtiness; and his domestics, who always carry the faults of their masters to an extreme, committed the same sort of licentiousness that the ungovernable young men used to do in Paris, who piqued themselves every night on attacking and driving the city watch before them.

Some of the Duke of Crequi's suite took it into their heads to attack, sword in hand, a detachment of the Corsicans, who are the posse of the Civil Magistrate. The whole corps of Corsicans resenting it, and being secretly abetted by Don Mario Chigi, brother to Pope Alexander VII. who hated the Duke of Crequi, rose in arms, and besieged the Ambassador's house.

Aug. 29,
1662.

They fired at the coach in which the Duchess of Crequi was, just turning into the *porte cochere*, killed one of her pages, and wounded several of her attendants.

The Duke of Crequi immediately quitted Rome, and accused the Pope's relations, and the Pope himself, of having encouraged this assassination. The Pope delayed, as long as he could, giving any satisfaction, from a notion that with regard to the French it was only necessary

necessary to procrastinate, and that every thing would be forgotten. But after four months hesitation, he was obliged to hang one of the Corsicans, and one of the Sbirri *, and to banish the Governor from Rome who was suspected to have favoured the outrage. But he was struck with consternation when he heard that the King, not content with this, threatened to besiege Rome; that he had already marched troops into Italy; and that Marshal du Pleffis-Praslin was named to command them. This affair became now a national quarrel on both sides, and the King would vindicate his own. The Pope, before he would comply with the satisfaction demanded, solicited the mediation of the rest of the Catholic Princes, exerting all his politics to rouse them against Louis XIV.; but the circumstances of the times were not favourable to him. The Empire was attacked by the Turks; and Spain was embarrassed in an unprosperous war with Portugal.

The Court of Rome only irritated the King, without being able to resist him. The Parliament of Provence summoned the Pope, and took possession of Avignon. In other times, the excommunications of Rome would have been issued against such sacrilege; but these arms were now worn-out, and become a jest. The Pope was obliged to submit; he was forced to banish his own brother from Rome; to send his nephew, Cardinal Chigi, in the quality of Legate à Latere, to make satisfaction to the King; to disband his Corsican guards; and to erect a pyramid in Rome, with an inscription reciting both the affront and the reparation. Cardinal Chigi was the first Legate from the Court of Rome that ever was sent upon the errand of begging pardon. All former Legates were deputed to give laws, and impose the tithes †.

The King was not contented with having an affront repaired by transient ceremonies, or by monuments as perishable also, (for he suffered, some years after, the

* Constables.

† The tenth quota of all ecclesiastical benefices levied by the Papal authority, upon any exigency of the Holy See.

demolition of this pyramid) ; but he compelled the Court of Rome to surrender Castro and Ronciglione, at least for a term, to the Duke of Parma, and to indemnify the Duke of Modena for his claims upon Comachio. Thus did he derive from this insult the real honour of becoming the Protector of the Italian Princes.

While he was in this manner supporting his dignity, he did not neglect the increase of his power. His finances being well administered by Colbert, enabled
 Oct. 27, 1662. him to purchase Dunkirk and Mardike from the King of England, for five millions of livres, at twenty-six livres ten sous the mark. Charles II. both poor and prodigal, thus shamefully sold the price of English blood. His Chancellor Hyde, accused of having either advised, or permitted, this mean action, was afterwards banished by the Parliament of England, which punishes often the crimes of favourites, and sometimes fits in judgment upon its kings.

Louis set thirty thousand men to work upon the fortifications of Dunkirk, both on the land-side
 1663. and on that of the sea. There was a large basin hollowed out, between the town and the citadel, sufficient for the reception of thirty ships of war ; so that England had no sooner sold the place, than it became an object of their terror.

Some time after, the King compelled the Duke of Lorraine to give him the strong town of Mar-
 Aug. 30, 1663. sal. This unhappy Charles IV. an illustrious warrior, but a weak Prince, inconstant and imprudent, concluded a treaty, by which he ceded Lorraine to France after his death, on condition that the King would permit him to levy a million upon the dominions that he had abandoned to him, and that the Princes of the House of Lorraine should be ranked as Princes of the Blood in France. This treaty, registered in vain by the Parliament of Paris, served only to produce new inconstancies in the Duke of Lorraine ; who was glad afterwards to surrender Marfal, and throw himself upon the clemency of the King.

Louis

Louis augmented his territories even during the peace; and kept himself always prepared for war, by fortifying his frontiers, preserving a strict discipline in his army, increasing his troops, and reviewing them often.

The Turks were then very formidable in Europe. They at the same time attacked the Emperor of Germany and the Venetians. The policy of the Kings of France had always been to preserve an alliance with the Porte, not only for the advantages of commerce, but to prevent the House of Austria from becoming too powerful. However, a Christian King could not refuse assisting the Emperor, when he was in danger; and the interest of France was, that the Turks should raise disturbances in Hungary, but not invade it. Besides, his treaties with the Empire made this honourable measure his duty. Accordingly he sent six thousand men into Hungary, under the command of the Count de Coligni, the only remaining descendant of the family of that Coligni formerly so celebrated in our civil wars, and who merited, perhaps, as great renown as that Admiral, both by his courage and his virtue. Friendship had attached him to the Great Condé, and all the offers of Cardinal Mazarin were never able to seduce him from his connection.

He carried with him the flower of the French Nobility, and among them the young La Feuillade, a man of an enterprising spirit, and ambitious of eminence and fame. These French troops went to Hungary to serve under General Montecuculi, who at that time opposed the Grand Vizier Kiuperli, or August,
1614. Kouprogli; and who afterward, in serving against France, balanced the reputation of Turenne. A great battle was fought at St. Gothard, on the banks of the Raab, between the Turkish and the German armies. The French performed prodigies of valour; even the Germans, who loved them not, were forced to confess their merit. But it would not be doing the same justice to the Germans, to say, as many books have done, that the French alone carried away the honour of the victory.

The King, while he maintained his grandeur by openly succouring the Emperor, and adding a lustre to the French arms, employed his policy privately to assist Portugal against Spain. Cardinal Mazarin had formerly made a sacrifice of the Portuguese, by the Pyrenean treaty; but Spain had made several little tacit infractions on the peace. France made one herself, both bold and decisive. Marshal Schomberg, a foreigner and a Huguenot, marched into Portugal at the head of four thousand French forces paid by Louis XIV. though he pretended they were hired by the King of Portugal.

These troops, joined to the Portuguese forces, June 17, gained a compleat victory at Villa-Viciosa, 1665, which established the throne in the Braganza family. Thus Louis XIV. already appeared to be a martial and political Prince, and Europe dreaded him even before he had yet begun to make war in his own name.

It was this same policy which made him, contrary to his engagements, elude joining the few ships he was then master of, to the Dutch fleet. He had entered into an alliance with Holland, in 1662. That Republic, about that time, had renewed the war with England, on account of the vain and ridiculous honour of the flag*, and for the sake of their substantial interests in the commerce of the Indies. Louis saw with pleasure these two maritime powers put to sea every year against each other, fleets of more than one hundred ships of war, and mutually destroying one another by the most obstinate battles that ever were heard of, and of which the only consequence was, the weakening of both parties. One of these sea-

fights lasted three † intire days. It was in June 11, 12, 13, these actions that the Dutch Admiral De 1666.

Ruyter acquired the character of being the greatest naval commander that ever lived. It was he who went and burned the finest of the English ships even in their own ports, about four leagues from Lon-

* Was this more vain and ridiculous than the struggle for Precedence between France and Spain?

† The English Historians say four.

don *. He made Holland master at sea †, the empire of which England had ever maintained before, and where Louis XIV. had not yet become considerable.

The sovereignty of the ocean had been divided for some time between those two nations. The art of ship-building, and constructing them either for commerce or for war, was but little known to any except themselves. France, under the ministry of Richelieu, thought herself powerful at sea, because from about sixty ships which she reckoned in her ports, she could send out, perhaps, thirty; of which there was but one that mounted seventy guns. Under Mazarin, they purchased from Holland the few vessels they had; but wanted sailors, officers, and manufactures, for the construction and equipment of them.

The King undertook to repair the ruinous state of his marine, and to supply France with every requisite for the purpose, with incredible diligence. But in 1664, and 1665, while the English and Dutch covered the seas with near three hundred large men of war, he had not

* At Chatham, in the river Medway. Voltaire is mistaken in his measure; for 'tis thirty miles from London; and four leagues, by any computation, (for it is various in different parts of France) will not render it.

† This we deny. In the first engagement of this war, in the year 1665, the Duke of York gained a complete victory over Opdam and Tromp; and ~~if~~ his Royal Highness had not taken a nap too soon, he would not have left them a ship to continue the war. The action maintained, the next year, in June, between Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, Admiral of the English fleet, and De Ruyter, and Van Tromp, of the Dutch, was so equally fought, that both sides sung Te Deum. But the next month the matter was put quite out of dispute, by an intire defeat of the same Dutch Admirals by the same English ones; after which Admiral Holmes sailed triumphantly along the coast of Holland, burned two men of war and many merchant ships in the river Vlie, made a descent on Schelling, and demolished the town of Brandaris.

The affair of Chatham was a disgrace to the Dutch themselves, not to the English. It was done by surprize, during the time that a conference for peace was depending, when the English, looking upon that interval to be exempt from hostilities, had unmanned and unrigged their navy.

In the second Dutch war, the first engagement was so much in our favour, that De Ruyter sheered off in the night. The second, third and fourth actions were nearly equal, on both sides.

above fifteen or sixteen ships, of the lowest rates, which the Duke of Beaufort commanded against the Corsairs of Barbary; and when the States-General pressed Louis XIV. to join his fleet to theirs, there was only one single fire-ship in the harbour of Brest, which they were ashamed to send out, 'till pressed to it by repeated instances. But this was a disgrace which Louis XIV. quickly exerted himself to efface.

He gave the States a more honourable and essential
1665. succour by land. He sent them six thousand

French troops, to defend them against the Bishop of Munster, Christopher-Bernard de Galen, a martial Prelate, and an implacable enemy, subsidized by England to ravage the territories of Holland. But he made them pay dear for his assistance, and treated them like a powerful person who sells his protection to opulent merchants. Colbert charged them not only with the pay of these troops, but added the expences of an embassy sent to England, to conclude their peace with Charles II. Never was aid given with so ill a grace, nor consequently received with less gratitude.

The King having thus trained his troops, and formed new officers, in Hungary, in Holland, and in Portugal, respected and revenged in Rome, saw not a single power in Europe that he needed to fear. England ravaged by the plague; London burned down by a fire, unjustly imputed to the Roman Catholics; the continual prodigality and indigence of Charles II. as destructive to the state of his affairs, as the burning, or the plague; secured France sufficiently from any danger on the side of England. The Emperor was still suffering under the weakness occasioned by his war with the Turks. The King of Spain, Philip IV. dying, and his Monarchy being as feeble as himself, left Louis XIV. the only powerful, the only formidable Monarch among the States. He was young, rich, well-served, implicitly obeyed, and shewed an impatience to signalize himself, and rank with Conquerors.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

Conquest of Flanders.

OPPORTUNITY presented itself soon to a King who sought it. Philip IV. his father-in-law, died. He had by his first wife, who was sister to Louis XIII. the Princess Maria-Theresa, married to her cousin Louis XIV. ; a marriage by which the Spanish Monarchy has at length fallen into the House of Bourbon, so long its enemy. By his second marriage with Mary-Anne of Austria, he had Charles II. a weak and sickly child, heir to his crown, and the sole remaining son of three male children, two of whom had died in the cradle. Louis XIV. pretended that Flanders, Brabant, and Franche-Comté, provinces belonging to Spain, ought, according to the jurisprudence of those States, to descend to his wife, notwithstanding her renunciation. If the claims of Kings were to be decided by the Laws of Nations, before an impartial tribunal, this demand might have been doubtful, at least.

Louis had his rights canvassed by his own Council, assisted by the Theologians, who all declared them to be irrefragable; but the Council and the Confessor of the Dowager of Philip IV. pronounced them not founded in law. The Queen had, on her side, a strong argument, namely, the law of Charles V ; but the laws of Charles V. were not much regarded by the Court of France.

One of the pretexts which were assumed by the Council of the King, was, that the five hundred thousand crowns, stipulated as the dowry with the Queen, had never been paid ; but then they forgot that the portion of the daughter of Henry IV. remained undischarged also. France and Spain disputed this point at first by writings, in which were displayed the calculations of a banker, and the pleadings of a lawyer ; but the reason of state was the only logic attended to. This reason of state was something extraordinary.

Louis XIV. began to attack an infant, of whom he ought to have been the guardian and protector, as he was married to his sister. Could it be supposed that the Emperor Leopold, considered as the head of the House of Austria, would have suffered him to oppress this family, and aggrandize himself in Flanders? Who could believe that the Emperor and the King of France had before divided, in idea, the spoils of the young Charles of Austria, King of Spain? Some hints of this sad truth are to be met with in the Memoirs of the Marquis de Torcy, though they are not sufficiently clear. Time has at length unfolded a mystery, which proves, that among Kings the interest and the claims of the strongest power take place of justice, especially when that right seems to be in the least doubtful.*

All the brothers of Charles II. King of Spain were dead. Charles was of a feeble and unhealthy constitution. Louis XIV. and Leopold concluded, in his infancy, the same treaty of partition, pretty nearly, that they carved between them on his death. By that compact, which is actually among the records at the Louvre, Leopold was to suffer Louis XIV. to possess himself, at present, of Flanders, on condition that, on the death of Charles, Spain should pass under the dominion of the Emperor. It is not said whether there was any money paid, in consideration of this extraordinary negotiation. Generally, this principal article in all treaties is kept a secret.

Leopold had no sooner signed the deed, than he repented of it; at least, he insisted that this transaction should not be revealed to any of the Courts; that his counterpart should be executed of the agreement, as is usual; and that the sole instrument which was to subsist between them, should be locked up in an iron box, of which the Emperor was to keep one key, and the King of France the other. This box was to be deposited in the hands of the Great Duke of Florence. The Emperor delivered it for this purpose to the French Ambassador, then at Vienna, and the King sent

* Vol. I. page 36, of an Edition said to be printed at the Hague.
a detach-

a detachment of sixteen of his **life-guards** to the gates of the city, as a convoy to the Courier, lest the Emperor might alter his mind, and have the box carried off on the road. It was carried to Versailles, and not to Florence; which affords cause to suspect that Leopold had been bribed to the contract, since he did not dare to complain of the fraud.

In this manner did the Emperor suffer the King of Spain to be despoiled.

The King, trusting more to his troops than his reasons, marched into Flanders as to a certain conquest. He was himself at the head of thirty-five thousand men; another body of eight thousand was sent towards Dunkirk; and one of four thousand towards Luxemburgh. Turenne commanded the army under him. Colbert had multiplied the resources of the state necessary to supply these expences. Louvois, the new Minister for the war department, had made immense preparations for the campaign. Stores of every kind were properly disposed on the frontiers. He was the first that established the advantageous method, which the weakness of Government had before rendered impracticable, of subsisting armies by magazines. Whatever siege the King chose to undertake, on whichsoever side he turned his arms, provisions of every kind were at hand; the quarters for the troops were marked out; and their marches adjusted. Discipline, become more strict every day by the inflexible severity of the Minister, restrained the Officers within their duty. The presence of a young King the idol of his army, rendered the hardship of this discipline not only easy, but pleasing. Military rank commenced from this time to be an honour much superior to that of birth. Services and not ancestry were now considered, which had seldom been the rule before. By this distinction an Officer of the meanest origin was encouraged, without affording cause to those of the noblest descent to murmur. The Infantry, which bore the brunt of war since the uselessness of lances had been discovered, partook of the rewards which the Cavalry had exclusively possessed before. New maxims of government inspired new ardour.

The King, assisted by a General and a Minister * of equal abilities, and equally jealous of each other; both, however, serving him the better for that reason; at the head of the best troops in Europe, and finally strengthened by a new league with Portugal, attacked with all these advantages a Province ill defended of a Kingdom already ruined and torn in pieces. He had only his mother-in-law to contend with, a weak woman governed by a Jesuit †, whose despised and unhappy administration had left the Spanish monarchy without defence. The King of France had every advantage that was wanting to Spain.

The art of attacking places, as at present, had not then been perfected, because the skill of fortifying and defending them was also unknown. The frontiers of Spanish Flanders were mostly without fortifications, and ungarrisoned.

Louis had only to present himself before them. He entered Charleroy, as if it had been Paris. Ath and

July 6, 1667. Tournay were taken in two days. Furnes, Armentieres, and Courtray, did not hold out longer. He entered the trenches before

Douay, and it surrendered the next day. Lille, the most flourishing city in this Province, the only one well fortified, and containing a garrison of six thousand men, capitulated, after a nine days siege.

August 27. The Spaniards had not above eight thousand troops to oppose against this victorious army; and the rear of this

August 31. small body was cut in pieces by the Marquis, afterwards Marthal, de Crequi. The remainder sheltered itself under the walls of Mons and Brussels, leaving the King a conqueror without a battle.

This campaign, made in the midst of the greatest abundance, and attended by successes so easy, appeared to be merely a Court progress. Feasting, luxury, and pleasures, then got footing in the army, even while discipline was perfecting itself. Officers then per-

* Turenne and Colbert.

† Father Nitard, a German. He told the Duke of Lerma once, that he ought to treat him with more respect, "as he had every day his God in his hands, (the Eucharist) and his Queen at his feet." (He was her Confessor.)

formed

formed all their military duties with more exactness, but with more elegant accommodations. Marshal Turenne for a long time had only eaten off iron plates in camp. The Marquis D'Humieres was the first, at the siege of Arras, in 1658, who was served in plate in the trenches, and had his table covered with ragouts and second courses. But in this campaign of 1667, where a young King, who loved magnificence, displayed that of his Court amidst the fatigues of war, every one exerted himself to exhibit patterns of sumptuousness and taste in his entertainments, his dress, and equipage.

This luxury, the certain sign of the riches of a great state, and often the cause of decadence in a small one, was, however, nothing in comparison with what we have since become acquainted with. The King, his Generals, and his Ministers, used then to go to the rendezvous on horseback; whereas at present every Captain of horse, or General Officer's secretary, has his post-chaise, with glasses and springs, to convey him more commodiously, and at his ease, than one could formerly pay a visit from one quarter of Paris to another.

The delicacy of the Officers did not then prevent them from appearing in the trenches covered with a helmet and a cuirass. The King himself set them the example. He went into the lines so armed, before Douay and Lille. This prudent caution has saved many a great man; but it has been too much neglected since, by our young men of feeble frames, equally effeminate and brave, and who seem to dread fatigue more than danger.

The rapidity of these conquests alarmed Brussels; and the inhabitants began to remove their effects to Antwerp. The conquest of all Flanders might have been the work of this single campaign. The King had occasion only for a sufficient number of troops to take possession of the places ready to open their gates to his summons. Louvois advised him to put strong garrisons into the towns he had already made himself master of, and to fortify them. Vauban, one of those great men and persons of genius who appeared in this age for the service of

Louis

Louis XIV*, was appointed military architect to perform this work. He executed it according to his new method, which has since been adopted by all good engineers.

The world was amazed to see places surrounded only by works lying on a level with the open country. High and bold fortifications were but the more exposed to the battery of artillery; while those that were hid underground, were in less danger of being destroyed. He constructed the citadel of Lille upon these principles. In France, the government of a town had never before been a detached command from that of the fortrefs. The precedent of this was first made in favour of Vauban, who was the first governor of a citadel. It may further be observed, that the first of these plans in relieve, that is to be seen in the gallery of the Louvre, was that of the fortifications of Lille.

The King hastened back to enjoy the acclamations of his people, the adorations of his Courtiers and Mistresses, and to partake of the festivals he gave his Court.

C H A P. IX.

The Conquest of Franche-Comte, and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

THE Court was immersed in the entertainments exhibited at St. Germain's, when in the depth of winter, in the month of January, people were surprised to see troops marching on all sides, passing and repassing the roads of Champagne, in the Three Bishopricks; and trains of artillery and ammunition-waggons

* What a stroke of French enthusiasm in this! Vauban and other great men, and persons of genius, were only sent into the world, it seems, for the service of Louis XIV. This is, to be sure, a more innocent, though not a less ridiculous notion than one of the same kind that some of the Eastern nations are possessed with; who, upon the demise of their King, put all his suite to death, that he may be properly served in the next world, as Voltaire says Louis le Grand was in this.

stopped,

stopped, upon different pretences, on the high-way leading from Champagne to Burgundy. This part of France was in general motion, the cause of which could not even be guessed at. Foreigners through interest, and the natives through curiosity, were lost in conjectures. Germany was alarmed. The object of these preparations and irregular marches was a mystery to all. Never was the secret of a conspiracy better preserved, than was this expedition of Louis XIV.

At length, on the second of February, Louis set off from St. Germain's, with the young Duke of Enguien, son to the Great Condé, and some of his Court; the other Officers were gone to the rendezvous of the troops. He made long journies on horseback, till he arrived at Dijon. Twenty thousand men, assembled from different routes, collected themselves together, the same day, in Franche-Comte, at some leagues distance from Besançon, and the Great Condé appeared at their head; having for his principal Lieutenant General, Bouteville-Montmorency, his friend, become then Duke of Luxembourg, always attached to him in his good or ill fortune. Luxembourg was the pupil of Condé in the art of war; and his great merit obliged the King to employ him, though he did not love him*.

Intrigues of Court were, partly, the motives of this unexpected enterprise. The Prince of Condé was jealous of Turenne's glory, and Louvois of his favour with the King. Condé's sentiment was the emulation of a hero; Louvois, the envy of a Minister. The Prince being Governor of Burgundy, which confines upon Franche-Comté, had formed the design of making himself master of that Province, in a winter campaign, and in less time than Turenne had taken, the summer before, for the conquest of French Flanders. He immediately communicated his project to Louvois, who readily con-

* Luxembourg was afterwards one of the greatest Generals of France. He commanded in the war against the Dutch. He was hump-backed; and hearing that the Prince of Orange had reflected on that circumstance, he replied, "He can speak but by guess, for he never saw my back, though I have often seen his."

curred,

curred, in order to keep Turenne at a distance, and render him useless, and at the same time with a view to the interest of his master.

This Province, poor in riches, but fertile in soil, well peopled, forty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, bore the title of *Franche* or *free*, and was really so in effect; for the Kings of Spain were rather its protectors, than its masters. Though this country was in the government of Flanders, it was but little dependant on it. The entire administration was divided and disputed between the Parliament and the Governor of the Province. The people possessed great privileges, that were always respected by the Court of Madrid, which was obliged to temporize with a distrust jealous of its rights, and so near a neighbour to France.

Besançon * governs itself like an Imperial City, and no people ever lived under a milder administration, or were more attached to their Sovereigns. Their affection to the House of Austria was constant, during two generations; but this affection was founded in that of their liberty. In short, Franche-Comte was happy, tho' poor; but as it was a kind of Republic, it was not exempt from factions; and, notwithstanding what Pelisson has said to the contrary, force was not the sole means employed upon this occasion.

Some of the citizens were gained over by presents and promises, as was also the Abbot John Watteville, brother to him, who, by insulting the French Ambassador in London, had caused, by that outrage, the humiliation of the branch of Spanish-Austria. This Abbot, who was formerly an Officer, then a Carthusian Monk, afterwards a considerable time a Mussulman among the Turks, and at last an Ecclesiastic, was promised to be made High-Dean, with the addition of other benefices. Some of the Magistrates and Officers were purchased at a small price; and in short, the Marquis of Yenne, Governor-General of the place, became so tractable, that he was

* The capital of Franche-Comte.

openly rewarded after the war with a large pension, and the rank of a Lieutenant-General in France.

As soon as these secret intrigues were a little advanced, they were further supported by twenty thousand men. Besançon, the capital of the province, was invested by the Prince of Condé, and Luxembourg marched against Salins *. The next day both Besançon and Salins surrendered. Besançon asked no other terms of capitulation, than the preservation of the shrine of St. Suaire, or the Holy Handkerchief †, most devoutly worshipped in that city; which was readily granted. The King arrived at Dijon. Louvois, who had flown to the frontiers to direct all these measures, hastened to acquaint him that these two towns had been besieged and had surrendered. The King immediately hastened to pay his obedience to Fortune, who favoured him in every thing.

He laid siege to Dole ‡, in person. This place was reputed strong; and the Count de Montrevel commanded there, an Officer of remarkable bravery, and who was faithful, through a natural nobleness of mind, to the Spanish Government which he hated, and to the Parliament that he despised. He had not a garrison of more than four hundred soldiers, with the inhabitants, and yet he resolved to hold out. The trenches were not carried on in form; for no sooner were they opened, than a number of young volunteers who followed the King, pushed forward to attack the counterescarp, and made a lodgment there. The Prince of Condé, to whom years and experience had given a calmer courage, supported them properly, and shared the danger, to rescue them from it.

* Another considerable town in Franche-Comté, so called from the manufacture of salt-works carried on there.

† The French word is *suaire*, which signifies a winding-sheet. The Romish church has canonized the linen they supposed our Saviour to have been buried in. But why call it a *handkerchief*? I apprehend the custom of burying in linen to be of a later date. That pious Church has canonized the grave also, by the title of *St. Sepulchre*. But in this they seem to have begun at the wrong end of mortality. Why forget the cradle? Methinks *St. Cuna*, or *St. Cunnabula*, would make as good a figure in the Kalendar.

‡ One of the towns in Franche-Comté.

The Prince was every where, with his son; and after the action, went to give an account of it to the King, like an Officer whose fortune was yet to make.

The King remained in his quarters, displaying rather the dignity of a Monarch in his Court, than the ardour of a General in the field, and which would have been perfectly useless upon this occasion. All the etiquette of St Germain's was observed here. He had his *petit coucher* *, public drawing-rooms, private parties, and a hall of audience in his tent; nor did he in any thing depart from the ceremonials of a throne, except in permitting his Generals and Aids-de-camp to dine at his table. He did not manifest in the fatigues of war that impetuous bravery by which Francis I. and Henry IV. had distinguished themselves, whose daring spirit seemed to challenge danger. He thought it sufficient not to fear it himself, and to encourage others to defy it for his service.

He took possession of Dole, after four days siege, and twelve days after his setting out from Feb 14, St. Germain's; and finally, in less than three 1668. weeks the whole Franche-Comté submitted to his sovereignty. The Spanish Council, equally amazed and incensed at the weak defence that had been made, wrote to the Governor, that "The King of France" might have sent his Valet-de-Chambre to have taken possession of the country in his name, and saved himself the trouble of going in person."

So much success, with so much ambition, at length roused Europe out of its lethargy. The Empire began to put itself in motion, and the Emperor to raise troops. The Swiss bordering upon Franche-Comté began to tremble for their liberty, which was then their sole treasure. The rest of Flanders was liable to be invaded, the approaching spring. The Dutch, who had always found it necessary to secure the French as their friends, now dreaded their becoming their neighbours. Spain had

* There is no English term for this expression. It means the interval between the King's retiring from company, and his going to bed. then

then recourse to these very Hollanders, and was, in fact, protected by that inconsiderable nation, which it had formerly looked upon as despicable and rebellious.

Holland was governed by John de Witt, who from the age of five-and-twenty had been elected Grand Pensionary; a man equally jealous of the freedom of his country, and of his own personal greatness; conforming himself to the frugality and moderation of his Republic, he had but one footman and a servant-maid, and went on foot at the Hague, while his name ranked with those of the most potent Kings, in all the negotiations of Europe; a man indefatigable in labour; remarkable for regularity, wisdom, and industry in business; an excellent citizen, a great politician, and, notwithstanding all this, extremely unfortunate.

He had contracted a friendship (a rare thing among Ministers) with Sir William Temple, who was then the English Ambassador at the Hague. Temple was a Philosopher, who united letters with business. He was a good man, notwithstanding the reproach which Bishop Burnet has objected to him, of atheism; born with the spirit of a wise republican, loving Holland as if it had been his native land, because it was free; and as tenacious of that freedom as the Grand Pensionary himself. These two citizens united themselves to the Count de Dhona, Ambassador from Sweden, to oppose the progress of the King of France.

This era was marked for rapid events. That part of Flanders which is now called French-Flanders, had been taken in three months; Franche-Comté, in three weeks. The treaty between Holland, England, and Sweden, to preserve the balance of Europe, and to suppress the ambition of Louis XIV. was proposed and concluded in five days*. The Council of the Emperor Leopold dared not enter into this league. He was bound by the secret treaty which he had entered into with the King of France, to strip the young King of Spain of his dominions. He secretly encouraged the union between Eng-

* This was called the *Triple Alliance*,

land, Sweden, and Holland, but ventured not to take any open measures.

Louis XIV. was incensed that so small a state as Holland should presume to form an idea of limiting his conquests, and of becoming the arbiter of Kings; and the more so, that it was capable of it. This presumption of the United Provinces was an affront which he was obliged to brook, but for which he, from that time, meditated vengeance.

All ambitious, powerful, and irritated as he was, he averted the storm which was beginning to rise throughout all Europe. He himself proposed a peace. France and Spain chose Aix-la-Chapelle for their place of conference, and the new-elected Pope Rospigliosi, Clement IX. for their mediator.

The Court of Rome, in order to hide its weakness under an appearance of power, left no means untried to gain the honour of being arbitrator between the Crowned Heads; and though she could not obtain it at the treaty of the Pyrenees, she seemed at least to have gained it at the peace made at Aix-la-Chapelle. A Nuncio was sent to the Congress to be the shadow of arbitration between those phantoms of Plenipotentiaries. The Dutch, already jealous of their glory, would not divide with any other power, that of concluding what they had themselves begun. Every thing, in fact, was carried on at St. Germain's, by the Ministry of their Ambassador, Van Beuning. All that was secretly agreed to by him, was dispatched to Aix-la-Chapelle, to be signed in due form by the Ministers assembled at the Congress. Who would have imagined, thirty years before, that France and Spain should be obliged to receive the mediation of a Citizen of Holland?

This Van Beuning, a Burgomaster of Amsterdam, had the vivacity of a Frenchman, with
 May 2, the pride of a Spaniard. He was pleased
 1668. with every opportunity to mortify the imperious haughtiness of the King, and always opposed a republican inflexibility to that tone of superiority which the French Ministers affected to assume. "Will you

“not depend on the King’s promise?” said Monsieur de Lionne to him, in a conference. “I know not what the King may intend,” replied Van Beuning; “I only consider what he may do.”

In fine, at the Court of the proudest Monarch in the world, a simple Burgomaster concluded, by his own authority, a peace by which the King was obliged to relinquish the Province of Franche-Comté. The Dutch would rather have chosen that he had restored Flanders, and thereby have rid them of so dangerous a neighbour; but the rest of Europe thought that he had condescended sufficiently, in surrendering Franche-Comté; and he was contented with keeping possession of the towns of Flanders, which left the way open to him into Holland, whose destruction he had determined upon, at the very time he was complying with its terms.

C H A P. X.

The Works and Magnificence of Louis XIV. A singular Adventure in Portugal. Casimir in France. Succour given to Candia. Conquest of Holland.

LOUIS XIV. being obliged for some time to remain peaceable, continued, as he had begun, to regulate, fortify, and embellish his Kingdom. He proved that an absolute Monarch who wishes to do good, may attain every thing without difficulty. He had only to command, and the successes in the administration were as rapid as his conquests. It was a wonderful thing to see the sea-ports, which were formerly deserted, and gone to decay, now surrounded by works, that were at once their ornament and their defence, covered with ships and sailors, and already containing near sixty large vessels, ready to be equipped for war. New Colonies protected by the French flag, were every day embarking from all quarters, for America, for the East Indies, and the coasts of Africa. Nevertheless, in France, and under the King’s inspection, there were millions of men

employed in raising immense edifices, and in all those arts which architecture has introduced; while those of a more noble and ingenious kind adorned both the Court and City, and conferred upon France both pleasures and a lustre surpassing even the conception of former ages. Literature flourished, and good sense and true taste penetrated even into the schools of barbarism. All these details of the glory and felicity of the nation shall find their proper place in this history; but, at present, we are to speak only of general and military affairs.

Portugal at this time furnished Europe with an object of surprize. Don Alphonso, the unworthy son of the fortunate Don John of Braganza, reigned there. He was violent and weak. His wife, daughter to the Duke of Nemours, in love with Don Pedro, brother of Alphonso, dared to conceive a scheme for dethroning her husband, and marrying her gallant. His brutality justified the bold attempt. He was possessed of an uncommon strength of body. He had had publicly a child by a Courtezan, which he acknowledged for his own; and had besides cohabited for a long time with the Queen: nevertheless she accused him of impotency; and having by her address acquired that authority in the Kingdom which her husband had lost by his violence, she had him closely confined, and soon after obtained a dispensation from Rome for marrying her brother-in-law.

It is not so astonishing that Rome should have granted this indulgence, as it is that persons so powerful should require it. What Julius II. had without difficulty granted to King Henry VIII. of England, was conceded by Urban VIII. to the wife of a King of Portugal. The slightest endeavour may at one time bring about what the utmost efforts cannot at another time effect. There are always two weights and two measures for all the rights of Kings and of the people, and these two measures were kept at the Vatican ever since the Popes had power to influence the affairs of Europe. It would be almost impossible to believe that so many nations should have suffered so strange an authority to subsist

sist in the Pontiff of Rome, were we not acquainted with the powerful effects of custom.

This event, which was a revolution only in the Royal Family, and not in the Kingdom, of Portugal, having caused no change in the affairs of Europe, merits our attention solely from its singularity.

France soon after received a visit from a King who quitted his Throne in a very different manner. John Casimir, King of Poland, renewed the example which Queen Christina had given. Fatigued with the toils of government, and desirous of living happily, he chose his retreat at Paris, in the Abbey of St. Germain, of which he himself was Abbot. Paris, become within some years past the residence of all the fine arts, formed a delightful retreat for a King who sought the social pleasures, and who had a taste for literature. He had been a Jesuit and a Cardinal before he was King; and being equally disgusted with the royal and the ecclesiastical state, his wish was to live like a private man, and a philosopher; and he would never suffer himself to be addressed at Paris by the title of *Majesty*.

But a more interesting affair now excited the attention of all the Christian Princes.

The Turks, less formidable indeed than in the time of the Mahomets, the Selims, and the Solimans, but dangerous still, and the stronger from our disunion, had for two years been laying siege to Candia with all the forces of their empire. It is difficult to say, whether it was most astonishing that the Venetians should have been able to have made so long a defence, or that the Kings of Europe should have abandoned them.

Times were much altered. Formerly, when Christendom was yet in a state of barbarism, a Pope, or even a Monk, could send forth millions of Christians to make war on the Mahometans in their own empire. Our States exhausted both their men and money in endeavouring to conquer the wretched and barren Province of Judea; and now that the Isle of Candia, which was considered as the bulwark of Christendom, was over-run by sixty thousand Turks, it was looked upon as a loss

of no great importance by the Christian Powers. A few galleys, sent from Malta and from the Pope, were the only succours granted to this Republic for its defence against the whole Ottoman Empire. The Senate of Venice, whose measures were as ineffectual as they were prudent, could not, with her mercenary troops and such weak supplies, resist the power of the Grand Vizier, Kiuperli, who was an able Minister, a better General, master of the Turkish Empire, supported by a formidable army, and well provided also with able engineers.

The King in vain set an example to the other Princes of Europe, in assisting Candia. His galleys, and the ships newly constructed in the port of Toulon, conveyed thither seven thousand men, commanded by the Duke of Beaufort; an aid, indeed, very inadequate to the danger of their situation, as the generosity of the French was not emulated by any of the other States.

Sept. 16, 1669. La Feuillade, a private French gentleman, performed an action, at this crisis, which had no example except in the ancient times of Chivalry. He carried near three hundred gentlemen with him to the relief of Candia, at his own expence, although his fortune was but moderate. If any other nation had exerted itself for the Venetians in the same proportion with La Feuillade, it is probable that Candia might have been saved. But these succours served only to retard its fate for a few days, and to cause a great deal of blood to be shed to no purpose. The Duke of Beaufort perished in a sally; and Kiuperli at length by capitulation entered the town, which was then only an heap of ruins.

In this siege the Turks shewed great superiority over the Christians, even in the military art. The largest cannon which had ever been seen in Europe were cast in their camp. They were the first that formed parallel lines in the trenches. It is from them that we learned this method; but they had first adopted it from an Italian engineer. It is certain, that such a victorious people as the Turks were, with their experience, courage, opulence, and that perseverance in their undertakings which then formed their distinguishing character,

character, might have conquered Italy, and taken possession of Rome, in a very short time. But the weak Sultans which have since reigned over them, their bad Generals, and the defects in the constitution of their Government, have proved the security of Christianity.

The King, little affected with these foreign events, waited only for the ripening of his great design, the conquest of all the Low Countries, beginning with Holland. The opportunity grew every day more favourable. This little Republic was very powerful at sea, but had no strength by land. Allied with England and Spain, and at peace with France, she relied with too much confidence on the faith of treaties, and the advantages arising from an immense commerce. As much as her naval armies were well disciplined and invincible, in the same proportion were her land forces irregular and despicable. Their Cavalry was composed of burghers, who never quitted their houses, but paid some of the dregs of the people to serve in their stead. The Infantry was equally contemptible. The Officers, and even those who had the command of garrisons, were the children, or near relations of Burgo-masters, bred in idleness and inexperience, and considering their posts as Priests do their benefices. The Pensionary John de Witt attempted to reform this abuse, but did not exert himself sufficiently for the purpose; and this was one of the great faults of this republican.

It was first necessary to detach England from Holland. This alliance once broken, the destruction of the United Provinces appeared to be inevitable. It was not difficult for Louis XIV. to engage Charles II. in his designs. The English Monarch was indeed quite insensible to the disgrace thrown upon his reign and his nation, when his ships were burnt even in the river Thames by the Dutch fleet. He neither meditated revenge nor conquest. He wished to live only for his pleasures, and to reign without controul. Whatever could conduce towards these purposes, was his price. Louis, who at that time had but to speak to be supplied with money, promised a considerable sum to Charles,

who

1670. who had not the power to raise any without the consent of his Parliament. This secret league between the two Kings was confided to no person in France; except Madame, sister to Charles II. and wife to Monsieur, the King's only brother, to Louvois, and to Turenne.

A Princess of twenty-six years of age was chosen the Plenipotentiary to conclude this treaty with King Charles. Louis proposed visiting his new conquests of Lisle and Dunkirk, which served as a pretence for Madame's journey to England. The pomp and grandeur of the ancient Kings of Asia equalled not the splendour which attended this expedition. The King was preceded, or followed, by thirty thousand men; some designed to reinforce the garrisons of the conquered countries, others to be employed on the fortifications, and the rest to level the roads. Louis was accompanied by the Queen his consort, all the Princesses, and the most beautiful Ladies of his Court. Madame appeared in the midst of them with distinguished lustre; and in her heart enjoyed the satisfaction and glory of this vast parade, under which the motive of her journey was concealed. It was one continued scene of festivity from St. Germain's to Lisle.

The King, who wished to gain the hearts of his new subjects, and to dazzle the eyes of the neighbouring Princes, diffused his liberalities, where-ever he went, with a profuse hand; both gold and jewels were lavished upon every one who had the least pretence for being admitted to his presence. The Princess Henrietta embarked at Calais, to go and meet her brother, who waited her arrival at Canterbury. Charles, seduced by his love for his sister, and by the bribes of France, signed every thing that Louis XIV. desired, and planned the destruction of Holland in the midst of mirth and feasting.

The loss of Madame *, who immediately on her return died in a sudden and shocking manner, occasioned

* The Dutchess of Orleans, immediately after her return to France, was, in consequence of drinking a glass of succory water, by her

suspicious to be thrown out against Monsieur, but did not in the least change the resolutions of the two Kings. The spoils of the Republic which they purposed to destroy, were already divided in the secret treaty between them, as the French had before divided Flanders with the Dutch, in 1635. Thus do States frequently change their views, their allies, and their enemies, and are as frequently disappointed in all their projects.

The report of this approaching enterprize began to spread abroad, but Europe listened to it in silence. The Emperor, fully employed by the seditions in Hungary, Sweden lulled by negotiations, and Spain ever weak, ever slow, and irresolute, left a free and open field to the aspiring ambition of Louis XIV.

To compleat the ruin of Holland, it was at that time divided into two factions; the one, a party of severe Republicans, who considered the least shadow of despotic authority as a monster destructive to the laws of humanity; the other, a sect of moderate Republicans, who wished to invest the young Prince of Orange, afterwards the celebrated William III. with all the offices of his ancestors. The Grand Pensionary, John de Witt, and Cornelius, his brother, were at the head of the rigid supporters of Liberty; but the young Prince's party began to prevail; and the Republic, by paying more attention to its domestic disturbances than to the danger which threatened it from abroad, contributed herself to her own ruin.

An extraordinary change of manners, which has taken place among the Christian States for more than seven hundred years past, permitted Priests to be temporal lords and warriors. Louis kept the Archbishop of Cologne, Maximilian of Bavaria, and the noted Van Gale, Bishop of Munster and Abbé of Corbie, in pay, as he did the King of England, Charles II.

her physician's direction, seized with racking pains in her bowels, of which she died.

She was supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of her husband, who was offended at the too great intimacy that subsisted between her and his brother Louis XIV. *Translator.*

He had formerly assisted the Dutch against this Bishop, and now bribed him to crush them. This was a man of a singular character, which History should not neglect to make known. The son of a murderer, and born in the prison where his father had been confined for fourteen years, he rose to be Bishop of Munster by intrigues which were favoured by Fortune. He was scarcely elected Bishop, when he tried to strip the city of its privileges; and meeting with resistance, besieged it, laying waste the country with fire and slaughter which had chosen him for its Pastor. In the same manner did he treat his Abbey of Corbie. He was considered as a mercenary bravo, who would sometimes receive money from Holland to make war with her neighbours, and sometimes from France to act against that Republic.

Sweden did not attack the United Provinces, but abandoned them as soon as she saw the threatening ruin; and renewed her treaties with France, on the condition of her former subsidies. In short, every thing conspired to the destruction of Holland.

It is singular, and worthy to be observed, that of all the enemies who combined to sink this little State, not one of them could alledge the least pretence for war. It was an undertaking similar to the league between Louis XII. the Emperor Maximilian, and the King of Spain, who had formerly combined together to destroy the Republic of Venice, because it was rich and proud.

The States General in the greatest consternation wrote to the King to enquire of him, in the humblest terms, if the preparations he was making were intended against them, his old and faithful allies? how they had offended him? and what reparation he demanded? To which he replied, "That he should make that use of his troops which his dignity required, and for which he was not accountable to any one." His Ministers could give no other reason than that the Holland Gazette had been too insolent, and that Van Beuning was said to have had a Medal struck, injurious to the honour of Louis XIV.

A taste

A taste for devices was then universal in France. They had given to Louis XIV. one of the Sun, with these words, *Nec pluribus impar* *. It was reported that Van Beuning had had himself represented with a Sun, and these words for his motto: *In conspectu meo stetit Sol*; "At my presence the Sun stood still †." This Medal never existed. It is certain that the States General caused one to be struck, whereon they expressed all the glorious deeds of the Republic: *Affertis legibus, emendatis sacris, adjutis, defensis, conciliatis regibus, vindicata marium libertate, stabilita orbis Europæ quiete*. "The laws asserted, Religion amended, Kings succoured, defended, and reconciled, the freedom of the seas vindicated, and Europe restored to peace." They in reality boasted of nothing more than they had actually done, yet they ordered the dye of this Medal to be broken, to appease the resentment of Louis XIV.

The King of England, on his part, complained that their fleet had not struck or lowered their flag to an English boat; and charged them, besides, with a certain picture, in which Cornelius de Witt, brother to the Pensionary, was painted with all the emblems of a conqueror. There were ships represented as taken and burnt, in the back-ground of the picture. Cornelius de Witt, who, in fact, had a considerable share in the maritime exploits against England, had, indeed, permitted this trifling monument to be raised to his fame; but this picture, almost unknown, was hung in a private room where it was scarcely ever seen.

* Not unequal to many.

† It is true that a medal was afterwards struck, in Holland, which was thought to be that of Van Beuning; but it had no date. It represents a battle, with the Sun darting its rays upon the combatants, with this motto, *Stetit Sol in medio Cæli*. This medal, which was coined at the expence of some private persons, was not struck 'till after the battle of Hochstet, in 1704, and was occasioned by these two lines, which were then current:

*Alter in egregio super certamine Josua
Clamavit, Sol sta gallice, solque stetit.*

Now Van Beuning was not named Joshua, but Conrad. *Voltaire.*
The

The English Ministers, who transmitted in writing the resentments of their King against Holland, therein specified certain abusive pictures. The Dutch, who always translated the memorials of foreign Ministers into French, having construed the word *abusive* into the French words *fautifs*, *trompeurs*, *false*, or *lying*, replied, that they did not know what was meant by these *lying pictures*. And indeed they never once conceived that it related to the above-mentioned circumstance, and therefore could not discover any manner of pretence for the war.

All that the efforts of ambition and human foresight could devise for the destruction of a nation, was put in practice by Louis XIV. The history of mankind scarcely furnishes us with an instance of such formidable preparations being made for so small an expedition. Of all the different conquerors who have invaded any part of the world, not one ever began the career of conquest with so many regular troops, and so much money, as Louis employed in subduing the petty State of the United Provinces. No less than fifty millions, which were worth ninety-seven millions of our present currency, were expended in these pompous preparations. Thirty men of war, of fifty guns each, joined the English fleet, consisting of an hundred sail. The King, accompanied by his brother, marched at the head of one hundred and twelve thousand men towards Maestricht and Charleroi, on the frontiers of Spanish Flanders and Holland. The Bishop of Munster and the Elector of Cologne had about twenty thousand more. The Prince of Condé and Marshal Turenne were the Generals of the King's army, and the Duke of Luxembourg commanded under them. Vauban had the direction of the sieges. Louvois was present in all places, with his usual vigilance.

Never was there so magnificent an army, and at the same time so well disciplined; but the King's household troops, which were newly reformed, made a most glorious appearance. They consisted of four companies of *gardes du corps*, or body guards, each composed of three hundred gentlemen, among whom there were a considerable

derable number of young cadets, who served without pay, but were equally subject to military discipline with the rest ; two hundred gendarmes of the guard ; two hundred light-horse ; five hundred mousquetaires ; all chosen gentlemen, remarkable for their youth and handsome appearance ; twelve companies of gendarmerie, since augmented to the number of sixteen ; even the Hundred-Swiss regiment accompanied the King on this occasion, and the royal regiment of French and Swiss guards mounted before the house or the tent he occupied. These troops, the greater part covered with gold and silver, were at once the object of terror and admiration to a people who were strangers to all kind of magnificence ; and the exact discipline which was kept up in his army, made it appear in a different light to any that had yet been seen.

There were at that time no Inspectors of the horse and foot, as there have been since ; but these offices were then performed by two men who were singular in their way. Martinet * put the infantry upon the footing of the discipline in which we now see it ; and the Chevalier de Fourilles did the same with the cavalry. Martinet had, a year before, introduced the use of the bayonet in some regiments : before him, it had never been made use of in a constant or uniform manner. This last effort, of what perhaps is the most terrible of the whole military art, was already known, but had been little practised, because spears were still much in use. This same officer likewise invented copper boats for bridges, which might easily be transported in waggons, or on the backs of mules. The King, secure of success and glory from all these advantages, carried along with him an Historian to write his conquests. This was Pellisson, of whom mention has been made, in the article of Polite Arts ; a person more capable of writing well, than of avoiding flattery.

What advanced the ruin of Holland still more, was, that the Marquis de Louvois had secretly employed the

* Hence all strict disciplinarians have been distinguished by the name of *Martinets*. *Translator.*

Count de Bentheim to purchase from themselves a great part of the ammunition designed for their own destruction, and by this means had disfurnished their magazines. It is not in the least surprising that their merchants should have sold these military stores before a declaration of war, when they sell them every day to their enemies, during the most desperate contests. 'Tis known to every one that a merchant of that country formerly replied to Prince Maurice, who reprehended him for such a traffic, "My Lord, if I could by sea carry on an advantageous trade with Hell, I would run the hazard of scorching my sails there." But what is really surprising is, that they have asserted in print that the Marquis de Louvois went himself in disguise, to transact this business in Holland. How could any one invent a story so absurd, or imagine an attempt so hazardous and so unnecessary too?

Against Condé, Turenne, Luxembourg, Vauban, an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, a powerful train of artillery, and immense sums of money to bribe the fidelity of those who commanded garrison-towns, what had the Republic of Holland to oppose? A young Prince of a weakly constitution, who had never seen a battle or a siege, and about twenty-five thousand bad soldiers, which were all the strength of the country. William, Prince of Orange, who was about twenty-two years old, had lately been elected Captain-General of the land-forces, by the voice of the nation. John de Witt, the Great Pensionary, was obliged to consent to it. This Prince, under the Dutch phlegm nourished an ardent ambition of glory, which ever afterwards manifested itself in his conduct, without ever betraying itself in his discourse. He was of a cold and severe disposition, but of an active and penetrating genius. His courage, which never desponded, supported his feeble and languid body under fatigues which seemed above his strength. He was valiant without ostentation, ambitious tho' an enemy to pomp, and endowed by nature with a phlegmatic obstinacy formed for combating adversity. He delighted in war and politics, and
was

was equally a stranger to the joys of society, or the pleasures attendant upon greatness; in a word, he was in almost every respect the reverse of Louis XIV.

He was unable at first to make head against the torrent which overflowed his country. His forces were inconsiderable, and even his authority was greatly limited by the States. The whole power of France was ready to fall upon Holland, which had no resources. The imprudent Duke of Lorraine, who endeavoured to raise troops in order to join his fortune with that of the Republic, had just beheld his country seized upon by the French troops with as much facility as they can possess themselves of Avignon, on any quarrel with the papal see.

In the mean time the King caused his armies to advance, on the side of the Rhine, into those countries which border upon Holland, Cologne, and Flanders. He ordered money to be distributed among the inhabitants of all the villages, to compensate for the damages occasioned by the march of his troops through them. If any gentleman made the least complaint to him, he was sure of being dismissed with a present. An Envoy being sent from the Governor of the Netherlands to make a representation of some disorders committed by the soldiers, the King with his own hand presented him with his picture, richly set in diamonds, and valued at above twelve thousand franks. This behaviour attracted the admiration of the people, and augmented their respect for his power.

The King was at the head of his household, and a body of his choicest troops, which amounted to thirty thousand men. Turenne had the command under him. The Prince of Condé was likewise at the head of as strong an army. The other corps, commanded alternately by Luxembourg and Chamilli, formed occasionally separate armies, which could all join one another in case of necessity.

The campaign was opened by the siege of four towns at once, Rhinberg, Orfoi, Wesel, and Burick; names which merit a place in history only on account of this event.

event. These were all taken, almost as soon as they were invested. Rhinberg, which the King thought proper to besiege in person, did not wait the discharge of a single cannon; and, in order to make more sure of its reduction, means had been found to corrupt the Lieutenant of the garrison, one Dosseri, an Irishman, who, after having been base enough to sell his trust, was so imprudent as to retire to Maastricht, where the Prince of Orange punished his treachery with death.

All the strong holds upon the Rhine and the Iffel surrendered. Some of the Governors sent the keys of their towns as soon as they perceived one or two squadrons of the French appear in sight. Several Officers fled from the places where they were in garrison, even before the enemy had entered their territories; in short, the consternation was general. The Prince of Orange had not a sufficient force to take the field. All Holland prepared to submit to the yoke, as soon as the King should cross the Rhine. The Prince of Orange caused lines to be drawn, with the utmost haste, on the other side the river; and even after he had done this, he was sensible how impossible it was for him to defend them. Nothing now remained but to discover, if possible, in what part the French intended to throw over a bridge, in order to oppose their passage. In fact, it was the King's intention to pass the river on a bridge of those little copper boats contrived by Martinet. At that time the Prince of Condé had received information from some of the country-people, that the dryness of the season had formed a ford on a branch of the Rhine, near an old castle, which served as an office for the toll-gatherers, and was called *Toll Huis*, or, the Toll-house. The King ordered this ford to be sounded by the Count de Guiche. According to Pelisson, who was an eye-witness to the whole, and which was since confirmed to me by the inhabitants, there was not above twenty paces to swim over, in the midst of this arm of the river. This was in fact nothing, for a number of horses a-breast entirely broke the current of the water, which was of itself very weak. The landing on the opposite side was very easy, as it
was

was defended only by four or five hundred horsemen, and two weak regiments of foot, without any cannon. The French artillery played upon those in flank, while the household troops, and some of the best of the cavalry, crossed the river without any hazard, to the number of fifteen thousand men.

The Prince of Condé crossed at the same time, in one of the copper boats. Some few Dutch Officers, who at first made a show of advancing into the water in order to oppose their landing, betook themselves to flight the instant the French troops drew near the shore, unable to stand before the multitude which came pouring upon them. The foot immediately laid down their arms, and called for quarter. This passage was effected with the loss only of Count Nugent, and a few horsemen, who were drowned by missing the ford; and there would not have been a single life lost that day, had it not been for the imprudence of the young Duke of Longueville, who being, as it is said, overheated with wine, fired his pistol at some of the enemy's people, who had laid down their arms and were begging their lives, crying out, "Give the scoundrels no quarter;" and drawing his trigger, shot an Officer dead. Upon this the Dutch infantry, in a fit of despair, instantly flew to their arms and made a general discharge, by which the Duke of Longueville himself was killed. A Captain of their horse, named Offembrouk, who had not fled with the rest, rode up to the Prince of Condé, who was just got on shore, and going to mount his horse, and aimed his pistol at his head. The Prince turned the weapon aside with his hand, and received only a wound in his wrist, which was the only one he ever received in all his campaigns. The French immediately fell sword in hand upon this small body, which began to fly on all sides. In the mean time the King crossed the river with the rest of the army, on a bridge of boats.

Such was the passage of the Rhine; an action which made a great noise, was singular in its kind, and was celebrated at that time as one of those great events

which ought to remain in the memory of mankind. The air of greatness with which the King performed all his actions, the rapid success of his victories, the glory of his reign, the adulation of his courtiers, and, lastly, the fondness which the common people, especially those of Paris, have in general for every thing that appears extraordinary, joined to that ignorance of military operations, which prevails among those who pass a life of idleness in great cities, made this passage of the Rhine be looked upon as a prodigy, which is still spoken of with admiration. It was the common opinion, that the whole army had swam across the river in presence of the enemy entrenched on the opposite side, and in defiance of the fire from an impregnable fortress called the *Tollhuis*. It is a certain truth, that the enemy themselves were taken by surprise, in this affair; and that if they had had a body of good troops on the other side of the river, the attempt would have been extremely dangerous.

As soon as the French army had passed the Rhine, it took Doetsbourg, Zutphen, Arnheim, Nisemburg, Nimeguen, Shenk, Bommel, Crevecoeur, &c. and there was scarcely an hour in the day in which the King did not receive the news of some fresh conquest. An Officer, named Mazel, sent Monsieur de Turenne word, "That if he would send him fifty horse, he would engage to make himself master of two or three places."

The inhabitants of Utrecht sent the keys of their city to the conqueror, and it capitulated, together with the whole province which bears its name. Louis made his entry into this city in triumph, accompanied by his High-almoner, his Confessor, and the titular Bishop of Utrecht. The high church was with great solemnity delivered up to the Catholics; and the Bishop of Utrecht, who had hitherto only held the empty title, was now for a little time put into possession of the real dignity. The religion of Louis XIV. conquered, as well as his arms. It was a right which he had acquired over Holland, in the opinion of the Catholics.

June 20,
1672.

The Provinces of Utrecht, Overijssel, and Gueldres, were reduced, and Amsterdam only waited the hour of its slavery or destruction. The Jews who are settled there made interest with Gourville, the Prince of Condé's confident, and chief manager of his affairs, to accept of two millions of florins, to save them from being plundered.

Naerden, which is in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam, was already taken. Four horsemen, who were on a marauding party, advanced to the very gates of Muyden, which is not above a mile from Amsterdam, and where the sluices are fixed by which the country may be laid under water. The magistrates, struck with a panic at the sight of these four soldiers, came out and offered them the keys of the town; but at length perceiving that no other troops came up, they took back the keys and shut the gates again*. A moment's diligence more would have put Amsterdam into the King's hands. This capital once taken, not only the Republic itself must have fallen, but there would no longer have been such a Republic as Holland, and even the country itself would have been annihilated.

Some of the richest families, and those who were most zealous lovers of liberty, were preparing to fly to the extremity of the globe, and embark for Batavia. There was actually a list made out of the shipping fit for undertaking this voyage, and a calculation of the numbers they would carry; when it was found, that fifty thousand families might be thus transported into their new country. Holland then would have existed only in the farther end of the East-Indies: its provinces in Europe, which purchase their corn with the riches they import from Asia, and which subsist wholly upon their commerce, and their liberty, if I may use that expression, would have been almost in an instant depopulated and ruined. Amsterdam, the mart and warehouse of Europe, where three hundred thousand persons are daily

* The castle or citadel of Muyden was preserved by a female servant, who raised up the draw-bridge, and so prevented the French stragglers from taking possession of it.

employed in cultivating arts and trade, would have become one vast marsh. All the lands round about require an immense expence, and thousands of men to raise their dykes : those would, in all probability, have been stripped at once of their inhabitants and riches, and at length buried in the sea, leaving to Louis XIV. only the deplorable glory of having destroyed the most singular and most beautiful monument of human industry in the world.

The distresses of the State were still farther increased by the divisions which commonly arise among unfortunate people, who impute to each other the public calamities. The Grand Pensionary, De Witt, thought there was no other way left to save what remained of his wretched country, but by suing to the victors for peace. Full of a republican spirit, and jealous of his personal authority, he ever dreaded the aggrandizement of the House of Orange, still more even than the conquests of the French King. On this account he had obliged the Prince of Orange himself to swear to the observance of a perpetual edict, by which he was excluded from the Stadtholdership. Honour, authority, party-spirit, and self-interest, all concurred to make De Witt a strenuous assertor of this oath ; preferring rather to see his country subdued by a victorious King, than under subjection to a Stadtholder.

The Prince of Orange, on his side, more ambitious than De Witt, but as much attached to his country, more patient under public calamities, and hoping every thing from time and his own unshaken constancy, tried all means to obtain the Stadtholdership, and opposed a peace with equal vehemence. The States, however, came to a resolution to sue for it, in spite of the Prince ; but he was raised to the Stadtholdership, in spite of De Witt *.

Four Deputies arrived in the King's camp, to implore
1672. mercy in the name of a Republic, who six
months before looked upon itself as the

* He was made Stadtholder the first of July. How could La Beaumelle pretend to say, in his surreptitious Edition of the Age of Louis XIV. that he was only appointed General and Admiral ?

arbitrer of Kings. Louis's Ministers did not receive the Deputies with that French politeness, which blends the mildness of civility with the severity of government. Louvois, who was of an haughty and arrogant disposition, and seemed better suited to serve his master well, than to make him beloved, received the suppliants in a disdainful manner, and even with insulting raillery. They were obliged to attend, several times, before the King would deign to make his pleasure known to them. At length they were told, that his Majesty expected the States-General should give up all the places they were in possession of on the other side of the Rhine, with Nimeguen, and several other towns and forts in the heart of their country; that they should pay him twenty millions of livres; that the French should be masters of transporting merchandize on all the principal roads in Holland, both by land and water, without ever paying any duty; that the Roman-Catholic religion should be every where established; that the Republic should send an extraordinary embassy to the French Court every year, together with a golden medal, on which should be engraved a legend, importing that they held their freedom of Louis XIV.; lastly, that they should make satisfaction to the King of England, and the Princes of the Empire, the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster, who had joined in the desolation of their country.

A peace on these conditions, which were little better than articles of slavery, appeared insupportable. The haughtiness of the conqueror inspired the vanquished with a desperate courage, and it was unanimously resolved to die sword in hand. The hearts and hopes of every one were now fixed upon the Prince of Orange. The populace grew furious against the Grand Pensionary, who had sued for peace. The Prince by his politics, and his party by their animosity, increased the ferment. An attempt was made upon the Grand Pensionary's life; and afterwards his brother Cornelius was accused of a design to murder the Prince, and was put to the rack. In the midst of his tortures he repeated the beginning of this Ode of Horace, *Iustum & tenacem propositi vi-*

rum *, &c. which perfectly well suited with his condition and courage, and which may be thus translated, for the sake of those who do not understand Latin :

The man resolved, and steady to his trust,
Inflexible to ill and obstinately just,
May the rude rabble's insolence despise,
The senseless clamours, and unultuous cries ;
The tyrant's fierceness he beguiles,
And the stern brow, and the harsh voice defies,
And with superior greatness smiles.

Not the rough whirlwind that deforms
Adria's black gulf, and vexes it with storms,
The stubborn virtue of his soul can move ;
Nor the red arm of angry Jove,
That darts the thunder from the sky,
And gives it rage to roar, and strength to fly.
Should the whole frame of Nature round him break,
In ruin and confusion hurled,
He unconcerned would hear the mighty crack,
And stand secure amidst a falling world †.

At length the two brothers were massacred at the Hague, by the mad multitude, after one of them had governed the State above nineteen years with the most unsullied integrity, and the other had defended it by his sword. The most shocking cruelties which could enter into the imagination of a furious populace, were exercised upon their dead bodies. These barbarities are common in all nations; the French themselves had exercised them upon the Marshal d'Ancre, Admiral Coligni, &c. for the populace is almost every where the same. They wreaked their vengeance upon all the Pensionary's friends : even De Ruyter himself, the Republic's Admiral, and who was the only one who fought her battles with success, had his house surrounded by assassins at Amsterdam.

In the midst of these disorders and desolations, the Magistrates gave an example of integrity rarely met

* Ode III. Lib. III.

† The Ode extends to sixty four lines farther ; but this is full as much as a man can be supposed to have repeated, on the rack.

with but in Republics *. Those private persons who were possessed of Bank-notes, ran in crowds to the Bank of Amsterdam, apprehending that the public stock had been broken in upon, and every one was for being paid with the little money supposed to be left. The Magistrates immediately ordered the vaults to be opened, where this treasure is kept, when it was found entire, as it had been deposited there above sixty years past. The money was still black and discoloured with the fire which had burnt down the town-house, several years before. The Bank-notes had been negotiated till that time, and the money had never been touched: every one was then paid in cash, who chose to receive it. So much integrity, and so powerful a resource, was at that time the more admirable, as Charles II. of England, not satisfied with the money he had received from France, and wanting a farther supply to carry on his war against the Dutch, and answer the expence of his pleasures, had lately become bankrupt. If it was shameful in this Monarch thus to violate public faith, it was the more glorious in the Magistrates of Amsterdam to preserve it, at a time when they might have had a plausible excuse for a failure.

To this republican virtue they added that courageous spirit, which has recourse to the utmost extremities in irremediable evils. They ordered the dykes which keep out the sea to be thrown down. The country-seats, which are in prodigious numbers about Amsterdam, the villages, and the neighbouring cities of Leyden and Delft, were in an instant laid under water. The peasant beheld his flocks drowned in the pastures, without once murmuring. Amsterdam stood like a vast fortress in the midst of the waves, encircled by ships of war, which had water enough to ride all round the city. The people suffered great want; they were in particular distressed for fresh water, which sold for six sous the pint; but these extremities seemed less grievous than slavery. It

* Why so partial to Republics? Is there neither honour or honesty in Monarchies? This compliment was written, probably, for the meridian of Geneva.

is worthy of observation, that Holland, thus distressed by land, and no longer a State, still retained its power at sea, which was this nation's true element.

When Louis XIV. was crossing the Rhine, and reducing three provinces, the Dutch Admiral, De Ruyter, with an hundred sail of men of war, and about fifty fire-ships, sailed for the English coast, in quest of the combined fleets of the two sovereigns; who, notwithstanding they had united their forces by sea, were not able to fit out a naval armament superior to that of the Dutch. The English and Dutch fought like people accustomed to dispute the empire of the sea with each other. This battle, which was fought near

June 7,
1672.

Solebay, lasted a whole day. Ruyter, who made the signal for beginning the engagement, attacked the English Admiral's ship, in which was the Duke of York, the King's brother. De Ruyter gained all the glory of this single combat*; the Duke of York was obliged to go on board another ship, and never faced the Dutch Admiral afterwards. The French squadron, consisting of thirty ships, had little share in this action; and so decisive was the fortune of this day, that it put the coast of Holland out of danger.

After this battle, De Ruyter, notwithstanding the fears and opposition of his countrymen, convoyed the fleet from the East-Indies safe into the Texel; thus defending and enriching his country on one side, while she was failing to ruin on the other. The Dutch even kept up their commerce, and no colours but theirs were to be seen in the Indian seas. One day the French Consul telling the King of Persia, that his master, Louis XIV. had conquered almost all Holland; "How can that be," replied the Monarch) when there is now in the port of Ormus twenty Dutch ships, for one French?"

The Prince of Orange, however, had the ambition of being a good citizen. He made an offer to the State

* There could be no glory lost on either side; for the Duke did not quit his ship till she was disabled, and De Ruyter declared that this was the most obstinate of two-and-thirty actions in which he had been engaged.

of the revenues of his posts, and of all his private fortune, towards the support of the common cause. He overflowed all the passes by which the French could penetrate into the rest of the country. By his prompt and secret negotiations he raised the Emperor, the Empire, the Spanish Council, and the government of Flanders, from their lethargy: he even disposed the English Court to listen to peace. In a word, Louis had entered Holland only in May, and by the month of July all Europe was in confederacy against him.

Monterey, Governor of Flanders, sent a few regiments privately to the assistance of the United Provinces. The Emperor Leopold's Council likewise dispatched Montecuculi, at the head of twenty thousand men; and the Elector of Branlebourg took the field with twenty-five thousand troops, whom he kept in his own pay.

The King now quitted his army, as there were no more conquests to be made in a country that was overflowed. It was even become difficult to keep the Provinces which had been conquered. Louis was desirous of gaining glory; but not being willing to purchase it at the expense of indefatigable labour, he lost it again. Contented with having taken such a number of places in the space of two months, and leaving Turenne and Luxembourg to finish the war, he returned to St. Germain's, about the middle of the summer, to enjoy his triumphs. But while his subjects were every where erecting monuments of his conquests, the Powers of Europe were at work to snatch them out of his hands.

C H A P. XI.

Holland evacuated. Franco Count captured a second Time.

WE think it necessary to advertise those who may read this work, that they are to remember it is not a bare relation of campaign, but rather an history of

of the manners of mankind. There are already a sufficient number of books filled with the minute particulars of military actions, and details of human rage and misery. The design of this Essay is to describe the principal characters of these revolutions, and to pass over the multitude of trifling facts, in order to set to view those only which are considerable, and (if it is possible) the spirit by which they were actuated.

France had now arrived at the pinnacle of its glory. The name of her Generals imprinted awe. Her Ministers were considered in a superior light to the Counsellors of other Princes; and Louis was, in effect, the sole King in Europe. The Emperor Leopold never appeared in his armies; Charles II. King of Spain was in his infancy; and the King of England shewed no activity in his character, except in the pursuit of pleasure.

Every one of these Princes and their Ministers committed great oversights. England acted against the principles of all state policy, in uniting with France, to strengthen a power that it was her interest to keep weak. The Emperor, the Empire, and the Ministry of Spain, were guilty of still greater indiscretion, in not joining together to resist this torrent, at the beginning. In short, Louis himself committed as great an error as any of the rest, in not pursuing such easy conquests with more rapidity.

Condé and Turenne advised him to demolish the greatest part of the places he had taken from the Dutch. They told him that it is not by garrisons that countries are conquered, but by armies; and that after securing one or two fortified towns, for the convenience of a retreat, he should not delay a moment to complete his conquest. Louvois, on the contrary, was for fortifying and garrisoning every place they got possession of. This was his genius, and the King's sentiment concurred with his.

Louvois had by this means more offices to dispose of. It extended the power of his ministry, and gratified his vanity, at the same time, to thwart the two greatest Generals of the age. Louis took his advice, and deceived

ved himself, as he afterwards confessed. He suffered the favourable minute to escape him for seizing the Capital of Holland; he enfeebled his army by occupying too many places; and afforded the enemy time for breathing. A history of the greatest Princes is often but a recital of human errors.

After the departure of the King, affairs assumed another aspect. Turenne was obliged to march towards Westphalia, to oppose the Imperialists. Monterey, Governor of Flanders, without the timid Spanish Council avowing it, reinforced the small army of the Prince of Orange with about ten thousand men, which enabled him to keep his ground against the French till the winter. It was enough even to hold Fortune at bay, for the present.

At length the winter arrived, and the overflowed country of Holland was covered with ice. Luxembourg, who commanded in Utrecht, attempted a new species of war, before unknown to the French, and threw Holland into an unforeseen kind of danger, as alarming as any it had before experienced.

He assembled together, one night, about twelve thousand infantry, drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, whose shoes he had ordered to be frost-shod. At the head of this body of men he set out, and directed his march over the ice, towards Leyden and the Hague. A thaw comes on, and saves the Hague. His army surrounded by water, having neither road nor victuals, was in a most forlorn situation. There was no way to get back to Utrecht but by marching over a narrow marshy dike, where four men could hardly walk a-breast; nor was there any gaining this pass, but by attacking a fort, which seemed impregnable without artillery. If this redoubt had held out only one day, the whole army must have perished through hunger and fatigue. Luxembourg was without resource; but Fortune, who had protected the Hague, saved his army also, by the cowardice of the Governor of the fortress, who abandoned his post, without any apparent necessity. There are a number of events in war, as well as in civil life,
which

which are not to be accounted for. This was one of them.

All the fruit of this enterprize was an action of cruelty, which completely rendered the French name odious in this country. Bodegrave and Swammerdam, two considerable villages, rich and populous, and as large as some of our middling towns, were abandoned to the plunder of the troops, as a recompence for their fatigue. They set both the towns on fire, and by the light of their flames rioted in debauchery and barbarity.

It is matter of surprize, that the French soldiery should be such barbarians, when we reflect that they were commanded by so great a number of Officers, who deservedly bear the character of equal bravery and humanity. This pillage was so exaggerated, that, above forty years after the event, I saw Dutch books, printed for the use of reading schools, in which the story was related, to impress the rising generation with a hatred against the French.

In the mean time the King was active in the ¹⁶⁷³ business of all the Princes, by negotiations. He brought over the Duke of Hanover. The Elector of Brandenburg, on engaging in the war, concluded a treaty, which he soon after infringed. In every Court of Germany Louis had his pensioners. His emissaries fomented in Hungary the disturbances that had arisen in the Provinces by the severity of the Council of Vienna. Large sums were sent into England, to induce Charles II. to enter into a second war with Holland, in spite of the discontents of the whole nation, which resented its being reversed an instrument towards the aggrandizement of Louis XIV. whom it ought rather to have humbled.

All Europe was disturbed by the arms and intrigues of Louis. He could not, however, prevent the Emperor, the Empire, and Spain, from entering into alliance with the Dutch, and openly making a declaration of war against him. He had so far reversed the course of politics, that the Dutch, who were his natural allies, were become the friends of the House of Austria. The Emperor Leopold supplied his quota slowly, but expressed great animosity against the French. It is said, that going

ing to Egra *, to review the troops he had assembled there, he received the communion at one of his flags, and after the service took the crucifix in his hand, and appealed to God for the justice of his cause. At the time of the Crusades, such a piece of religious solemnity might have had its effect, but Leopold's invocation did not arrest the progress of the arms of France.

It was soon apparent how much his marine had been improved. Instead of thirty vessels, which had, the year before, been added to the English fleet, he now supplied forty sail, exclusive of fire-ships. His naval officers had been instructed by the English in the expert manœuvres with which they fought their enemies the Dutch. It was the Duke of York, afterwards James II. who first invented the art of communicating orders at sea, by the different signals of the flags. Before this time the French knew nothing of the method of arranging a fleet in a line of battle. Their experience consisted only in fighting one ship against another, but not in bringing squadrons to act in concert together, and to perform at sea all the evolutions of an army at land, where the separate corps are brought reciprocally to sustain and succour each other. They might in this instance be properly compared to the Romans, who in one year learned from the Carthaginians the art of fighting at sea, and at once became equal to their masters.

The Vice-Admiral D'Estrées, and his Lieutenant Martel, did honour to the military industry of the French nation, in three successive naval engagements, fought in the month of June, between the Dutch fleet and the united squadrons of France and ^{June 7, 14,} ^{and 21, 8 73} England. Admiral Ruyter exceeded himself in these three actions. D'Estrées wrote thus to Colbert: "I would willingly have lost my life" to have gained the glory that Ruyter has acquired;" and D'Estrées as well deserved the same compliment from Ruyter. The bravery and conduct were so equally

A City in Bohemia.

matched

matched on both sides, that it was doubtful which had a right to claim the victory.

Louis having made the French good sailors by the assistance of Colbert, improved the art of field-war by the help of Vauban. He went in person to besiege Maestricht, just at the time of these three naval actions. This town was to him the key of the Low-Countries and the United Provinces. The place was well defended by a brave Governor, whose name was Farjaux, born in France, who had been first in the Spanish service, and then passed into that of the Dutch. The garrison consisted of five hundred men.

Vauban, who conducted the siege, here made use of the parallels, for the first time, invented by the Italian engineers in the service of the Turks before Candia. To these he added the place of arms, that is made in trenches for arranging troops in battle array, and to rally them the better, in case of a sally. Louis shewed himself more exact and laborious in this siege, than he had ever done before. He accustomed his Officers, by his own example, to endure toil with patience; thereby vindicating them from the charge formerly urged against the nation, of being soldiers of an impetuous courage, but incapable of enduring fatigue. Maestricht surrendered in about eight days.

June 29,
1673.

For the better establishment of military discipline, he made use of a severity which was thought carried to excess. The Prince of Orange, who had at first only Officers without emulation, and soldiers without courage, to oppose to the rapidity of these conquests, had formed them at length to discipline by the force of rigour, delivering over to the executioner every man that quitted his post. The King also made use of severity, the very first place he lost.

Septem. 14,
1673. A very gallant officer, named Du-Pas, surrendered Naerden to the Prince of Orange.

He had, indeed, stood a siege of only four days; but then he did not give up the place till after a warm action, which held five hours, upon bad works, and to avoid a general assault, which so feeble and disheartened

heartened a garrison was unable to sustain. The King, provoked at the first affront his arms had suffered, sentenced Du-Pas to be led through the town of Utrecht with a shovel in his hand, and to have his sword broke before his face *. A needless ignominy for French Officers, who are too sensible of glory, to need their being governed by a fear of shame †.

It is to be observed, however, that by a Commandant's commission, he is obliged to sustain three assaults; but this is among the laws that are never regarded ‡. Du-Pas, the following year, fell at the siege of the little town of Grave, whither he went a volunteer. His courage and his death ought to have impressed the Marquis de Louvois with regret, who was the adviser of his too severe treatment. Sovereign power may use a brave man ill, but should never dishonour him.

The attentions of the King, the talents of Vauban, the severity and vigilance of Louvois, the experience and military knowledge of Turenne, the activity and intrepidity of the Prince of Conde; all these together were not able to repair the error that had been committed in weakening the army, by keeping too many places garrisoned, and in not taking Amsterdam.

The Prince of Conde made a fruitless attempt to penetrate into the heart of Holland, which was laid under water. Turenne could neither oppose the junction of Montecuculi with the Prince of Orange, nor prevent

* La Beaumelle says, in his *Memoirs*, that he was condemned to imprisonment for life. But this could not be true, as the year after, he was slain at the siege of Grave. I should think that he must have wanted either spirit or bread, ever to have served under Louis again; though he only served as a volunteer.

† Here appears another of Voltaire's partialities to his nation. He seems to appropriate the general character of a soldier to the French Officers exclusively. The English, Dutch, Spanish, and German, are the same. *Translator*.

‡ There certainly should be left a discretionary power in the Governor, to act as circumstances may happen; or he is not fit to command. *Ibid.*

the Prince of Orange from taking Bonn†. The Bishop of Munster, who had vowed the destruction of the States-General, was himself attacked by them.

The Parliament of England forced its King to enter seriously into negotiations for a peace, and to cease being the mercenary instrument of the greatness of France. Louis was therefore reduced to the necessity of abandoning the three Dutch Provinces as speedily as he had conquered them; but not till after there had been as much extorted from them as might have purchased their ransom. The Intendant Robert had assessed the single Province of Utrecht, in one year, in the sum of sixteen hundred and sixty-eight thousand florins. But in such a hurry were they to evacuate the country, which they had possessed themselves of with so much rapidity, that twenty-eight thousand Dutch prisoners were redeemed at a crown a-head. The triumphal arch of St. Denis's gate, and the other monuments of the conquest, were scarcely finished, when the conquest itself was surrendered.

The Dutch, during the course of this invasion, had the honour of disputing the empire of the sea, and the address of removing the theatre of the land-war out of their own country; and Louis XIV. was thought throughout Europe to have enjoyed too prematurely, and too haughtily, the glory of a transient triumph.

The fruit of this enterprize was to have a bloody war to sustain against Spain, the Empire, and Holland, united; to be abandoned by England, and at length by Munster, and even by Cologne; and to leave the countries he had invaded, and was forced to relinquish, impressed with more hatred than admiration of him.

The King supported himself alone against all the enemies he had made. The foresight of his Government, and the resources of his state, appeared the greater, now that he had such strong Powers leagued against him, and such experienced Generals to contend with, than when he took, *ex p. sient* as it were, French Flanders, Franche-

† A town of Germany, the Capital of Cologne.

Comté, and half of Holland, from unprepared adversaries.

It may be remarked, upon this occasion, the advantage an absolute Monarch, whose finances are well administered, possesses above other Sovereigns. He at one and the same time sent an army of twenty-three thousand men against the Imperialists, under the command of Turenne; furnished the Prince of Condé with another of forty thousand, to oppose the Prince of Orange; had a body of troops stationed on the frontier of Roussillon*; dispatched a fleet of transports freighted with land-forces, to carry the war into Spain up to the gates of Messina; and marched himself at the head of an army to make a second conquest of Franche-Comté. In fine, he at once both defended himself, and attacked his enemies.

On the very commencement of this new expedition against Franche-Comté, the superiority of his administration visibly appeared. He exerted himself to gain over the Swiss to his party, or at least to lull into a neutrality a nation as formidable as poor, always in arms, jealous to the last degree of their liberty, invincible on their own frontiers, and already murmuring and alarmed at seeing Louis XIV. a second time in their neighbourhood.

The Emperor and Spain solicited these Thirteen Cantons to permit, at least, a free passage to their troops to be sent to the relief of Franche-Comté, left without defence by the negligence of the Spanish Ministry: Louis, on the other hand, pressed them to refuse this passage. But the Emperor and Spain were liberal only in arguments and intreaties, while Louis with ready money in hand† determined them in his favour, and the passage was accordingly refused.

Louis, accompanied by his brother and the son of the Great Condé, besieged Besançon. He was fond of this part of the military science, and understood it as well

* Bordering on Catalonia, a Province of Spain. *Translator.*

† The bribe paid down, as mentioned in some memoirs, was a million of livres, and a promise of six hundred thousand more. *Ibid.*

as Turenne or Condé. But however jealous he was of glory, he acknowledged that those two Generals were greater masters of the field-war than himself. Besides, he never laid siege to a town, without being morally certain of carrying it; for Louvois always made such excellent dispositions, the troops were so well provided, and Vauban, who generally conducted the manœuvres, was so great a master of the engineering art, that the glory of the King was secured before-hand.

May 15, 1674. Vauban directed the attacks against Besançon, which was taken in nine days; and in about six weeks time all Franche-Comté submitted to the King. It has remained to France ever since, and seems now to be annexed to it for ever, as a monument of the weakness of the Austrian-Spanish Ministry, and of the vigour of that of Louis XIV.

C H A P. XII.

A glorious Campaign. The death of Marshal Turenne. The last Battle of the Great Condé, at Senef.

WHILE the King was carrying every thing before him in Franche-Comté with that rapidity, ease, and éclat, which hitherto seemed to attend his fortune; Turenne, who only acted defensively on the frontiers towards the Rhine, displayed all that was great and consummate in the art of war. Our esteem for men is measured by the difficulties surmounted; and it was this consideration that intitled Turenne to so great a reputation on account of this campaign.

June, 1674. At setting-out he made a long and forced march, passed the Rhine at Philipsburg, marched all night to Sintzheim, took it by storm, and at the same time attacked and put to the route Caprara, the Emperor's General, with the old Duke of Lorrain,

* A town of Brabant, in the Austrian Netherlands. *Translator.*

Charles IV.; a Prince whose whole life had passed in losing his territories and raising forces, and who had just then joined his little army to a detachment from that of the Emperor.

Turenne, after having defeated, pursued July, him; routed his cavalry at Ladinburg; 1674. and from thence without pause pressed forward to meet another of the Imperial Generals, the Prince of Bournonville, who only waited the arrival of fresh troops to open a passage for himself into Alsace. He prevented the junction of these forces, attacked and made him Oct. 1674. quit the field of battle.

The Empire collected all its forces against him. Seventy thousand German troops were in Alsace; and Brisach and Philipsburg were blockaded. Turenne was not then at the head of more than about twenty thousand effective men, and the Prince of Condé had sent him a small supply of cavalry from Flanders. With these forces he traversed the mountains covered with Dec. 1674. snow, by Tanne and Besfort, and unexpectedly enters Upper Alsace, in the midst of the enemy's quarters, who thought him reposing himself in Lorraine, and concluded the year's campaign to be at an end. He defeated the corps at Mulhausen that resisted, and took two thousand of them prisoners. He marched to Colmar, where the Elector of Brandenburg, who was styled the *Great Elector*, then General of the armies of the Empire, was stationed. He happened to arrive just as these Princes and the other Generals were sitting down to dinner. They had but just time to make their escape, and the whole country was covered with fugitives.

Turenne thinking he had done nothing while there remained any thing to be done*, January 5, 1675. lay in ambush near Turckheim, for a party of the enemy's foot passing that way. The advantage of the post he had taken, rendered his success certain. He consequently defeated this body of Infantry. In short,

* This character is borrowed from Sallust, without acknowledging it. 'Twas said of Cæsar, *Nil actum credens, cum quid superesset agendum.* Translator.

this army of seventy thousand men was broken and dispersed, even without any pitched battle. Alsace fell into the possession of the King, and the Generals of the Empire were obliged to repass the Rhine.

All these exploits, following one another without interruption, conducted with so much skill, planned with so much deliberation, and executed with so much promptness, were objects of equal admiration, both to France and her enemies. The glory of Turenne received a considerable increase, when it was known that every thing he had done throughout this campaign was against the opinion of the Court, and contrary to the repeated orders of Louvois, sent him in the name of the King. To oppose the all-powerful Louvois, and take upon himself the consequences of the event, without regarding the remonstrances of the Court, the commands of his master, and the resentment of the Minister, was by no means the least mark of the resolution of Turenne, nor the least signal circumstance of the campaign.

It must be acknowledged, that those who were impressed with more humanity than admiration for military exploits, lamented this glorious campaign, which was as memorable for the miseries of the people, as for the enterprizes of Turenne. After the battle of Sinsenheim he laid waste the Palatinate with fire and sword, a champaign and a fertile country, full of cities and opulent villages. The Elector Palatine, from the battlements of his castle of Mannheim, beheld two cities and twenty-five villages in flames. This unhappy Prince challenged Turenne to single combat, in a letter filled with reproaches*.

* During the course of this edition, Mr. Colini, private secretary and historiographer of the present reigning Elector Palatine, has called in question the story of this challenge, upon very specious arguments, delivered with good sense and sagacity. He shews very judiciously, that the Elector, Charles-Louis, could not have written the letters that Sandras de Courtils and Ramsay have imputed to this Prince. More historians than these have often attributed to their heroes both writings and speeches of their own invention.

Neither the original letter of the Elector Charles-Louis nor the answer of Marshal Turenne have ever been seen. It has only been
taken

Turenne having sent this letter to the King, who forbade him to accept the challenge, only answered the upbraidings and defiance by an empty compliment that was nothing satisfactory. This was the stile and manner of Turenne, who always expressed himself with moderation and ambiguity.

With the same *sang-froid* he destroyed the ovens and set fire to all the corn-fields in Alsace, that were within his reach, to prevent the subsistence of the enemy. He afterwards permitted his cavalry to ravage Lorraine; where they committed such scenes of devastation, that the Intendant, who on his side ravaged it as much with his pen*, wrote and spoke often to him to stop these excesses; to which he coldly replied, "I shall do it in the Orders."

Turenne chose rather to be called the father of the troops under his command, than of the people at large,

taken upon trust, that the Elector, justly incensed at the ravages and conflagrations which Turenne had committed in his country, did send him a defiance by a trumpeter, named *Petit-Jan*. I know that the House of Bouillon gave credit to the fact. The Grand Prior of Vendôme and the Marshal de Villars never doubted it; and the Memoirs of Beauveau, a co-temporary, affirms the anecdote.

However, possibly, the challenge might not have been proposed, in express terms, in the *bitter* letter which the Elector himself said he had written to the Prince Marshal Turenne, upon that occasion. Would to God that it was also a matter of doubt, whether the Palatinate had suffered two conflagrations or no! But this is a certainty, is a thing of infinitely more consequence, and what will ever remain a reproach to the memory of Louis XIV.

Mr. Colini reprehends the President Henault for having said, in his Chronological Abridgment, that the Prince de Turenne replied to the challenge "with a moderation that rendered the Elector ashamed of his bravado." The shame lay rather with the incendiary, as there was no open war then with the Palatinate; and it could not be deemed a bravado, in a Prince so justly irritated, to desist to single combat the perpetrator of such cruel excesses. The Elector was a warm man, and the spirit of chivalry not then extinct. In the Letters of Pelisson 'tis said, that Louis XIV. himself consulted whether he might, in conscience, fight personally with the Emperor Leopold.

The above note is Mr. Voltaire's. This scruple of conscience, we are to suppose, by that expression, must have been proposed to his Confessor. *Translator.*

* By the imposition of exorbitant taxes. *Ibid.*

which, according to the laws * of war, are always sacrificed. All the mischief he did, might have appeared to him necessary; his glory covered every thing. Besides, the seventy thousand Germans whom he intercepted in their march towards France, would have committed more devastation there, than he did in Alsace, Lorraine, and the Palatinate.

Such had been, since the commencement of the sixteenth century, the situation of France, that in every war in which she was engaged, she had Germany, Flanders, Spain, and Italy, to contend with at the same time. The Prince of Condé made head in Flanders against the young Prince of Orange, while Turenne drove the Germans out of Alsace. The campaign of Marshal Turenne was successful, and that of the Prince of Condé bloody. The small actions of Sintzheim and Turckheim were decisive; the great and famous battle of Senef was only slaughter. The Great Condé, who fought it during the stolen marches of Turenne in Alsace, drew no manner of advantage from it; whether it was that the circumstances of the place were less favourable, or that he had taken less prudent measures; or rather, that he had abler Generals and better troops to contend with. The Marquis de Feuquieres says, that the battle of Senef can be only called a *fight*, because the action was not between two armies properly arranged against each other, and that all the troops on either side were not engaged in it. But it seems generally agreed to stile this hot and bloody day a *battle*. An action between three thousand men, though arranged according to the utmost exactness of military parade, and where every part was engaged, might be called only a *fight*. 'Tis always the importance of a thing that determines its appellation.

The Prince of Condé was to keep the field with about forty-five thousand men, against the Prince of Orange, at the head, as computed, of sixty thousand. He waited for the enemy's army that was to pass a defile at Se-

* Voltaire should have said *prædices*, instead of *laws*.—*Parcere sub-*
jectis, is the law. *Translator.*

nes, near Mons. He there attacked part of the rear-guard composed of Spanish troops, and obtained a signal advantage over them. The ^{August 11,} Prince of Orange was censured for not hav- _{1674.} ing used more precaution in passing this defile; but the manner in which he retrieved the disadvantage, was much commended; and Condé was blamed for having renewed the attack against enemies so strongly intrenched. The combat was renewed three times, and the two Generals, in this medley of oversights and great actions, equally signalized their courage and presence of mind.

In all the battles which the Great Conde ever fought, this was the action in which he hazarded his own life and that of his soldiers the most. He had three horses killed under him that day; and after three bloody attacks, would yet attempt a fourth. "It seemed," said an Officer who was present, "as if the Prince of Condé was the only person who was possessed with a rage for fighting." The most singular circumstance recorded of this action, was, that the troops on both sides, after the most obstinate and bloody conflict, betook themselves to flight in the night, through the impression of a panic.

The next morning both armies retired, each to its own camp, neither of them keeping the field of battle, or claiming the victory; both of them being rather equally weakened and defeated. Of the French, there were about seven thousand killed, and five thousand made prisoners; and the loss on the part of the enemy was nearly the same. So much blood spilled in vain, prevented either army from attempting any thing considerable. To acquire reputation to his arms was a point of so much consequence to the Prince of Orange, that to have it thought he had obtained the victory, he laid siege to Oudenard immediately after; but the Prince of Condé proved also that he had not been defeated, by raising the siege, and pursuing him in his retreat.

The idle ceremony of singing *Te Deum* for a victory not gained, was then equally the practice both of France and of the Allies. This usage has obtained with the

view of encouraging the people, who must be always imposed on.

Turenne in Germany, with his small army, continued to make a progress which resulted merely from the force of his own genius. The Council of Vienna, not venturing any longer to confide the fate of the Empire to Princes who had defended it hitherto so badly, placed at the head of its armies General Montecuculi, who had vanquished the Turks at the battle of St. Gothard, and who, notwithstanding the endeavours of Turenne and Condé, had joined the Prince of Orange, and given a check to the fortune of Louis XIV. after he had conquered three of the Provinces of Holland.

It has been remarked, that the greatest Generals of the Empire have been generally natives of Italy. This Country, notwithstanding its decadence and its slavery, still produces men who revive the remembrance of what it was formerly. Montecuculi was the only man worthy to be opposed against Turenne. They had both reduced the practice of war to an art. They spent four months in following and observing each other's marches and encampments, more applauded than their victories by the French and German Officers. Each judged what the other intended, from the measures he himself would have pursued in the same situation; and their conclusions were always just. They opposed to each other patience, cunning, and activity; and were at length come to the very point of joining issue, and of staking their reputations on the event of a

July 27, battle, near the village of Saltzbach, when
1675. Turenne, in going to a station to fix a battery, was killed by a cannon-ball.

The following anecdote cannot be too often repeated. The same ball that struck him, carried off the arm of St. Hilaire, Lieutenant-General of artillery; and his son falling into tears by him, "It is not me," said he, "it is that great man you are to lament;" an expression equal to any thing recorded in history of heroic sentiment, and an eulogy worthy of Turenne.

It

It happens very seldom in a monarchical government, where men are chiefly occupied about their own private interests, that those who have served their Country are regretted by the public. But Turenne was mourned both by the soldiery and the people. Louvois was the only person who lamented him not, nay rather rejoiced at his death. The honours paid to his memory by the King are known to every one, and that he was interred at St. Denis, as the Constable du Guesclin had been; above whom the public voice has elevated him as much as the Age of Turenne was superior to that of the Constable.

Turenne had not always proved a successful General. He had been defeated at Mariendal, at Rethel, and at Cambray. He owned himself, that he had committed some faults, and he was great enough to confess them. He had never gained signal victories, nor fought any of those pitched battles which determine the fate of nations; but having always retrieved his defeats, and done much with small resources, he was looked upon as the most able Commander in Europe, at a time that the art of war was better known than ever it had been before. In like manner, though he was blameable for his defection in the wars of the Fronde; though, at near the age of threescore, love had induced him to reveal a State-secret; and though he had exercised in the Palatinate cruelties which seemed unnecessary; he, notwithstanding, preserved the reputation of an honest, prudent, and moderate man, because his virtues and great talents, which were peculiarly his own, caused his faults and foibles, which he had in common with the rest of mankind, to be forgotten. If one was to draw a parallel for him, it might be said, that of all the Generals of past ages, Gonzalvo de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, was the hero whom he most resembled.

Though bred a Calvinist, he turned Catholic in the year 1668. Neither Protestant nor Philosopher can imagine that conviction alone had wrought this change of sentiment in a soldier, and in a politician fifty years

years old*, and who still retained his amours. It is known that Louis XIV. on creating him Marshal-General of his armies, made use of this expression, as related in the Letters of Pellisson and other authors: "I wish you "would put it in my power to do something more for you!" Such a hint, according to them, might in time have brought about his conversion. The office of Constable was a bait to an ambitious mind. It was possible also, that this conversion might have been sincere. The human heart often comprehends politics, ambition, the weaknesses of love, and sentiments of religion, at the same time. In short, it is probable that Turenne did not forsake the faith of his ancestors, except from mere temporal motives. However, the Catholics, who triumphed in such a proselyte, would not admit that the great soul of Turenne was capable of dissimulation.

What happened in Alsace immediately after the death of Turenne, rendered his loss the more sensible. Montecuculi, kept for above three months on the other side of the Rhine by the manœuvres of the French General, passed that river the moment he found he had not Turenne to cope with. He fell upon a part of the army, which remained in confusion under the command of Lorges and Vaubrun, two Lieutenant-Generals at variance with each other, and undetermined in their measures. This body of troops, which however defended itself with great bravery, was not able to prevent the Imperialists from penetrating into Alsace, from which Turenne had kept them at a distance.

This army not only wanted a leader to conduct it, but to retrieve the late defeat of Marshal Crequi, a man of an enterprising character, capable at once of the bravest and most precipitate actions, and equally dangerous to his country and its enemies. He was just then defeated, through his own ill conduct, at Conlarbruck. A body

* He was then fifty-seven; an age too old to change opinions, and too young to die. *Translator.*

of twenty thousand Germans, who were besieging Treves *, cut his little army in pieces, August 11,
1675. and put it to flight. He hardly escaped himself, with a fourth part of his troops. He encountered new perils to throw himself into the town, which he might have succoured with prudent conduct, but which he defended with courage. He was resolved to bury himself under the ruins of the place; and even after the breach had been rendered practicable, he was still obstinately bent upon defending it. But the garrison mutinied, and Captain Bois-Jourdan, at the head of the mutineers, entered into a capitulation at the breach. Never was an act of cowardice performed with so much effrontery. He even threatened the Marshal with instant death, if he refused to sign the terms of the surrender. But Crequi took refuge in a church, with a few Officers who continued attached to him, choosing rather to be made a prisoner at discretion, than consent to a capitulation *.

To recruit the men which France had lost in so many battles and sieges, Louis XIV. was advised not to confine himself to the levies from the militia, in the ordinary course, but to call out the ban and arriere-ban to the service. By an ancient custom, now disused, all possessors of fiefs were obliged to attend their Lords paramount to the wars, at their own expence, and to remain in arms there a certain number of days. This military service composed the greatest part of the laws of our barbarous nations. But this custom is quite changed, at present, in Europe; for there is no State now that does not levy its own troops, which it keeps always in pay, and which form disciplined corps.

Louis XIII. once summoned the Noblesse of his Kingdom. Louis XIV. now followed his example. The body of the Nobility marched under the command of the Marquis, since Marshal, de Rochefort, to the frontiers of Flanders, and afterwards to those of Germany. But this corps was neither considerable nor useful; nor could

† Treves, or Triers.

it be made so. Those gentlemen who were possessed with a military ardour, and capable of serving, were Officers already in the troops; and those who, through age or discontent, had been used to live at home, remained there. The remainder, who were employed in the cultivation of their own lands, went with repugnance, making only about four thousand in all.

Nothing less resembled a military body than this corps. Mounted and armed differently, without experience or discipline, they neither could, nor would submit to regular service, caused nothing but confusion, and raised such disgust as prevented their ever being called out again. This was the last trace in our regular troops that was seen of the ancient Chivalry, which formerly composed our armies; and which, notwithstanding the natural courage of the nation, never made good soldiers.

Turenne dead, Crequi defeated and made prisoner, Treves taken, and Montecuculi laying Allace under contribution, the King thought that the Prince of Condé was the only person capable of reviving the confidence of the troops, which the death of Turenne had abated. Condé left Marshal Luxembourg to sustain the fortune of France in Flanders, and flew to oppose the progress of Montecuculi. The coolness he manifested on this occasion was equalled only by the impetuosity he had displayed at Senef. His genius, which could conform itself to every thing, displayed the same art that Turenne had done. Two encampments alone checked the progress of the German army, and compelled Montecuculi to raise the sieges of Haguenau and of Saverne.

After this campaign, less brilliant than that of Senef, but more approved, the Prince of Condé quitted the theatre of war. He solicited to have his son appointed Commander in his room, and offered to assist him with his instructions: but the King did not choose either young men or Princes for his Generals; and it had been with reluctance that he had suffered the Prince of Condé to be employed. The jealousy of Louvois against

Turenne

August and
Sept. 1675.

Turenne had contributed as much as the name of Condé, to place him at the head of the army.

The Prince retired to Chantilly, from whence he seldom went to Versailles, where his glory suffered an eclipse among Courtiers, who respect nothing but favour. He passed the rest of his life tormented with the gout, and consoling himself in his agonies and retreat with the conversation of the men of genius of all kinds which France had at that time to boast. He was worthy of such society, being himself conversant with all those arts and sciences in which they were distinguished.

He was still admired; even in his retreat; till at length that quick spirit which had rendered him in his youth an impetuous hero, and given him such strong passions, having consumed the forces of a body created rather active than robust, he suffered a total decay of his faculties before his time; for his understanding keeping pace with the weakness of his body, there remained no trace of the Great Condé during the last two years of his life*. He died in 1686.

Montecuculi retired from the service of the Emperor, at the same time that the Prince of Condé resigned the command of the armies of France.

A common, but a silly story has prevailed, that Montecuculi laid down his truncheon, on the death of Turenne, "because," he said, "he had now no rival worthy of him." This would have been an absurd speech, even if a Condé had been still existing. But, so far from uttering such an absurdity as they meant to compliment him with, he fought against the French, and made them repass the Rhine, that very year. Besides, what General would have said to his master, "I don't chuse to serve you any longer, because your enemies are too despicable, and my merit is too superior?"

* A parallel might be drawn between him and the Duke of Marlborough, in this, as well as in other particulars. *Translator.*

C H A P. XIII.

*From the Death of Turenne, to the Peace of Nimeguen
in 1678.*

AFTER the death of Turenne, and the retirement of the Prince of Condé, the King did not carry on the war with less advantage against the Empire, Spain, and Holland. He had many Officers formed by these two great men; and he had Louvois, who was more useful to him than a General, because his address in making all necessary provisions, enabled his Generals to undertake whatever enterprize they thought proper. The troops also, long victorious, were re-animated with the same spirit, on the presence of a King who was always successful.

He took in person, in the course of the war, Condé*,

* April 26, 1676.

† May 11, 1676.

‡ March 17, 1677.

§ April 5, 1677.

Bouchain †, Valenciennes ‡, and Cambray §. He was censured, at the siege of Bouchain, for having declined engaging the Prince of Orange, who presented himself before him at the

head of fifty thousand men, in order to throw succours into the place. On the other hand, the Prince of Orange was censured for having it in his power to have given battle to Louis XIV. and not doing it. Such is the lot both of Kings and Generals, that they are subject to be equally blamed for what they do, or what they do not do. But neither he nor the Prince of Orange deserved censure. The Prince did not give battle, though inclined to it, because Monterey, who was Governor of the Netherlands, and was in his army, refused to hazard his government on the event of a single action; and the glory of the campaign was sufficiently secured to the King, in carrying his point, and taking the town before the face of his enemy.

As to Valenciennes, it was carried by assault, by one of those singular events which characterize the impetuous courage of the nation.

The

The King conducted the siege, in concert with his brother and five Marshals of France, d'Humieres, Schomberg, La Feuillade, Luxembourg, and de Lorges. The Marshals commanded each their day, one after another. Vauban directed all the operations.

They had not yet taken any of the outworks of the place. They were first to attack two half-moons. Behind these was a great crown-work, pallisadoed, and lined with *frâises* *, surrounded with a fosse †, crowned with divers traverses, or retrenchments. Within this was another work encompassed by another fosse. After becoming master of all these entrenchments, it was necessary to pass a branch of the Scheld. This difficulty surmounted, another work stood in the way, called a *paté* ‡, behind which ran the main course of the Scheld, deep and rapid, which served as a fosse to the walls, further defended by strong ramparts. All these works were covered with cannon; and a garrison of three thousand men was likely to hold out a long time.

The King held a council of war for attacking the outworks. It was the usual way to make these attacks by night, in order to steal upon the enemy without being perceived, and thereby save the lives of the men. Vauban gave his opinion for making the attack by day. All the Marshals of France exclaimed against the proposition, and Louvois condemned it also.

Vauban continued firm in his opinion, with the confidence of a person self-convinced of his argument. "You would, said he, be sparing of the lives of your men; you will save them much more by a day-light attack, which will be free from confusion or tumult, and without the danger of one party falling foul of another, as is often the case in nocturnal enterprises. You would surprise the enemy, who are always more particularly on their guard by night; but we shall more effectually surprise them, when, after the fatigues of the night-watch, they are obliged to sustain the assault of our fresh troops. To this may be added,

Pointed stakes. † A moat. ‡ A round tower.

“ that if there should be found any faint hearts among
 “ our forces, the darkness would favour their timidity ;
 “ but in the open day the eye of the Commander is apt to
 “ inspire valour, and elevate men above themselves.”

The King yielded to the arguments of Vauban, in opposition to Louvois and the five Marshals of France.

At nine o'clock in the morning, the two companies
 of mousquetaires, with a hundred grenadiers,
 March 17, a battalion of the guards, and another of the
 1677. regiment of Picardy, scaled the great crown-
 work on all sides. The order was only to make good
 a lodgment there; and this was as much as could be ex-
 pected. But some of the black mousquetaires having
 penetrated by a private passage they discovered, up to the
 inner intrenchment of this fortification, soon made
 themselves masters of it. At the same time the grey
 mousquetaires forced their way through another pass. The
 battalions of guards followed them; they slew and pur-
 sued the besieged: the mousquetaires had let down the
 draw-bridge that joined this work to the rest; they fol-
 lowed the enemy from intrenchment to intrenchment,
 both on the arm and the main body of the Scheld; the
 guards pressed forward in compact bodies; and the
 mousquetaires had made their way into the town, be-
 fore the King knew that they had been able to carry the
 first work attacked.

This, however, was not the most extraordinary cir-
 cumstance in this action. It was naturally to be sup-
 posed that a number of young mousquetaires, intoxicated
 with success, might have fallen tumultuously on the
 troops and the citizens that would have assembled to op-
 pose them in the streets; and that either they would be
 all killed in the scuffle, or get the better and fall a pil-
 laging the town. Instead of this, these young sol-
 diers, under the command of a Cornet, named Moissac,
 at once drew up in rank and file behind some waggons;
 and while the troops that followed formed themselves
 without the least confusion, other mousquetaires got pos-
 session of the houses on each side, to protect by their
 fire their friends in the street. Hostages were quickly
 exchanged

exchanged on each part, the Council of the city was summoned, which dispatched a deputation to the King; and all these matters were transacted without pillage, confusion, or the least excess of any kind. The King made the garrison prisoners of war, and entered Valenciennes, astonished at becoming master of it so easily.

He had, besides, the glory of taking Ghent in eight days time*, and Ypres in seven†. These were all his own exploits; but he had still greater success by his Generals.

In Germany, 'tis true, the Marshal Duke of Luxemburg, at the commencement of the war, Sept. 1676. suffered Philippsburg to be taken before his face, attempting in vain to succour it at the head of fifty thousand men. The General who took Philippsburg, was Charles V. the new Duke of Lorraine, heir to his uncle Charles IV. and, like him, despoiled of his dominions.

He possessed all the qualities of his unfortunate uncle, without any of his faults. He commanded the forces of the Empire a considerable time with great credit. But though he had taken Philippsburg, and was at the head of sixty thousand regular troops, he could never get footing in his own dominions. In vain did he bear this motto on his standard, *Aut nunc, aut nunquam*, "Now, or never." Marshal Crequi, ransomed from his imprisonment, and become more prudent from his defeat at Consrubruck, ever kept the entrance into Lorraine barred against him. He defeated him in the small action of Kokersberg, in Alsace; and harassed and fatigued him without intermission.

Oct. 7,
1667.

He took Friburg while he was looking on, and beat a detachment from his army, at Rhinfeld. He passed the river Kins in his presence, pursued him towards Osenburg, attacked him in his retreat, and having immediately after carried the fort of Keil sword in hand, he proceeded to Strasburg, where he destroyed the bridge, over which that city, which remained still free, had so often granted a passage to the

Imperial armies: so that the Marshal de Crequi thus repaired one rash action by a series of successes intirely owing to a more prudent conduct; and might, perhaps, have acquired a reputation equal to that of Turenne, had he lived a little longer.

The Prince of Orange was not more successful in Flanders, than the Duke of Lorraine in Germany; he was not only obliged to raise the sieges of Maestricht and Charleroi, but after having suffered Condé, Bouchain, and Valenciennes, to fall into the hands of Louis XIV. he lost the battle of Montcassel to Monsieur, in attempting to relieve St. Omer. The Marshals Luxembourg and d'Humieres commanded the army under him.

It was said that an oversight of the Prince of Orange, and an expert movement made by Luxembourg, decided the fortune of the day. Monsieur charged with a bravery and presence of mind not at all expected from so effeminate a Prince. There never was a stronger instance to prove that valour is not always inconsistent with such a character. This Prince, who used frequently to dress himself in female attire, and had all the manners of a woman about him, behaved on this occasion as became a General and a soldier. The King his brother, 'tis said, was jealous of his glory. He spoke but little to him on the subject of the victory, nor did he even go to view the field of battle, though he was near the spot. Some friends of the Duke of Orleans, who were more quick-sighted than the rest, predicted to him at the time, that he would never have the command of an army again; and they were not mistaken.

March 11,
1677.

So many towns taken, with so many battles won, in Flanders and Germany, were not the only successes of Louis XIV. in this war. Count Schomberg and Marshal Noailles defeated the Spaniards in the Lampourdan, at the foot of the Pyrenées; and attacked them even in Sicily.

Sicily, ever since the time of the Tyrants of Syracuse, during which era it had been of some consideration

tion among the States of Europe, was always under the dominion of strangers; being subject successively to the Romans, the Vandals, the Arabians, the Normans, under the vassalage of the Popes, the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards; still hating its masters, and revolting from them, without making any effectual efforts worthy of liberty, and continually exciting seditions for no other purpose than merely to change their fetters.

The Magistrates of Messina had just then commenced a civil war against their governors, and invited the French to their assistance. A Spanish fleet had blocked up their port, and reduced them to the extremities of famine.

The Chevalier Valbelle was immediately sent to their relief, quite through the Spanish fleet; and carried a supply of provisions, arms, and men into the town. Afterwards the Duke of Vivonne arrived with seven men of war of sixty guns each, two more of eighty, and several fire-ships. He defeated the enemy's fleet, and entered Messina in triumph.

Spain was now obliged to solicit an alliance with the Dutch, its ancient enemy, to assist in the defence of Sicily, as they were generally considered to be masters of the sea. Ruyter failed Feb. 9, 1675. to its succour from the farthest part of the Zuyderzée, passed the Streight, and joined to twenty Spanish ships twenty-three large men of war

And now the French, who, though joined with the English, were not able to beat the fleet of Holland alone, gained singly a victory over Jan 8, 1676. the Dutch and Spanish fleets combined together. The Duke of Vivonne, being obliged to remain at Messina in order to keep the people quiet, already discontented with their defenders, left the conduct of this action to Du Quêne, Vice-Admiral of the fleet; a man equally singular with Ruyter; who had, like him, arrived to his rank in the navy by his personal merit alone, but never before had the sole command in a sea-engagement, having hitherto only distinguished himself as the Captain of a privateer, and never as an Admiral.

But those who are born with a genius for any art or science, particularly for command, arrive quickly, and with ease, from the commencement to the perfection of their pursuits *. Du-Quêne shewed himself an able sea-officer against Ruyter, in being able to obtain even the inconsiderable advantage over him he did, in the first action. But he engaged the two adverse fleets ^{March 12,} a second time, off Aousta †, in which battle _{1676.} Ruyter received a mortal wound, which put a period to his glorious career.

He was one of those men whose memory remains still in veneration among the Holländers. He commenced his sea-faring life as a cabin-boy, or captain's servant ‡, which circumstance only renders him the more respectable. His name is not held inferior to the Princes of Nassau. The Council of Spain gave him the title and the patent of a Duke; an odd and an absurd dignity to be conferred on a Republican. But this grant did not arrive 'till after his death; and his children, worthy of such a father, spurned at a distinction so solicited in monarchies, but to which the character of a good citizen is infinitely superior.

Louis XIV. had greatness of soul enough to be affected at his death; and when he was congratulated on having got rid of a formidable enemy, he replied, "I cannot help feeling for the loss of a great man."

Du-Quêne, the De Ruyter of France, attacked the combined fleets a third time, after the death of the Dutch Admiral, and gave them a total overthrow, burning and making prizes of many of their ships. The Marshal Duke of Vivonne had the principal command in this action; but Du-Quêne had, nevertheless, the honour of the victory.

* Lucullus, Condé, &c. were instances of the latter character. *Transl.*

† Aousta, Aousta, or Agusta, a Duchy in Piedmont, belonging to Savoy. *Ib. id.*

‡ Sir Cloudesly Shovel, one of our distinguished Admirals, was the same. *I. id.*

Europe was astonished to see France become in so short a time as formidable at sea as at land; but these armaments and victories served only to spread an alarm throughout all the European States. The King of England, who had commenced the war for the service of France, was now ready to take part with the Prince of Orange, who had lately married his niece. Besides, the glory acquired in Sicily was purchased at too expensive a rate. In short, the French evacuated Messina, at a time that it was thought April 8, 1678. they were becoming masters of the whole Island. Louis XIV. was much blamed for having, during this war, undertaken enterprizes which he did not support; and for abandoning Messina, as well as Holland, after such fruitless conquests of them both.

However, 'tis to be still formidable, to have sustained no other misfortune than merely not being able to keep all that one has gained. He harraßed his enemies from one end of Europe to the other. The war in Sicily had cost him less than it did Spain, weakened and defeated every-where. He also raised up new enemies to the House of Austria; fomented the troubles of Hungary; and his Ambassadors at the Otoman Court pressed it to carry the war into Germany, though he ought, for the sake of decency, to have sent troops to oppose those very Turks, whom his intrigues had brought into the Empire.

He was singly an over-match for all his adversaries; for at that time Sweden, his only ally, waged but an unsuccessful war against the Elector of Brandenburg. This Prince, father to the first King of Prussia, had begun to give his country an importance among the States, that has been greatly augmented since. He had lately taken Pomerania from the Swedes.

It is remarkable, that during the whole course of this war, there were continual conferences in agitation for peace; first at Cologne, through the ineffectual mediation of Sweden; and afterwards at Nimeguen, by the useless interference of England; whose interposition was then become a piece of ceremony as futile as the arbitration of the Pope was at Aix-la-Chapelle. Louis

XIV. was, in effect, the sole arbitrator. He delivered in his propositions on the 9th of April, 1678, in the midst of his victories, and gave his enemies only to the tenth of May to accept them. He afterwards indulged the States-General with a further interval of six weeks, upon their most submissive application.

His ambition was no longer turned towards Holland. That Republic had been either so lucky, or politic, as to appear only as an auxiliary in a war undertaken for its destruction. The Empire and Spain, at first merely auxiliaries, were now become the principal parties.

The King, in the conditions he imposed, favoured the commerce of the Dutch. He surrendered Maëstricht to them, and restored some towns to Spain, to serve as barriers to the United Provinces; viz. Charleroy, Courtray, Oudenarde, Ath, Ghent, and Limburg; but he reserved to himself Bouchain, Condé, Ypres, Valenciennes, Cambray, Maubeuge, Aire, St. Omer, Cassel, Charlemont, Popering, Bailleul, &c. which comprehended a considerable part of Flanders. To these he added Franche-Comté, which he had twice conquered; and these two Provinces were an acquisition worthy of the war.

He stipulated only for Friburg, or Philipsburg, in the Empire, and left the choice to the Emperor himself. He reinstated the two brothers Furstemberg in the Bishoprick of Strasburgh, and in their estates, of which the Emperor had despoiled them, and who held one of them at that time in prison.

He was the inflexible protector of Sweden his ally, and now unfortunately at variance with Denmark and Brandenburg. He obliged Denmark to restore every thing she had taken from Sweden, to lower the impost of passage to the Baltic Sea*, and to re-establish the Duke of Holstein in his estates; compelled the Elector of Brandenburg to deliver up Pomerania, which he had conquered; and confirmed the treaty of Westphalia in eve-

* Through the Sound, a strait between Sweden and Denmark, belonging to the latter, which takes toll of all ships passing from the Ocean to the Baltic. *Translator,*

ry article. His will was a law throughout Europe. In vain did the Elector of Brandenburg write him a most submissive letter, in which he styles him *My Lord*, according to usage*, conjuring him to leave him in possession of what he had acquired, and assuring him of his attachment and his services. His submission proved as ineffectual as his resistance, and the vanquisher of the Swedes was compelled to restore them all his conquests.

At this time the Ambassadors of France claimed precedence before the Electors. The Elector of Brandenburg proposed various sorts of modes to qualify this punctilio, before he would treat at Cleves with the Count, since Marshal; D'Elstrades, Ambassador to the States-General. But the King would not suffer a person who represented him to give place to an Elector; so that the Count D'Elstrades could not negotiate.

Charles V. had established an equality between the Grandees of Spain and the Electors; the Peers of France claimed therefore the same rank. At present we see how this point is adjusted, as the Ambassadors of the Electors are put on the same footing with those of Kings, in the Diets of the Empire.

With regard to Lorrain, he offered to re-establish the new Duke Charles V.; but reserved his dominion over Nanci, and all the high-ways.

These conditions were imposed with all the haughtiness of a Conqueror; but yet were not so very unreasonable as to exasperate his enemies so far as to unite them together in one desperate effort against him. He dictated to Europe as a victor, but treated with them at the same time as a politician.

He contrived, at the conferences of Nimeguen, to sow jealousy among the Allies. The Hollanders were impatient to sign, against the opinion of the Prince of Orange, who was at all events for continuing the war: their argument was, that Spain was too weak to second them, should they continue it.

* I cannot see how the expression of *My Lord* could be deemed any part of the condescension, when Voltaire acknowledges it to be *son usage*. A person who concludes a letter with "I am your most obedient servant," does not demean himself as a vassal. *Translator.*

The Spaniards finding that the Dutch had accepted of peace, complied also, pleading that the Empire had not sufficiently exerted itself in the common cause.

In short, the Germans, abandoned by Holland and Spain, acceded at last to the terms, leaving the King in possession of Friburg, and confirming the treaty of Westphalia.

Nothing was altered in the conditions prescribed by Louis XIV. His enemies indeed, at first, made some extravagant requisitions, in order to disguise their weakness; but Europe received its laws and peace from him. The Duke of Lorraine was the only party who refused to accede to a treaty which appeared to be so injurious to him. He chose rather to remain a wandering Prince in the Empire, than a mock Sovereign in his own dominions, without power or consequence, and waited till time and his own valeur should effect some favourable revolution.

While the conferences of Nimeguen were carrying on, and four days after the plenipotentiaries of France and Holland had signed the peace, the Prince of Orange made Louis XIV. sensible what a dangerous enemy he had in him. Marshal Luxembourg, who had blockaded Mons, having received an account of the peace, became inattentive to any further operations of the siege, and was at dinner in the village of St. Denys, with the Intendant of the army, when the Prince of Orange with all his troops falls upon the Marshal's quarters, which he forced, after a long, obstinate, and bloody action.

From this exploit he expected, and with reason, to have obtained a signal victory; for he not only attacked, which is always an advantage, but he attacked troops who were not prepared, relying on the faith of treaties. Marshal Luxembourg with difficulty sustained this unexpected charge; but whatever advantage there was in the event of this action, appeared to be on the side of the Prince of Orange, as his infantry remained masters of the field of battle.

If heroes in the least regarded the lives of common men, the Prince of Orange would not have hazarded

this battle. He had certain intelligence that the treaty of peace was signed; he knew also that this peace was advantageous to his country; and yet he hazarded his own life, and sacrificed thousands of men, as the first-fruits of a general peace, which he could not have prevented, even had he cut the French army to pieces. This action, equally inhuman as vain-glorious, which, however, was at that time more admired than censured, produced not any new article in the treaty, and cost, without any manner of advantage, the lives of two thousand French, and as many Dutch soldiers*.

On reflecting upon this peace, it may be observed how purposes may be thwarted by events. Holland, against whom alone the war had been undertaken, and who was likely to be inevitably destroyed, lost nothing by it; but, on the contrary, gained a barrier: while all her Allies, who had saved her from destruction, sustained all the loss.

The King was now arrived at the very pinnacle of his greatness; victorious ever since he had begun his reign, having never laid siege to a town without carrying it; superior in every circumstance to all his enemies united; the dread of Europe for six successive years, and finally, its arbiter and peace-maker; adding to his dominions Franche-Comté, Dunkirk, and half of Flanders; and, what he ought to have considered as the greatest of all advantages, sovereign over a people now rendered happy, and become the model to all other nations.

The Hôtel-de-Ville, or Town house of Paris, some time after, in the year 1680, conferred upon him by a public act the epithet of Grand or Great, and ordered that this title alone should for the future be placed upon all the public monuments. Some medals had been before struck in honour of him, containing this addition, from the year 1673; and Europe, however jealous of him, did not exclaim against this distinction.

* This was a most unwarrantable and disingenuous act, as it could not be justified but by adding the meanness of a falsehood to it, in pleading an ignorance of a fact he was apprised of. There was more spirit than spirit in it. *Translator.*

However, the appellation of Louis XIV. has prevailed in the world over that of the Great. Custom rules every thing. Henry, who was with so much justice surnamed the Great, after his death, is now commonly called only Henry IV.; but the name alone expresses enough. Monsieur le Prince is always called the Great Condé, not only on account of his heroic actions, but for the sake of distinguishing him by such addition from the other Princes of that house. If he had been stiled Condé the Great, that title had not survived so long*.

They say the Great Corneille, to distinguish him from his brother; but we never say the Great Virgil, nor the Great Homer, nor the Great Tasso. Alexander the Great is no longer mentioned but under the simple appellation of Alexander. Charles V. whose fortunes were more illustrious than those of Louis XIV. never obtained the surname of Great. It has not remained to Charlemagne but as a proper name†. Titles are never regarded by posterity. The simple name of a man who has performed noble actions, impresses on us more respect than all the epithets that can be invented.

* Here appears to be what the School-men call a *distinction without a difference*, between the Great Condé, and Condé the Great. But the argument is still more curious; the logic of which is, that a Cognomen, which only notes a man from the rest of his family, is immortal; but that which denotes his pre-eminence to all of his name, which is infinitely the greater number, soon perishes. *Translator.*

† This is a strange medley of comparisons, without any propriety of distinction; and one of the remarks is, we apprehend, not founded upon reality: That, for example, which relates to Alexander; who is universally known by the name of *Alexander the Great*. The same epithet is constantly bestowed upon Pompey, the rival of Julius Cæsar. But whatever M. Voltaire may think of the importance of his own nation in general, and of those characters in particular which his nation has honoured with the appellation of *Great*, the consent of the French nation alone is not sufficient to establish this epithet. Alexander deserved the name of Great, in the opinion of all the enlightened nations then in being. Pompey was surnamed Great, by the undoubted Metropolis of the World. Both the one and the other had performed such exploits as intitled them to that glorious addition. They had subdued the most formidable powers of Asia, and filled all the world with astonishment at the brilliancy of their victories. Henry IV. of France had never extended his success beyond his own dominions. His grandson, Louis XIV. had over-run Franche-Comté and Flanders, when

C H A P. XIV.

The taking of Strassburg; Bombardment of Algiers; Submission of the Genoese; Embassy from Siam; the Pope insulted in Rome; and the Electorate of Cologne disputed.

THE ambition of Louis XIV. was not in the least re-
 strained by this general peace. The Empire, Spain,
 and Holland, disbanded their extraordinary troops, but
 he still kept all his on foot. He made conquests in the
 midst of peace; and was so assured at that time of his
 power, that he established in Metz and in Bri-
 sac*, Courts of Jurisdiction to re-unite to his

1680.

when they were both defenceless; but he was not able to complete the
 conquest of Holland, even though he was at the gates of Amsterdam,
 and the Dutch had not an army to oppose his career. In the se-
 quel, though his Generals obtained some victories over the Prince of
 Orange, they never struck such a decisive stroke, but that he was al-
 ways able to keep them at bay, and to give them battle in six weeks
 again after every defeat; nor could they, with all their efforts, ever
 make another conquest on the territories of the States-General.

In the war that succeeded the death of King William, Louis had
 the mortification to see his surname of Great melted down, as it were,
 in a series of defeats and disasters, until he was at length obliged to
 sue for peace to those very States which he had treated with insolence
 in his prosperity. How was it possible for a Prince to retain the epi-
 thet of Great, in the midst of subjects who found themselves reduced
 to misery by his ambition? who saw that ambition blasted, and that
 idolized Monarch sinking under distemper, and overwhelmed with dis-
 grace? Besides, the personal character of Louis was evidently deficient
 in that enterprising courage and intrepidity, which are reckoned by
 all the world essential ingredients in the constitution of a hero.
Translator.

* In the compilation intitled *Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon*, may
 be found these words, in the third Volume, page 23. "The re-union
 "of the Chambers of Metz and of Besançon;" from whence we con-
 cluded that there had been a Council of Besançon united to that of
 Metz. Upon this we consulted all the authors, but found that there
 never was a Council at Besançon, instituted for ascertaining what
 neighbouring lands might have belonged to France. There was in
 1680, only the Council of Brisac, and that of Metz, commissioned to
 re-unite to France the estates that they should judge might have been
 dismembered from Alsace, and the Three Bishopricks. It was the Par-
 liament of Besançon that annexed, for a time, Mont-beliard to France.
Veltzger.

Crown

Crown all the lands that formerly might have been appendages of Alsace, or the Three Bishopricks, but which had been in the possession of other masters time immemorial.

Several Princes of the Empire, the Elector Palatine, the King of Spain himself, who had some bailiwicks in those countries, and the King of Sweden, as Duke of Deux-Ponts, were cited before these Councils, to do homage to the King of France, or suffer the confiscation of their possessions. Since Charlemagne, no Prince had been ever known to assume the power of master and judge of crowned heads, and to conquer countries by rescripts*.

The Elector Palatine and the Elector of Treves were deprived of the feignories of Falkenburg, Germerheim, Veldentz, &c. They preferred their complaints in vain to the Diet of the Empire, then assembled at Ratisbon, which contented itself with entering a formal protest in their favour.

But it was not enough for the King to obtain the prefecture† of ten free cities of Alsace, under the same title that the Emperors had held it. Already no person presumed to talk of liberty in any of those free cities. Strasburg, indeed, yet remained a great and opulent city, and mistress of the Rhine, by the means of a bridge it had over that river, and formed in itself a powerful republic, famous for its arsenal, containing nine hundred pieces of artillery.

Louvois had meditated a long time to put his master in possession of this place. Money, stratagem, and fear, which had opened the gates of so many towns to him, prepared the way for his entrance into Strasburg. The Magistrates were bribed; and the people were in a consternation at seeing, unexpectedly, their ramparts surrounded by twenty thousand French. The forts which defended them on the side of the Rhine, were no sooner

* M. Voltaire should have excepted the Pope. But perhaps he would not rank his Holiness in the subordinate class of temporal Princes, considering him as Sovereign of the Hierarchy. *Translator.*

† Command, or Office of Government. *Ibid.*

attacked than taken. Louvois was at their gates, and the Burgomasters capitulated. Sept. 30, 1681. The tears and despair of the citizens, fond of liberty, prevented not the treaty of surrender from being offered by their Magistrates, and the town from being taken possession of by Louvois, in the same day. Vauban, by the fortifications with which he has since surrounded it, has rendered this city the strongest barrier of France.

The King preserved no better measures with Spain. He demanded the town of Alost, with all its bailiwick, in the Netherlands, which his Ministers, he pretended, had forgotten to insert in the articles of the peace; and upon Spain's hesitation, he blockaded Luxemburg.

At the same time he purchased the strong town of Casal from a petty Prince, the Duke of Mantua, 1682. who would have sold all his estate to supply his pleasures.

On finding this Power extending itself on all sides, and acquiring, during a time of peace, more than ten preceding Kings of France had gained by all their wars, the alarm of Europe commenced anew. The Empire, Holland, and even Sweden, being much displeased with the King, entered into an association against him. England threatened; Spain determined on war; and the Prince of Orange exerted himself to bring about an open declaration of it. But none of these Powers dared immediately to commence hostilities*.

* It has been pretended, that it was on this occasion the Prince of Orange, afterwards King of England, had publicly said of Louis XIV. "I could not gain his friendship, but I will deserve his esteem." This expression has been repeated by several of the anecdote-writers, and the Abbé Choisi fixes it in the year 1672. It would merit some attention, as seeming to give a distant hint of the leagues that King William afterwards formed against Louis XIV.; but it is not true, that it was on the peace of Nimeguen that the Prince of Orange said so; and it is still less likely that Louis XIV. wrote to the Prince, "You ask my friendship, I shall grant it to you when you deserve it." This was a reply adapted only to a vassal. Such insulting expressions could never be made use of towards a Prince with whom he was concluding a treaty. This letter is no where to be met with except in the compilation of Maintenon's Memoirs; and this collection has been much decried on account of the numberless falsities contained in it. *Voltaire*.

The

The King, already dreaded every-where, thought of nothing but of rendering himself still more formidable. He advanced the power of his Navy beyond the hopes of the French themselves, and the conceptions of the rest of Europe. He kept sixty thousand sailors on his esta-

blishment; and these unruly crews were re-
 1680. strained by the same strict discipline which govern-
 1681. ed his land-forces. England and Holland, tho'
 1682.

great maritime powers, had neither so many sea-
 men, nor such good naval laws. Several corps of Ca-
 dets were stationed on the frontiers, and marine guards
 embodied in all the sea-ports, composed of young men
 trained up and instructed in every art necessary to their
 protection, by matters paid out of the public treasury.

The harbour of Toulon on the Mediterranean, con-
 structed at an immense expence, was capable of contain-
 ing a hundred men of war, with an arsenal, and magnifi-
 cent store-houses. The port of Brest was formed after
 the same model. Dunkirk and Havre de-Grace
 were filled with shipping; and Nature was forced at
 Rochefort.

In short, the King had above a hundred ships of the
 line, many of which were mounted with a hundred guns,
 and some with more. He did not suffer them to remain
 idle in these ports. The squadron under the command
 of Du-Quêne, scoured the seas infested by the Corsairs
 of Algiers and Tripoly. He avenged himself on Al-
 giers by the means of a new invention, which was dis-
 covered in consequence of that active spirit which his at-
 tention to the arts had excited in all persons of genius in
 his age. This barbarous but ingenious contrivance
 was the use of bomb-ketches, by which device mari-
 time towns might be reduced to ashes.

A young man, whose name was Bernard Renaud,
 (known by the appellation of *Little Renaud*) with-
 out ever having served on board a ship, became
 an excellent mariner by the mere force of genius
 and application. Colbert, who used to beckon merit
 from the shade, had frequently consulted this man at the
 Admiralty-board, even when the King was present.
 It was owing to the assiduity and instructions of Renaud,
 that

that the French from that time were taught a more regular and easy manner of constructing vessels. He ventured to propose in Council the bombardment of Algiers from ships at sea. No one before had ever conceived the idea that a mortar could discharge its bomb to any effect, except fixed on *terre firma*. The proposition was treated as an idle theory, and he sustained all that contradiction and raillery which every projector must expect to meet with; but his firmness, and that sort of eloquence which men are generally possessed of who are strongly impressed with a conviction of their art, determined the King, to permit an experiment to be made of this new invention.

Renaud had five vessels constructed, lesser than ordinary, but stronger built in timber, without upper decks, but with a false one in the hold, upon which were framed cavities to receive the mortars. With this equipment he set sail, under the command of old Du-Quêne, who was charged with this enterprize, but from which he had no hopes of success. Du-Quêne and the Algerines were equally astonished at the effect of the bombs, when they saw great part of the town beaten down, and reduced to ashes. But this art, extending to O.S. 23.
1661. other nations, served only to multiply the calamities of mankind, and has been more than once destructive to France, for whose service it was first contrived.

The Marine being thus brought to perfection in so few years, was the effect of Colbert's assiduity; and Louvois emulated him in causing above a hundred citadels to be fortified, and building Fluningen, Sar-Louis, the fortresses of Strasburgh, Montroyal, &c. While the Kingdom was acquiring such outward strength, the arts were held in honour within; pleasures and plenty every-where abounding. Paris was crowded with foreigners, who came to admire the Court of Louis XIV. whose name was known throughout all the world.

His glory and good-fortune were increased still more from the weakness of the generality of the cotemporary Princes, and the distresses of their states. The Empe-

ror Leopold was apprehensive of the Hungarian malecontents, but more so of the Turks, who, invited by them, were preparing to invade Germany. The policy of Louis made him persecute the Protestants in France, thinking that he ought to put it out of their power to hurt him, at the same time that it led him to protect, clandestinely, the recusants and rebels of Hungary, as it might tend to his advantage. His Ambassador at the Porte had pressed the armament of the Turks, before the peace of Nimeguen; but the Divan, from a singular caprice, has ever waited until the Emperor was at peace, before it emitted a declaration of war against him. The war in Hungary was not commenced until 1682; and the year afterwards the Ottoman army, amounting, as has been reported, to the number of two hundred thousand men, augmented still by a large supply of Hungarian troops, and obstructed in its course by no fortified towns, such as there were in France, nor any forces capable of interrupting its career, advanced to the gates of Vienna, after having laid all the country waste in its passage.

The Emperor Leopold quitted Vienna with precipitation, and retired to Lintz, on the approach of the Turks; and when he was informed that they had invested Vienna, he took no other measure than to retire still farther from it to Passau; leaving the Duke of Lorraine at the head of a small army, already harrassed by the Turks on its march, to sustain the fortune of the Empire as well as he was able*.

There was not then the least manner of doubt but that the Grand-Vizier Cara-Mustapha, who commanded the Ottoman army, would soon become master of Vienna, an ill-fortified city, abandoned by its sovereign, and poorly defended by a garrison, which, though nominally sixteen thousand, was not above ten thousand effective men. This was the crisis of a most dreadful revolution.

* See the extraordinary particulars of the siege of Vienna, in the *Essay on the Manners*, &c. addressed to Madame the Marchioness Châtellet. *Voltaire*.

Louis XIV. was in hopes, and with good reason, that Germany, overwhelmed by the Turks, and having no chief to oppose them but one whose flight had increased the common terror, would be reduced to apply to the protection of France. He had an army on the frontiers of the Empire, ready to defend it against those very enemies which his own intrigues had raised up against it. He might thus have become the Protector of the Empire, and procured his son to be elected King of the Romans. He had before joined a generous conduct with his political views, when the Turks had threatened Austria; not indeed by sending succours a second time to the Emperor, but by declaring that he would not invade the Netherlands, but leave it in the power of the Austrian-Spanish branch of the family to assist that of Germany, then likely to be over-matched. He demanded no other consideration for this inactivity than that he should be satisfied with regard to several doubtful Articles in the Treaty of Nimeguen, and principally respecting the Bailiwick of Alost, which had been forgotten among the preliminaries. He had raised the blockade of Luxemburg in 1682, without waiting to receive satisfaction in this point, and abstained from all hostilities during a whole year after.

But at length this generosity became exhausted during the siege of Vienna. The Spanish Ministry, instead of soothing, rather incensed him; and Louis XIV. sent an army into the Low-Countries, at the very time that Vienna was ready to surrender, which was about the beginning of September; but, contrary to all probable hopes, Vienna was rescued from its distress. The presumption of the Grand-Vizier, his effeminacy, his brutal contempt for the Christians, his ignorance, and dilatoriness, occasioned his destruction. It required an excess of all these faults combined, to have saved Vienna from perdition.

John Sobieski, King of Poland, had time to arrive to its relief; and with the Septem. 12,
junction of the Duke of Lorrain, had only 1683.
to present himself before the Ottoman multitude, to put

them to the rout *. The Emperor returned to his capital, with the mortification of having quitted it. He just passed by as his deliverer was coming out of the church, after having sung *Tu Deum*, and where the preacher had given a discourse upon this text: "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John †." We have already seen that Pope Pius V. had applied these words to Don John of Austria, after the victory of Lepanto ‡. We know, also, that many things which appear to be new, are only repetitions. The emperor Leopold was at once triumphant and humbled.

The King of France having now no further measures to keep, ordered Luxemburg to be bombarded, seized upon Courtray and Dixmude, in Flanders, took possession of Triers, and raised the fortifications. All this was to fulfil, as was said, the spirit of the Treaty of Nimeguen. The Imperialists and the Spaniards negotiated with him at Ratisbon, while he was taking their towns; and the peace of Nimeguen, thus violated, was changed to a truce of twenty years; by which the King was permitted to keep possession of Luxemburg, with the principality belonging to it, which he had just conquered.

He was even yet more formidable on the coast of Africa, where the French were hardly known, before his time, except by the slaves made by the Corsairs of Barbary. Algiers, twice bombarded, sent Deputies to make submission, and sue for peace. They set all the Christian slaves at liberty, and paid a mulct also instead of receiving a ransom, which is a double mortification to Pirates. Tunis and Tripoli made the same submissions.

It may not be foreign to our subject to mention the following circumstance. Damfreville was the name of the Captain of the French ship which was sent to Algiers to receive the Christian captives, in the name of

* He had defeated them twice before.

† See the *Essay on the Manners*, &c. in which the discourse is always addressed to the same person.

‡ Gained over the Turkish Fleet in 1571. *Translator.*

the King of France. After they were all aboard, some Englishmen who were amongst them, boasting to Damfreville that it was in deference to the King of England they were set at liberty; the French Captain sent for one of the Algerine Magistrates, and delivering them over to him, "These people, said he, pretend that they were not released but in the name of their own King; mine, therefore, will not presume to offer them his protection. I return them to you again, and shall leave you to settle the point with the King of England;" upon which they were all put into chains again. The pride of the English, the weakness of Charles the Second's government, and the respect of the Nations for Louis XIV. are all shewn by this story *.

And such was this universal respect, that new honours were conferred upon his Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, particularly that of the Sofa†, even while he was humbling the people of Africa, who are under the protection of the Grand Seignior.

The Republick of Genoa humbled itself still more submissively towards him, than that of Algiers. The Genoese had sold gun-powder and bombs to the Algerines; and had likewise built four gallies for the service of Spain. The King forbid them, by his Envoy St. Olon, one of his Gentlemen in ordinary, to launch those

* I don't think that the story proves any one of these three articles. The Englishmen must have been mistaken in the point, or it would have been folly, not pride, to have sported with their liberty. The submission of the Algerines shewed only their fear, not their respect; and I do not see why Charles the Second's name is brought here into question, as no requisition had been made on his part, in this transaction. All that appears plain from the story is, the pride of the Frenchman in so highly resenting the folly or ignorance of a parcel of unhappy wretches, his inhumanity in punishing them so severely, and his insolence in daring to alter the cartel, which had been given him in charge only to see executed. At the same time, it must considerably lessen our respect for Louis the Great, that he should have acquiesced both in the cruelty and irregularity of the action. *Translator.*

† This privilege of the Sofa in Turkey, is the same with that of the Tabouret in France, a right to sit in the Presence. *Ibid.*

ships, and menaced them with immediate chastisement, if they did not instantly comply with his demand.

The Genoese, incensed at this violation of their liberties, and depending too much upon the support of Spain, made him no satisfaction. Immediately fourteen men of war, twenty galleys, ten bomb-ketches, with several frigates, set sail from the port of Toulon. Seignelai, the new Secretary of the Admiralty, whom the famous Colbert *, his father, had got appointed to this post before his death, was aboard the fleet. This young man, full of ambition, courage, wit, and activity, would be a soldier and a minister at the same time. He was covetous of every kind of glory, ardent in all his undertakings, and blended his pleasures with his business, without interruption to either. Old Du Quène commanded the large ships, and the Duke of Montemar the galleys; both of whom were the creatures of the Secretary of State.

* John-Baptist Colbert, Marquis de Seignelai and Chateaneuf furcher, Baron de Seceaux, de Lenieres, d'Ormos, Minister and Secretary of State, Commander and High Treasurer of the King's orders, Comptroller-General of the Finances, Superintendent of the buildings, arts, and manufactures of France, may be justly stiled the ablest and best Minister that any kingdom in Europe ever produced. He attached himself to Cardinal Mazarin, who favoured him with his confidence, and recommended him to the King as a man of unshaken fidelity, indefatigable application, and extensive capacity. After the Cardinal's death, Louis appointed Colbert Comptroller-General of the Finances, which were in terrible disorder: and he had all the reason in the world to be pleased with this disposition. To Colbert alone, all the glory which Louis acquired by his external wars, and internal administration, may be justly attributed. Colbert improved and established the finance, in such a manner, as enabled the King to maintain armies that all Europe could not oppose. Colbert introduced and supported manufactures, extended and protected commerce, and raised the marine of France to a most formidable pitch of power. He advanced the liberal arts, by instituting academies, industriously searching after and rewarding merit; inviting artists from all parts of Europe, and gratifying them with pensions adequate to their desert. He opened a communication between the two seas, by completing the canal of Languedoc. He formed and fortified harbours; built docks and arsenals: in a word, there was not a remarkable work, either of magnificence or utility in France, that did not owe its origin to Colbert, whom we would propose as a perfect model of a minister. *Translator.*

They

They arrived before Genoa, and the ten bomb ketches discharged fourteen thousand shells into the town, which reduced to ashes a principal part of those marble edifices which had intitled this city to the name of *Genoa the Proud*. Four thousand men were then landed, who marched up to the gates, and burned the Suburb of St. Peter of Arena. It was now thought prudent to submit, in order to prevent the total destruction of the place.

March 17.
1684.

The King exacted that the Doge of Genoa, with four of the principal Senators, should come and implore his clemency in the Palace of Versailles; and lest the Genoese should elude the making this satisfaction, and lessen in any manner the pomp of it, he insisted farther that the Doge, who was to perform this embassy, should be continued in his magistracy, notwithstanding the perpetual law of Genoa, which deprives a Doge of his dignity who is absent but a moment from the city.

Imperiale Lercaro Doge of Genoa, attended by the Senators Lomellino, Garibaldi, Durazzo, and Salvago, repaired to Versailles, in order to submit to every thing the King should require of them. The Doge, apparelled in his robes of state, his head covered with a bonnet of red velvet, which he often took off during his speech, made his submission, the very words and demeanour of which were dictated and prescribed to him by Seignelai.

Feb. 22.
1685.

The King gave him audience, sitting and covered: but as in all the actions of his life he joined politeness with dignity, he behaved towards Lercaro and the Senators with as much graciousness as state*. The Ministers, Louvois, Croissy, and Seignelai, treated them with more haughtiness; which gave the Doge occasion to say, "The King captivates our hearts by the manner in which he receives us, but his Ministers set them at liberty again." The Doge was a man of a

* Yet with all his graciousness and politeness, there is something very disgusting in the pride and insolence of this action of Louis XIV. *T. de Beauv.*

lively wit. Every one has heard the reply he made to the Marquis of Seignelai, when he asked him what he found most remarkable at Versailles? "To see myself here," said he.

The extreme passion that Louis XIV. had for every species of parade, was still further gratified by an embassy which he received from the Kingdom of Siam, a country, which, till then, was ignorant that France had an existence. This happened through one of those singularities which prove the superiority of the Europeans above all other nations of the earth *. A Greek, named Phalk Constance, the son of a Publican at Cephalonia, chancing to be appointed *Barcalon*, that is, Prime Minister, or Grand-Vizier of the Kingdom of Siam; in order to confirm himself in his station, and perhaps with a view towards an higher one, required some foreign assistance for his purposes, but did not choose to confide in the English or the Dutch, who are dangerous neighbours in the East-Indies. The French had lately established some Factories on the Coast of Coromandel, and had transported the character of their King along with them into this extremity of Asia.

1684. Constance thought Louis XIV. a likely person to be flattered by a homage so little expected, and coming from such a distance. He made religion too, the master-spring of all earthly politics, from Siam to Paris, subservient to his scheme. He sent, in the name of the King of Siam, his master, a solemn embassy, with rich presents, to Louis XIV. informing him that the Indian Potentate, enamoured of his glory, was desirous of entering into a treaty of commerce with the French nation, exclusively, and that he was also very near becoming a Christian himself.

The greatness of the King, thus flattered, and his religion imposed upon, induced him to depute to the King

* This curious remark is perfectly in the imposing manner of our Author. - In what way does this instance prove the superiority of Europe over Asia, Africa, and America? *Translator.*

of Siam two Ambassadors and six Jesuits; to whom he afterwards added a body of eight hundred infantry, properly officered and equipped. But the fame of this Siamese Embassy was all the advantage that accrued from it; for Constance fell, about four years after, a victim to his ambition: those few French who remained with him were massacred, the rest of his partisans obliged to fly, and his widow, after having been within reach of the crown, was condemned by the successor of the King of Siam to serve as one of the cooks in his kitchen, an office she was born to.

This thirst for glory, which led Louis XIV. to distinguish himself from the rest of the Kings of Europe, shewed itself again in the haughty manner with which he behaved towards the Court of Rome. Odescalchi, Innocent XI. son to a banker of Milan, was at that time on the Ecclesiastical Throne. He was a man of virtue, a sage pontiff, and, though an indifferent divine, a courageous, resolute, and magnificent Prince. He succoured the Empire and Poland against the Turks with his money, and the Venetians with his galleys; and loudly exclaimed against the conduct of Louis XIV. who assisted the Turks against the Christians.

It was remarkable that a Pope should so warmly espouse the cause of the Emperors, who stile themselves *Kings of the Romans*, and who would, if they could, reign personally in Rome. But Odescalchi was born under the Austrian sovereignty, and had made two campaigns in the Milanese army. Habit and humour govern most men.

His pride was piqued at the insolence of the King, who, on his part, gave him every kind of mortification that a King of France could possibly offer to a Pope, without separating from his communion. There had for a long time obtained an abuse in Rome, which it was difficult to remedy, because it was founded on a punctilio of which the Catholic Princes were tenacious. Their Ambassadors at Rome had extended their privileges, and the rights of asylum attached to their character, to an unreasonable extent, which they comprehended

under the denomination of *Quartier* *. These pretensions being always maintained, rendered one-half of the city a sanctuary for all manner of crimes. By another abuse, whatever was brought into Rome under the name of the Ambassadors, was exempted from duty. Commerce suffered, and the state was impoverished, under this pretence.

Pope Innocent XI obtained, at length, from the Emperor, the King of Spain, the King of Poland, and the new King of England James II. who was a Catholic Prince, a renunciation of these unconscionable claims. The Nuncio Ranucci applied to Louis XIV. to concur with the other Kings towards the peace and regular government of Rome. But Louis being dissatisfied with the Pope, replied, "That he would never conduct himself by the example of others; it being his place "rather to give, than take, example †."

Nov. 1687. He sent the Marquis de Lavardin on an embassy to Rome, on purpose to insult the Pope. Lavardin made his entry into the city, in defiance of the Pontiff's interdiction, escorted by four hundred marine guards, an equal number of volunteer officers, and two hundred men-servants in livery, all armed. He took possession of the Vatican, of its environs, and of the Church of St. Louis, about which he posted centinel, and ordered them to go the rounds, as in a garrison.

The Pope is the only sovereign power to whom such an embassy could be sent: for the authority he assumes over crowned heads, makes them ever inclined to humble him; and the weakness of his state leaves them at liberty to do so, without danger. All that Innocent XI. was able to oppose to the Marquis de Lavardin, was the worn out weapon of excommunication; arms which have now as little force in Rome itself, as they have elsewhere; but which, however, are still made use of as a

* A privileged district.

† I see nothing magnanimous in this answer. It was merely vain and insolent. He deserved to have been made an *example* of, for such a speech. But there was no spirit in the times. *Translator.*

sort of ancient ceremony, as the Pope's soldiers wear arms merely as an uniform.

The Cardinal d'Esfrées, a man of sense, but often unsuccessful in his negotiations, was at that time Resident from France at Rome. D'Esfrées being obliged frequently to confer with the Marquis de Lavardin, could not afterwards be admitted to an audience of the Pope, without first receiving absolution. He endeavoured to evade this form, in vain; for Innocent XI. would pronounce the words, in order still to preserve this imaginary authority by the usages on which it had been originally founded.

Louis, with the same haughtiness, but always supported by his resources of policy, would give an Elector to Cologne. Ever occupied in sowing divisions in, or making war upon, the Empire, he was resolved to elevate to this Electorate Cardinal Furstemberg, Bishop of Strasburg; his creature, the victim of his interests, and an irreconcilable enemy to the Emperor, who had imprisoned him in the preceding war, as a German who had sold himself to France.

The Chapter of Cologne, like all the other Chapters of Germany, possesses the right of nominating its Bishop, who from thence becomes Elector of course. The person who now filled this see, was Ferdinand of Bavaria, formerly the ally, but afterwards the enemy of the King; as was the case of other Princes. He was then at the point of death. The King, liberal of his money, of his intrigues and his promises, among the Canons, prevailed upon them to elect Furstemberg as his Coadjutor; and after the death of the Prince, he was again elected by a majority of the suffrages.

The Pope, by the Germanic Concordat, has the right of conferring the Bishoprick on the person elected, and the Emperor has that of confirming him in the Electorate. The Emperor and Pope Innocent XI. being convinced that it would be almost the same thing to leave Furstemberg in possession of the Electorate, as to place Louis XIV. himself there, joined their interests

to

to confer this Principality on young Bavaria, brother to the deceased.

Qa. The King avenged himself on the Pope, by
1688. taking Avignon from him, and prepared for war
against the Emperor. He sued the Elector Palatine, at the same time, for the rights of the Princess Palatine, Madame, second wife to Monsieur; rights which she had herself renounced in her articles of marriage. The war waged against Spain in 1667, for the claims of Maria-Theresa, notwithstanding it was a similar renunciation, proves plainly that covenants are only regarded by private persons.

Thus did the King, in the summit of his greatness, disturb, despoil, or humble, almost all the Princes of the other States; but, in return, they almost all of them confederated against him*.

C H A P. XV.

King James dethroned by his Son-in-law, William III. and protected by Louis XIV.

THE Prince of Orange, more ambitious even than Louis XIV. had conceived such vast projects as might have appeared visionary in a Stadtholder of Holland, if they had not been supported by his courage and abilities. He resolved to humble the King of France, and dethrone the King of England. There was not much difficulty in uniting the States of Europe, separately, in a league against France. The Emperor, with a part of the Empire, Holland, and the Duke of Lorraine,

* Thus, notwithstanding the vast encomiums lavished upon Louis by the French writers, and whatever proofs he exhibited of magnificence, of opulence, of oppression and power, he shewed but very few of real wisdom or policy; for, by his rapacity, insolence and cruelty, he provoked all the States of Europe to form a confederacy against him, which stripped him of all his vain-glory, and reduced his people to indigence and misery.

What Sallust says of the latter Romans, may justly be applied to Louis XIV; *Proinde quasi injuriam facere, id æquum esset imperio uti.* "And all this I can do, because I dare." *Translator,*

had

had at first contracted a secret alliance at Augsbourg; Spain and Savoy afterwards joined them. The Pope, without being expressly linked in the confederacy, was, however, the political soul of it, by his intrigues. Venice assisted, without declaring openly; and all the Princes of Italy were on their side.

In the North, Sweden was at that time connected with the Imperialists, and Denmark was an useless ally to France. Above five hundred thousand Protestants, flying from the persecution of Louis, and carrying with them out of France their industry, and their enmity to the King, were a new body of enemies dispersed throughout Europe, spurring up the Powers to a war which they were sufficiently inclined to already. (We shall speak of the emigration of these Refugees, in the chapter on Religion). The King was surrounded by enemies on all sides, and had no other friend but King James.

James, King of England, successor to his brother Charles II. was a Catholic, as well as Charles, who, however, did not conform 'till towards the latter part of his life, and only then in compliance with his mistresses and his brother; and this was the more easy to him, as in reality he had no religion except that of pure Deism. His perfect indifference about all the articles which divide the minds of men, had not a little contributed towards the tranquillity of his reign over England.

James, on the contrary, from his youth attached by persuasion to the Romish Communion, joined to his creed a spirit both of party and of zeal. Had he been a Mahometan, or a disciple of Confucius, the English would never have disturbed his reign upon that account; but he had formed the design of establishing Catholicism in his kingdom, which was considered by these Royal Republicans in a very alarming light, as the religion of slavery*.

It

* In Vol. III. of the Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon, in the fourth chapter, entitled, *Of the King and Queen of England*, we meet with an unaccountable jumble of Fables. It is there said, that the
follow.

It is sometimes easy enough to establish a religion in a nation. Constantine, Clovis, Gustavus Vasa, and Queen Elizabeth, introduced a new one without any danger, each by different means; but for such revolutions there are two things indispensibly requisite, a profound policy, and lucky circumstances; but both of these were wanting to James.

He was piqued at seeing so many Kings in Europe despotic; that those of Sweden and Denmark had lately

following question was proposed by the Civilians: "Whether the people have a right to rebel against the authority which endeavours to force a belief upon them?" But here the affair was quite the reverse; the English opposed the King's intention of tolerating the Roman-Catholic religion. The point in dispute was, "Whether the King had a power to dispense with the test-oath, in those whom he admitted to employments?"

The same writer says, that Pope Innocent XI. made the Prince of Orange a present of two hundred thousand ducats, to go and extirpate the Roman-Catholic religion in England.

He likewise affirms, in the same rash manner, that Innocent XI. ordered several thousand masses to be said for the Prince of Orange's success. It is well known that this pontiff favoured the league of Augsberg, but he never acted in a manner so ridiculous, and so contrary to what he owed to his dignity. The Spanish Envoy at the Hague, indeed, ordered prayers to be publicly said in his chapel for the success of the Dutch fleet, of which Monsieur d'Avaux sent advice to his master Louis.

This writer also gives us to understand, that the Count d'Avaux corrupted the members of the state; but he is mistaken here again, it was the Count d'Eftrade. He is likewise wrong in point of time; this happened twenty-four years before. See Mr. d'Eftrade's letter to Mr. de Lionne, dated Sept. 17, 1665.

The same author has the assurance to quote Bishop Burnet, whom he makes to say, in expressing a particular vice in the Prince of Orange, that "he was fond only of back-doors *." Now there is not a single word in all Burnet's History which bears the least resemblance to so low an expression, and so unworthy the pen of an historian; and though some compiler of anecdotes may have pretended that Bishop Burnet fathered so indecent a phrase to escape him in conversation, such an obscure testimony ought not surely to prevail against an authentic history. *Voltaire.*

* Though Burnet did not use the gross expression mentioned above, yet certain it is, he imputed something almost equivalent, to the prejudice of William's character, by recording a scandalous report that *the King was addicted to a secret vice.* But this passage is omitted in the late editions of Burnet's History. *Translator.*

rendered themselves so; and that, in fine, Poland and England were the only nations in the world, where liberty and royalty subsisted together. Louis XIV. encouraged him to become absolute at home, and the Jesuits pressed him to re-establish their religion and their power along with it.

But he conducted himself in both these attempts with so little discretion, that he only roused a spirit of resentment in the people against him. He began, at first, as if he had already accomplished his views; entertaining publicly at Court a Nuncio from the Pope, with a number of Jesuits and Capuchins; sending seven English Bishops to prison, whom he might have gained over; infringing the Charter of the City of London, when the policy would have been to have enlarged its privileges; subverting with a high hand the laws, of which he might silently have sapped the foundation: finally, conducting himself with so little management, that the Cardinals of Rome used jestingly to say, "that he ought to be excommunicated, as one who was active for the destruction of the small remnant of Catholicism that still existed in England*."

Pope Innocent XI. founded very little hopes on the proceedings of James, and constantly refused his Confessor Peters a Cardinal's hat, which he demanded for him. This Jesuit was an impetuous, artful man, who, giddy with the ambition of becoming a Cardinal and Primate of England, hurried his matter to the brink of the precipice. The principal persons of the kingdom united in secret against the King's designs, and sent a deputation to the Prince of Orange. Their confederacy was conducted with so much secrecy and prudence, that the Court had not conceived the least idea of a defection.

The Prince of Orange equipped a fleet to transport between fourteen and fifteen thousand men†. This Prince

* M. Voltaire is a perfect Machiavel. He gives cunning advice for wicked purposes. *Translator.*

† The author of Maintenon's Memoirs asserts, that the Prince of Orange, upon the States General refusing to grant him a supply, entered the assembly, and addressed them in this manner: "Gentlemen, there will be a war, next spring, and I desire that this prediction may

Prince was only an eminent individual, whose private fortune exceeded not five hundred thousand florins † a year. But such was his admirable conduct in public affairs, that he had made himself intire master of the treasures, the fleets, and the confidence, of the States-General. He was King, in effect, in Holland, by his spirit and address; and James had forfeited all regal power in England, by his folly and rashness.

At first it was pretended that this fleet was destined against France. The secret was preserved inviolably by above two hundred persons. Barillon, the French Ambassador at London, a man of pleasure, and better acquainted with the intrigues of James's mistresses than with those of Europe, was deceived; but Louis XIV. was not imposed upon. He offered assistance to his ally, who then declined it, out of a weak confidence; and requested it, soon after, when it was too late, and when the fleet of the Prince, his son-in-law, was under sail.

Oct. Every thing failed him at once; but he had been
1688. first wanting to himself. He wrote to the Emperor

Leopold in vain, whose answer was, "Nothing has happened to you, but what we had foretold." He depended on his Fleet, but it suffered that of the enemy to pass by. He might have defended himself by land, at least, as he had an army of twenty thousand men; which had he led on to action, without affording them time to hesitate, would probably have fought with success; but he gave them leisure to consider and resolve.

Many of his General Officers abandoned him. Amongst these was the famous Churchill, as fatal afterwards to

be registered." In proof of this he quotes the Count d'Avaux, and says, that this Minister saw through the whole design of the Prince of Orange. It is hardly possible to jumble together falsities in a worse manner. Nine thousand sailors were ready assembled in the year 1687. The Count d'Avaux does not mention a syllable of this pretended speech of the Prince of Orange; nor had he the least suspicion of that Prince's real design, till the 20th of May, 1688. See his letter to the king, of that date. *Voltaire*.

† The Dutch florin is two shillings—fifty thousand pound, per ann.

Louis

Louis as to James, and so illustrious under the title of the Duke of Marlborough. He was a favourite with James, his creature, brother to his mistress, and a Lieutenant-General in his army; notwithstanding all which he quitted him, and went over to the Prince of Orange's camp. The Prince of Denmark, son-in-law to James, and his own daughter, the Princess Anne, both forsook him.

Upon finding himself attacked and pursued by one of his sons-in-law, and abandoned by the other; deserted by both his daughters, his natural friends; and hated even by those subjects who remained still of his party; he saw his fortune desperate; and flight, the last resource of a conquered Prince, was the only resolve he was capable of forming, without waiting the event of a battle.

Finally, after having been stopped in his flight by the populace, maltreated by them, and carried back again to London; after having tamely submitted to the commands of the Prince of Orange in his own palace; after seeing his own guards replaced by those of the Prince; banished from his house, and made prisoner at Rochester, he took advantage of the unguarded manner in which he was purposely attended there, to quit the kingdom, and seek an asylum in France.

This was the era of true English liberty. The Nation, represented by its Parliament, drew the line, so long contested, between the prerogatives of the Prince and the privileges of the People; and having prescribed to the Prince of Orange the conditions on which he was to reign, chose him for their King, jointly with his wife Mary, the daughter of James. From this time this Prince was no longer known in the greatest part of Europe, but under the title of William III. lawful King of England, and the Deliverer of the Nation: in France, however, he was only considered as the Prince of Orange, and an usurper of his father-in-law's dominions.

The fugitive King came, with his wife, daughter Jan. of a Duke of Modena, and the Prince of Wales, yet ¹⁶⁸⁹ an infant, to implore the protection of Louis XIV. The Queen of England, who had arrived before her husband,

band, was astonished at the splendor which surrounded the King of France, at that profusion of magnificence which she beheld at Versailles, and still more at the manner in which she was received. The King advanced to meet her, as far as Chatou *. “ I come, now, Madam, “ said he, to pay you a melancholy service ; but I hope “ soon to render you one more considerable, and more “ fortunate.” These were his very words. He then conducted her to the Palace of St. Germain’s, where she met with the same attendance as if she had been Queen of France ; was supplied with every thing that convenience or luxury could require ; with presents of all kinds, of gold, silver, plate, jewels, and silks.

Among these presents was a purse of ten thousand louis d’ors laid upon her toilette. The same attentions were paid to her husband, who arrived the day after her. He had six hundred thousand livres a-year established for the support of his household, besides a number of presents that were also made him. He had the King’s officers and guards to attend him. All this reception, however, was nothing, in comparison of the preparations that were set on foot for restoring him to his throne.

The King never appeared so great, as upon this occasion ; and James appeared as mean. Those persons of the Court or City whose opinions were thought to be decisive upon the characters of men, held him in no manner of esteem. He associated chiefly with Jesuits. He alighted at their College in St. Antony’s-Street, in Paris. He told them he was a member of their fraternity, and, what is still more extraordinary, what he said was true. He had got himself associated in this Order, with certain ceremonies, by four Jesuits, when he was Duke of York.

This meanness of spirit in a Prince, joined to the manner in which he had lost his crown, rendered him so contemptible, that the Court Wits amused themselves every day in writing ballads upon him. Driven from England,

* See the Letters of Madame de Sevigné, and the Memoirs of Madame de la Fayette, &c.

he was the jest of France; nor was his being a good Catholic of the least service to him. The Archbishop of Rheims, who was brother to Louvois, said publicly at St. Germain's, in his anti-chamber, "There is a good Christian for you, who has sacrificed three Kingdoms for a Mass!"

He received nothing from Rome, except Indulgencies and Pasquinades. In short, throughout the whole of this revolution, his religion was of so little service to his cause, that when the Prince of Orange, at the head of the Calvinists, set sail to dethrone the King, his father-in-law, the Minister of the Catholic King * at the Hague directed Masses to be said for the happy success of his voyage.

In the midst of the humiliations of this fugitive King, and the liberalities of Louis XIV. towards him, it was an object worthy of attention to see James touching for the King's Evil, in the little Convent of the English Nuns; whether it is that the Kings of England arrogate to themselves this peculiar privilege, as pretending to the Crown of France; or that this ceremony had been established among them from the time of Edward the First.

The King soon sent a convoy with him to Ireland, where the Roman Catholics still formed a party that was thought considerable. A fleet of thirteen ships of the first-rate, lay in Brest road to escort him. All the Officers, the Courtiers, and even the Priests, who had followed James to St. Germain's, had their journey to Brest defrayed at the expence of the King of France. The Jesuit Innes, Rector of the Scotch College in Paris, was appointed his Secretary of State. An Ambassador, Monsieur d'Avaux, was named to attend the dethroned King, and followed him in all the pomp of his public character.

Arms and ammunition of every kind were stored aboard the fleet, with furniture and utensils, from the highest accommodations to the meanest uses. The King went to take leave of him at St. Germain's, where, as his last

* King of Spain.

gift, he presented him with his own cuirass, saying, in embracing him, "The best wish I can make for you is, that I may never see you again."

May 12, Scarcely had King James landed in Ireland,
1689. with his retinue, when twenty-three other large ships of force, under the command of Chateau-Renaud, with a number of transports, followed him. This fleet having defeated and dispersed the English Navy that opposed its passage, and safely landed the troops, and on its return taken seven Dutch Merchantmen, came back to Brest victorious over the English *, and laden with the spoils of Holland.

Soon after this, a third supply set sail again from Brest, as also from Toulon and Rochefort. The ports of Ireland, and the sea of the English Channel, were filled and covered with French ships. At length Tourville, Vice-Admiral of France, with seventy-two sail of large men of war, met with the English and Dutch fleet, consisting of about sixty ships; and they had an engagement, which continued ten hours.

Tourville, Chateau-Renaud, d'Etrées, and Nemond, signalized their courage and abilities in such a manner, as reflected an honour on France which she had not been used to. The English and the Dutch, 'till then masters of the Ocean, and from whom the French had but a little time before learned the art of arranging their ships in battle-array, were entirely defeated. Seventeen of their men of war, disabled or dismasted, were run ashore, and burned by themselves. The rest retreated to the Thames, or fled towards the coasts of Holland. The French did not lose a single vessel †.

And

* Who would not imagine from this expression that the French fleet had subdued England? whereas the truth of the matter is this: The French Squadron falling in with the English fleet under Herbert, which was greatly inferior to them in number, an engagement ensued, in which there was not one vessel lost on either side; and the two squadrons seemed to part by consent. Herbert put to sea, and Chateau-Renaud retired into Bantry-bay, in Ireland. *Translator.*

† The French fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and two-and-twenty fire-ships; whereas the combined squadrons of England

And now, what Louis XIV. had been wishing for twenty years, and which appeared before to be so very improbable, happened at last; he had obtained the empire of the Sea. But this empire was indeed of short duration. The enemies men of war fled before his fleet. Seignelai, who dared attempt every thing, brought the galleys of Marseilles upon the Ocean; and the coasts of England now saw this kind of vessels for the first time. By this means an easy descent was made at Tinmouth, and in that bay above thirty merchant-ships were burned. The privateers of St Malo, and the new harbour of Dunkirk, enriched both themselves and the State by continual prizes. In a word, for the space of two years there was not a ship to be seen on the sea, except those of France.

King James did not second in Ireland these efforts of Louis XIV. He had with him near six thousand French, and fifteen thousand Irish. Three-fourths of the Kingdom had declared in his favour; and his antagonist, William, was absent. However, he profited nothing from these advantages. His fortune received the first check, before the little town of Londonderry. He pressed it by an obstinate but ill-conducted siege, during four months. The town was defended only by a Presbyterian Elder, whose name was Walker. This preacher had set himself at the head of the armed citizens, and led them forth, as occasion served, either to pray or fight. He inspired them with hardiness to brave death and famine; and at length the Priest obliged the King to raise the siege.

This first disgrace in Ireland was soon followed by a greater misfortune. William arrived, and marched against him. The river Boyne separated their armies.

and Holland did not exceed fifty-six, so that the enemy had a superiority of twenty-two. In this engagement the Dutch lost six ships of the line; and the loss of the English amounted to two. Admiral Herbert, then Lord Torrington, was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the Tower, in consequence of the complaints of the States-General, who affirmed that he had sacrificed the Dutch squadron in the engagement. *Translator.*

William undertook to pass it, in sight of the enemy. It was barely fordable in three places. The Cavalry swam over, and the Infantry waded across, with the water up to their shoulders; but on the other side they had a morass * to traverse; after which they were opposed by a steep ascent, that formed a sort of natural intrenchment. King William overcame all these obstacles, brought up his forces in three columns, and gained the battle.

The Irish, whom we have seen such good soldiers in France and Spain, have never deserved that character in their own country †. There are among nations, some which seem formed to be subject to others ‡. The English have always had over the Irish a superiority in genius, in opulence, and arms §. Ireland has never been able to throw off the English yoke, since it was conquered by a single English Nobleman ||.

The French stood their ground at the battle of the Boyne, but the Irish gave way, and were put to the

* Hibernicæ, a bog. *Translater.*

† This shews they are not *Dungill-Cocks*, at least, Mr. Voltaire. *Id.*

‡ What a hazarded position is here! The Cappadocians themselves were not *naturally* formed to be slaves; and if not *naturally* so, the argument can borrow no force from occasional contingency. Such an expression could never have escaped from Montesquieu's pen. *Ibid.*

§ M. Voltaire here seems to impute these advantages to the English, as if they were *natural* ones, and to reproach the Irish with the *accidental* disadvantages they have laboured under of circumstances, situation, and oppression, as if these were natural too. But the same *ipse dixit* would serve to prove the superiority of Englishmen themselves over their own countrymen, by comparing the County of Middlesex with the Shire of York. *Ibid.*

|| With what contumely does this same *hap hazard* historian speak of the poor Irish! "Conquered by a *single*, or, as the French is, a *simple* Nobleman." Would not one imagine that he was speaking here of *Qunbus Flestrin* towing away the whole *Blifuscan* fleet with a twisted packthead? But the real story was brightly this: The nation was divided against itself. Two of its Kings, of which there were five, happened to be at variance with each other, and one of them called in Henry II. to his aid. M. Voltaire does not name the Nobleman, to whom *singly*, or *simply*, he attributes this mighty feat; but I suppose he must mean Richard Strongbow, Earl of Strigul, afterwards Chepstow, because he happened to command the first party of the English that landed, and afterwards married the Irish King's daughter. *Ibid.*

roul.

rout. Their King, James, who appeared not in the engagement, either at the head of the French or of the Irish, was the first to retreat; and yet he had ever before given proofs of personal valour: but there are times when a depression of spirits may become an overmatch for courage*.

King William having had his shoulder grazed by a cannon-ball before the battle, was reported to be dead, in France. This piece of false intelligence was received in Paris with an indecent and shameful rejoicing. Some of the subaltern Magistrates encouraged the citizens and populace to light bonfires on the occasion. The bells were set a ringing, and in many parts of the town were burned straw-images, designed to represent the Prince of Orange, as they burn the Pope, on some occasions, in London. The cannon of the Bastile were also fired, not by the King's order, but through the indiscreet zeal of the Commandant.

It might be imagined, from all these tokens of joy, and upon the credit of a number of writers, that such extravagant rejoicings upon the supposed death of an enemy, were the effect of the great terror with which he had inspired them†. All those who have written upon this subject, both French and Foreigners, have said, that these marks of festivity were the highest eulogium that could be made on King William. However, if one considers the circumstances of the times, and the spirit which then predominated, he must plainly see that it was not fear which produced those transports of joy. The citizens and populace are not apt to dread an enemy,

* There are such characters in life, of men with valiant hearts, but coward minds. Turenne, under whom he served, spoke handsomely of him; and Marlborough, upon hearing the courage of King James, questioned, said, "No, my old Master was *personally brave*; but wanted the best part of a soldier, *resolution*." *Translator*.

† And such imagination was right, notwithstanding M. Voltaire's invidious and disingenuous manner of solving the appearances. He certainly must have been an object of dread, as well as of aversion, to France, both to its religion and state; as Generalissimo of Holland, King of England, and head of the Protestant league. They were ashamed of their hasty joy, and gave this turn to it, afterwards. *Ibid*.

unless he is at their gates. So far from being impressed with terror at the name of William, the common people of France had the injustice to despise him. He had been generally defeated by the French Generals; and the Vulgar were incapable of judging how much true glory this Prince had gained even in his defeats. William, conqueror of James in Ireland, appeared not yet to the eyes of the French an enemy worthy of Louis XIV. Paris, idolatrous of its King, absolutely believed him to be invincible.

Those rejoicings, then, were not the effect of fear, but of hate. The major part of the Parisians, born under the reign of Louis XIV. and inured to despotic rule, regarded a King at that time as a Divinity, and an Ufurper as guilty of sacrilege. The common people, who had seen James go every day to Mass, abominated William as an heretic. The idea of a daughter and a son-in-law driving their father from a throne, of a Protestant reigning in the place of a Catholic, in a word, of an enemy to Louis XIV. transported them to a degree of fury; but the wiser sort behaved themselves with more moderation.

James returned to France, leaving his competitor to win more battles in Ireland, and to establish himself on the throne. The French Fleets were then occupied in bringing back the French troops which had fought in vain, and the Irish Catholic families, who being stripped of every thing in their own country, chose to go and subsist in France on the liberality of the King.

It is believed that what is called Fortune, had very little part in this revolution, from first to last. The characters solely of William and James effected the whole. Those who love to trace the sources of events to the conduct of men, may remark, that King William, after his victory, proclaimed a general pardon; and that King James, after his defeat, in passing through a little town, named Galway, hanged up some of the Citizens, who had advised the shutting their gates against him. Of two men acting in such different manners, it was
an

an easy matter to foresee which was most likely to prevail.

There still remained, however, some towns in Ireland, which held out for James; among which was Limerick, garrisoned with above twelve thousand men; and the King of France, still supporting the fortune of James, sent over three thousand regular troops to its assistance. To this service he added the further liberality of supplying every thing necessary both to the forces and the relief of the numerous inhabitants of the city. Forty sail of transport ships, convoyed by twelve men of war, carried over all possible succours of men, utensils, and accoutrements; engineers, gunners, bombardeers, with two hundred masons; saddles, bridles, and housings, for above twenty thousand horse; cannon, with their carriages; muskets, pistols, and swords, for twenty-six thousand men; besides provisions and shoes.

Limerick, though besieged, being thus provided with every thing sufficient for its defence, expected to see its King draw his sword upon that occasion. But James appeared not, the town surrendered, and the French ships made a second voyage to Ireland, to bring back to France above twenty thousand Irish soldiers and inhabitants.

What is, perhaps, more extraordinary, is, that Louis XIV. was not discouraged by all these fruitless attempts. He had a heavy war to sustain, on his own part, against the greatest part of Europe; and yet he strove still to reverse the fortune of James by one decisive action, and to make a descent in England with twenty thousand men. He had assembled them between Cherbourg and La Hogue *. Above three hundred transports were ready to receive them at Brest. Tourville, with forty-four men of war, kept cruising off the Coast of Normandy, to escort them, and D'Etrees arrived from the Port of Toulon, with thirty ships more.

* Two sea-ports in France, on the coast of Normandy. *Translator.*

If there be some misfortunes which are owing to bad conduct, so there are others which arise merely from bad fortune. The wind, which was at first favourable to D'Etrees's squadron, happened to change; which put it out of his power to join Tourville. His forty-four ships were attacked by the united fleets of England and Holland, which consisted of about a hundred sail. Superiority of numbers carried the day, and the French were obliged to yield, after an engagement of ten hours. Russel, the English Admiral, pursued them for two days. Fourteen large ships, two of which mounted a hundred and four guns each, were run ashore, and the Captains set fire to them, to prevent their being burnt by the enemy *. King James, who saw this disaster, standing on the shore, saw at the same time all his future hopes swallowed up in the waves.

This was the first check which the fortune of Louis XIV. had received by sea. Seignelai, who, after Colbert, his father, had brought the Navy of France to its height, had died towards the latter end of 1690. Pontchartrain, who from the post of first President of Brittany, had been raised to the office of Secretary of State for the marine department, suffered it not to decay. The same spirit reigned still in the administration. France had, the very year after the disgrace at La Hogue, as large a fleet at sea as she had before; for Tourville was at the head of three-score ships of the line, and d'Etrees commanded thirty; besides those that remained in harbour. And even four years after, the King in 1696. fitted out an armament, more considerable still

* The English historians say the French fleet amounted to sixty-three ships of the line, and that a greater number of the French than of the English were engaged. Certain it is, Russel's own ship disabled the *Rising Sun*, a ship of one hundred and four guns, commanded by Tourville in person. She was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, near Cherbourg, together with the *Admirable*, another first-rate, and the *Conquerant*, of eighty guns. Eighteen other great ships of the French fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports laden with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp. *Translator.*

than any of the former ones, to convoy James over to England, at the head of twenty thousand men. But this fleet only just shewed itself; for the measures of James's party in England, were as ill conducted, as those of his protector were well planned in France.

There was now no resource left for the partisans of the dethroned King, but in conspiracies against the life of his rival. Almost all those who engaged in these plots, suffered capital punishment; nor was it believed that, even had they succeeded, he would have recovered his kingdom again. He passed the remainder of his days at St. Germain's, where he was maintained by the bounty of Louis, and a pension of seventy thousand livres, which he was mean enough to accept privately from his daughter Mary, in whose favour he had been dethroned.

He died in the year 1700, at St. Germain's; and some Irish Jesuits pretended that miracles were performed at his tomb *. They even talked at Rome of canonizing after his death, a Prince whom they had abandoned during his life.

Few Princes were more unhappy than James; and there is no instance, in history, of any family being unfortunate for such a length of time. The first of his ancestors that was King of Scotland, whose name was likewise James, after being detained prisoner in England eighteen years, was assassinated, with his queen †, by the hands of his own subjects. James II. his son, was killed, at nineteen years of age, fighting against the English ‡. James III. after being imprisoned by his subjects, was slain by the rebels in an engagement. James IV. perished in a battle which he lost. Mary Stuart, his grand-daughter, driven from her throne, and a fugitive in England, after having languished eighteen years in a

* It was ridiculously pretended that his reliques had cured the Bishop of Autun of a fistula. *Voltaire.*

† The queen was only wounded, and recovered. *Translator.*

‡ He was killed by accident, at Roxburgh. *M. Voltaire writes often without book. Ibid.*

prison, saw herself condemned to death by English Judges, and lost her head on a scaffold. Charles I. grandson of Mary, King of Scotland and England, was sold by the Scotch, sentenced to death by the English, and died on a scaffold before the eyes of his people. James, his son, the seventh of his name in Scotland, and the second in England, who is our present subject, was driven out of his three kingdoms; and, to add to his misfortune, even the legitimacy of his son was disputed. This son, in attempting to regain the throne of his ancestors, only brought his friends under the hands of the executioner; and we have since seen Prince Charles-Edward, uniting in vain the virtues of his forefathers and the courage of King John Sobiesky, his grandfather by the mother's side, performing exploits and suffering misfortunes almost incredible *.

If any thing could justify those who believe in an unavoidable fatality, it would be the continued succession of misfortunes which have befallen the House of Stuart during the space of above three hundred years.

* M. Voltaire is the first historian that ever made a hero of him. He might have said the same of him as he does of his father, in the sentence before, and neither more or less. *Translator.*

C H A P. XVI.

Of what passed on the Continent while King William was invading England, Scotland, and Ireland, till the year 1697. The second burning of the Palatinate. The Victories of the Marshals Catinat and Luxembourg, &c.

NOT being willing to interrupt the chain of the affairs relative to England, I now return to what passed on the Continent.

The King, while he was thus forming such a naval force as was never exceeded by any other state in Europe, had to contend with the Emperor and the Empire, Spain, the two maritime powers of England and Holland, both become more formidable under one head *, Savoy, and almost all Italy. One alone of these enemies, England or Spain, was formerly sufficient to have ruined France; but all together now were not able to make the least impression upon her.

Louis XIV. had almost constantly five armies on foot during the course of this war, sometimes six, but never less than four. The troops in Germany and Flanders often amounted to the number of a hundred thousand effective men. The frontier places were not, however, left ungarrisoned. The King had four hundred and fifty thousand men in arms, including his marine forces. The Turkish Empire, so powerful in Europe, Asia, and Africa, never had so many; and even the Roman Empire had not more, nor had it ever so many wars to sustain at any one time. Even those who blame Louis XIV. for having made himself so many enemies, admire him for the measures he took, not only to defend himself, but to prevent attacks.

These enemies had not yet either intirely declared themselves, or united together: the Prince of Orange had not yet set sail from the Texel to drive his father-in-law into exile, when France had her armies upon the

* William III.

frontiers of Holland and on the Rhine. The King had sent his son, the Dauphin, who was stiled *Monseigneur*, into Germany, at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men. This Prince was mild in his manners, modest in his behaviour, and seemed to be the very counterpart of his mother. He was then about twenty-seven years of age. This was the first time he had ever been intrusted with a command, after his character had afforded sufficient assurance that he would not make an ill use of it. The King said publicly to him on his departure, "My son, in deputing you to command my armies, I furnish you with an opportunity of proving your merit. Go and display it before all Europe; so that when I die, it may not be perceived that the King is no more."

Sept. 22,
1688.

The Prince had a special commission given him for the command, as if he had been merely one of the Generals whom the King had chosen for the campaign. His father used to address his dispatches "To our son the Dauphin, our Lieutenant-General, commanding our armies in Germany."

All matters had been so provided and disposed beforehand, that the son of Louis XIV. whose name and presence was to contribute to the eclat of this expedition, might not suffer any kind of disgrace. Marshal Duras was in effect the Generalissimo. Boufflers had a body of troops on this side the Rhine, and Marshal d'Humieres another towards Cologne, to watch the motions of the enemy.

Heidelberg and Mentz were taken. The siege of Philipsburg, which is always the first manœuvre in a war with Germany, was commenced. Vauban conducted the siege, and all the articles not included in his department were intrusted to Catinat, then Lieutenant-General, a man capable of every thing, and formed for all kinds of business.

Monseigneur arrived at the Camp six days after the trenches were opened. He imitated the conduct of his father, hazarding his person only where it was necessary,
but

but not rashly; affable to every one, and liberal to the soldiery. The King was sensible of a perfect satisfaction in having a son who copied without excelling him, and who rendered himself beloved by every one, without giving cause of fear to his father.

Philippsburg was taken in nineteen days; Nov. 11,
 Mannheim in three; Franckendal in two; and 1688.
 Spires, Triers, Worms, and Oppenheim sur Nov. 15,
 rendered as soon as the French presented 1688.
 themselves before their gates.

The King was determined to make a desert of the Palatinate, as soon as these towns were taken. His design in this was to cut off the means of subsistence from the enemy, rather than to take revenge of the Elector Palatine, who was guilty of no other offence than having done his duty, in uniting with the rest of the Empire against France. An order was sent to the army from Louis, signed Louvois, to reduce the whole country to ashes.

The French Generals, who could not refuse obedience, gave notice, in the very midst of winter, to the citizens of all those flourishing and well-built towns, to the inhabitants of the villages, and to the Lords of above fifty castles, to quit their dwellings, as every thing was immediately to be destroyed by fire and sword. Men, women, old people and children all fled away with the utmost precipitation. February,
 1689

Some wandered about in the fields, and the rest took shelter in the neighbouring countries; while the military, who are generally quick to execute and exceed commands of rigour, and slow to obey those of clemency, burned and pillaged their country. They began with Mannheim and Heidelberg, the residence of the Elector, whose palaces were destroyed with as little remorse as the citizens houses. Even tombs were broke open by the rapacity of the soldiers, who expected to have found some concealed treasures there; and the ashes of the dead were scattered in the air.

This was the second time that this fine country had been laid waste by Louis XIV. But the flames with which Turenne had burned two cities and twenty villages

lages of the Palatinate, were but sparks in comparison of this last conflagration. All Europe beheld this action with horror. The Officers who executed the command, were ashamed of being the instruments of such barbarities. The blame was thrown upon the Marquis de Louvois, become more inhuman from that callousness of heart which a long ministry is apt to produce. He had, indeed, given such advice; but Louis had it in his power not to have followed it. If the King had been a witness of this spectacle, he would himself have extinguished the flames. But he signed the order at his palace of Versailles, in the midst of his pleasures, for the destruction of a whole country, because he saw nothing in such a command except his power and the unhappy right of war; tho', had he viewed the scene, he would have considered nothing but the horror of it. The nations of Europe, who till then had only blamed his ambition while they admired it, now exclaimed against his cruelty; and all condemned his politics: for should the enemy ever penetrate into his dominions, as he had done into theirs, they would reduce his towns to ashes, in turn.

This danger was to be apprehended. Louis, in covering his frontiers with one hundred thousand soldiers, taught Germany to make the same efforts. This country, being better peopled than France, might be able to raise larger armies. They have more difficulty, indeed, in levying, assembling, and paying them; and they are longer before they take the field: but their strict discipline and patience under fatigues make them at the end of a campaign, as formidable as the French are at its beginning. The Duke of Lorraine, Charles V. commanded them. This Prince, though still kept out of his dominions by Louis XIV. had preserved the Empire for Leopold, and rendered him conqueror over the Turks and Hungarians. He now came with the Elector of Brandenburg, to balance the fortune of the King of France. He retook Bonn and Mentz, two towns that were very badly fortified, but defended in a manner which was esteemed a model for the defence of places. Bonn did not surrender till after
a siege

a siege of near four months, and after Baron d'Asfeld, who commanded there, was mortally wounded in a general assault.

The Marquis d'Uxelles, afterwards Marshal of France, a most prudent and wary General, had made dispositions so admirably contrived for the defence of Mentz, that his garrison suffered hardly any fatigue in the great service it performed: besides the care he took to provide for every thing within, he made one-and-twenty sallies upon the enemy, and killed above five thousand of their men. He sometimes made one or two sallies in a day: in short, he defended the place seven weeks, and surrendered at length only for want of powder.

This defence deserves a place in History, both on account of its own merit, and the manner in which it was received by the Public. Paris, that immense city, whose indolent inhabitants pretend to judge of every thing, and who have so many ears and tongues with so few eyes, looked upon d'Uxelles as a timorous person, and deficient in judgment. When this man, on whom every good officer conferred just praise, after his return from the campaign, went to the play-house, the populace hooted him, and cried out *Mentz*; upon which he was obliged to retire; not without heartily contemning, as every wise man must do, a people who are such bad judges of merit, but whose praise, nevertheless, is so much the object of ambition.

About the same time, Marshal d'Humieres was beaten at Walencourt*, on the Sambre, in June, the Netherlands, by the Prince of Waldeck; but this check, though it injured his reputation, very little affected the French arms. Louvois, whose crea-

* The Prince of Waldeck, who commanded the Dutch army, was reinforced by eleven thousand English, under the Earl of Marlborough. Marshal d'Humieres attacked the foragers at Walencourt, and an obstinate engagement ensuing, was obliged to retreat in confusion, with the loss of two thousand men, and some pieces of artillery. Meanwhile, a little army of observation, commanded by the Prince de Vaudemont, levelled part of the French lines, on the side of Cour ray, and ruled contributions in the territories of France. *Translator.*

ture and friend he was, found himself under the necessity of taking from him the command of his army. Another General was to be sent in his room. The King chose Marshal Luxemburg, against the inclinations of his Minister, who hated him, as he had done Turenne. "I promise you," said the King to him, "that I have had some pains to make Louvois act rightly. I have obliged him to sacrifice to the good of my service the enmity he bears to you. You are to write only to me; your letters are not to pass through his hands *." Luxemburg then commanded in Flanders, and Catinat in Italy. Marshal de Lorges defended himself very well in Germany. The Duke of Noailles had some success in Catalonia †; but under Luxemburg in Flanders, and Catinat in Italy, there was a continual succession of victories. These two Generals were at that time esteemed the greatest in Europe.

The Marshal Duke of Luxemburg, in some parts of his character, resembled the Great Condé, whose pupil he was; a fiery genius, a prompt execution, a quick discernment, a mind eager for knowledge; but too extensive and irregular; continually engaged in female intrigues, always in love, and even sometimes beloved, though deformed and ill-favoured; having more of the qualifications of a hero, than of a wise man.

‡ Catinat had an application and activity in his disposition, that made him capable of every thing, though he never piqued himself upon any one particular qualification. He would have been as good a Minister, or a Chancellor, as he was a General. In the earlier part of

* Memoirs of Marshal Luxemburg. *Voltaire*.

† His success in that country was but small. He had, indeed, reduced Campredon in the month of May; but he was afterwards obliged to withdraw the garrison, dismantle the place, and retreat to the frontiers of France with great precipitation. *Trahykator*.

‡ We may perceive, by Madame de Maintenon's Letters, that she was no friend to Marshal Catinat. She appears to have a very indifferent opinion of him, and calls his modesty *pride*. It would seem, that the little knowledge, which this Lady had of men and business, and the bad choices she made, contributed not a little to the mistakes which afterwards befel France. *Voltaire*.

his life, he practised in the law; but quitted that profession at the age of twenty-three, because he lost a cause in which he had justice on his side. He then went into the army, and was at first an Ensign in the French guards. In the year 1667, at the attack of the counterescarp of Lisle, he performed an action in the presence of the King, which required both understanding and courage. The King took notice of him; and this was the beginning of his good fortune. He rose by degrees, without making any interest; a philosopher in the midst of war and grandeur, those two fatal rocks to moderation; exempt from all prejudices, without the affectation of appearing to despise them too much; a stranger to gallantry and the arts of Courts, but a sincere friend, and an honest man. He lived an enemy both to self-interest and vain-glory, and was a philosopher in every thing, in his death as well as in his life.

Catinat commanded at that time in Italy, where he was opposed by Victor-Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who was a wise, politic, but still more unfortunate Prince; a warrior of remarkable courage, who always led his own armies, and exposed his person like a common man: no one better understood that shifting kind of war which is carried on in a mountainous and uneven country, such as his was: he was active, vigilant, a lover of order, but sometimes guilty of errors, both as a Prince and a General. He is said to have committed one in the bad disposition he made of his army before that of Catinat. The French General took advantage of his mistake, and gained a complete victory over him in sight of Saluces, near the Abbey of Stafarda, from which that battle took its name. When there are a number of men killed on one side, and hardly any on the other, it is a certain proof that the army which is beaten, was drawn up on a ground where it must necessarily be overpowered. The French had only three hundred men killed, and the allied army, commanded by the Duke of Savoy, above four thousand. After this battle, all Savoy, except

Aug. 19,
1690.

cept Montmelian, submitted to the King. Catinat then
 1691. marched into Piedmont; forced the enemy's
 entrenchments near Susa; took that town, together with Villafranca, Montalban, Nice, deemed impregnable, Veillano, Carmagnola, and returned afterwards to Montmelian, of which he made himself master after an obstinate siege.

After all these successes, the Ministry lessened the army which he commanded, and the Duke of Savoy augmented his. Catinat, inferior in numbers to his conquered enemy, remained a long time upon the defensive; but at length having received a reinforcement, he descended the Alps, towards Marfail, and
 Oct. 4, there gained a second pitched battle, which was
 1693. the more glorious, as Prince Eugene of Savoy was then one of the enemy's Generals *.

At the other extremity of France, towards the Netherlands, Marshal Luxemburg gained
 June 30, the battle of Fleurus; and, by the confession
 1690. of all the Officers, this victory was entirely owing to the superiority of genius in the French General over Prince Waldeck, who commanded the allied army. Eight thousand men taken prisoners, six thousand killed, two hundred stands of colours, the cannon, the baggage, and the flight of the enemy, were sufficient proofs of the victory †.

King William was just returned back from his victory

* In this battle the Duke of Schomberg, son to him who fell at the Boyne, was mortally wounded, fighting gloriously at the head of a body of Vaudois in the pay of Great-Britain. In the preceding campaign, Catinat had been obliged to abandon Piedmont, when the Duke of Savoy penetrated into Dauphiné, and filled all the south of France with consternation. Had he prosecuted his success, he might have reduced Lyons, and all the towns in that neighbourhood; but he was seized with the small-pox, and supposed to befoothed into forbearance by the intrigues of the French Ministry. *Translator.*

† This victory, got by a great superiority of numbers, was dearly purchased. The Dutch infantry fought with surprising resolution. The Duke of Luxemburg owned with surprise, that they had surpassed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck" (said he), "ought always to remember the French motto; and I shall never forget the Dutch infantry." *Ibid.*

ever

over his father-in-law. This great genius, ever fertile in resources, made more advantage of a defeat of his party, than the French often did of their victories. He had been obliged to have recourse to intrigues and negotiations, to procure men and money sufficient to oppose to a King who had only to say, "I will." Nevertheless, after the defeat at Fleurus, he came to oppose Marshal Luxemburg with an army as strong as that of the French. Sept. 19,
1691.

They each consisted of about eighty thousand men; but Marshal Luxemburg had already invested Mons, when King William thought the French had hardly left their winter quarters. Louis himself came to be present at the siege, and entered the town the ninth day after opening the trenches, in sight of the enemy's army; after which he returned to Versailles, and left Luxemburg to dispute the field during the whole campaign, which ended with the battle of Leule; a very singular action, in which twenty eight squadrons of the King's household troops, with the gendarmerie, defeated seventy-five squadrons of the enemy's army. Apr. 1691.
Sept. 19,
1691.

The King next repaired to the siege of Namur, the strongest place in the Netherlands, both by its situation, which is at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maese, and by its citadel, which is built on rocks. He took the town in eight days time, and the castles in twenty-two; while the Duke of Luxemburg prevented King William from passing the Meuse, at the head of eighty thousand men, to raise the siege. After this conquest Louis returned again to Versailles, and Luxemburg still continued to make head against the forces of the enemy. At this time the battle of Steinkirk was fought, celebrated for the art and courage displayed upon that occasion. A spy, which the French General had in the army of King William, was discovered, and compelled, before he was led to execution, to write a false information to Marshal Luxemburg; who, immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, took such measures as must probably June,
1692.

occasion his defeat. His army was attacked at day-break, while every one was asleep in their tents, and a brigade put to flight, before the General was apprised of it. Without the extremest activity and bravery, all would have been lost.

It is not enough to be a great General to prevent a defeat; it likewise requires well-disciplined troops, capable of rallying; General Officers sufficiently skilful to recover the troops from their disorder, and well disposed to do so; for a single Officer of rank, who is inclined to take advantage of the general confusion to cause his General's defeat, might easily do it without exposing himself to a detection.

The Marshal was then ill; a fatal circumstance, at a time when uncommon activity was required; Aug. 3, but the danger restored him to his strength.
1692.

It required prodigies not to be overcome, and he performed them. He changed his ground, gave a field of battle to his army which before had none, recovered the right wing, which was all in disorder, rallied his forces three times, and three times charged at the head of the household troops; and all this in less than two hours. He had with him in his army Philip, Duke of Orleans, then Duke of Chartres, afterwards Regent of the kingdom, a grandson of France, who was then not above fifteen years old. He could be of no service for a decisive stroke; but it contributed not a little to animate the soldiers, when they saw a grandson of France, a mere boy, charging at the head of the King's household troops, and, though wounded in the fight, returning again to the charge.

A grandson and grand-nephew of the Great Conde both served in this army as Lieutenant-Generals. One of these was Louis of Bourbon, called *Monsieur the Duke*, and the other Francis-Louis Prince of Conti, both rivals in courage, wit, ambition, and fame. *Monsieur the Duke* was of a more austere disposition, and had perhaps more solid qualities, and the Prince of Conti more brilliant ones. Being both called by the public voice to the command of armies, they earnestly longed

longed for that honour, which, however, they never obtained; because Louis, who knew their ambition as well as their merit, never forgot that the Prince of Condé had made war against him.

The Prince of Conti was the first who recovered the army from its confusion, by rallying some of the brigades, and making the rest advance. Monsieur did just the same, without standing in need of emulation. The Duke of Vendôme, grandson to Henry IV. was likewise a Lieutenant-General in this army. He had served ever since he was twelve years of age; and though he was then above forty, had never yet commanded in chief. His brother, the Grand Prior, was by his side.

It was necessary that all these Princes should put themselves at the head of the King's household troops, with the Duke de Choiseul, in order to drive a body of English from an advantageous post, on which the success of the battle depended. The French household and the English guards were the best troops in the world. The slaughter was great; but the French, animated by the croud of Princes and young nobility who fought about the General's person, at length carried the post. The regiment of Champagne defeated King William's guards, and when the English gave way*, the rest were obliged to yield.

Boufflers, who was afterwards Marshal of France, flew with a body of dragoons from his station, at some distance from the field of battle, and completed the victory. King William, after having lost about seven thousand men, retired in as good order as he had attacked; and always beaten, and always formidable, he still kept the field. This victory, which was owing to the valour of the young Princes and the flower of the

* The Prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded the attack on the side of the allies, with a body of British, Danish, and Dutch troops, finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, sent an Aid-de-Camp twice to demand succours of Count Solmes, who headed the center; but that Officer derided his distress, saying, "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make." In this battle, the Earl of Angus, General Mackay, Sir John Lamer, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant British Officers, lost their lives. *Transl.*

robility of the kingdom, produced an effect at Court, in the City, and in the Provinces, that no former successful battle had ever done.

Monsieur the Duke, the Prince of Conti, M. de Vendôme, and their friends, on their return home from this campaign, found the roads lined with people, whose acclamations and expressions of joy were carried even to a degree of madness. The women all strove to attract their regards. The men at that time wore lace-cravats, which took up some time and pains to adjust. The Princes having dressed themselves in a hurry, threw these cravats negligently about their necks. The ladies wore handkerchiefs made in this fashion, which they called *Shinkirks*. Every new toy was a *Steinkirk*. Any young man who happened to have been present at this battle, was looked upon with delight. The populace followed the Princes every-where in crowds, and they were the more beloved, because the reception they met with at Court was not equal to their merits.

It was in this battle that the young Prince of Turenne, nephew to the hero who was killed in Germany, lost his life. He had already given hopes that he would have equalled his uncle. His sense and accomplishments had rendered him dear to the City, to the Court, and to the Army.

The General, in giving an account to the King of this memorable battle, scorned to mention the circumstance of his being ill when he was attacked*.

The same General, with the same Princes, and the same troops, which, though surprised, were victorious at Steinkirk, the ensuing campaign attempted to surprise King William, by a forced march of seven leagues, and came up with him at Nervinde†, a village on the Layette, within a few leagues of Brussels. William had

* This was truly noble. His courage was insensible of the imbecility during the action; and his spirit scorned to make a merit of misadventures. Such characters render the reading of history pleasant. *Tranf.*

† This action the English distinguish by the name of the Battle of *Lauden*. King William made great efforts of courage and perseverance; but the original disposition of his troops was so erroneous, that when Luxemburg observed it, he cried out, "Now I believe that Waldeck is really dead." *Ibid.*

time to entrench himself during the night, and to put his army into order of battle. They attacked him at break of day, when they found him at the head of the regiment of Rouvigny, composed entirely of French Gentlemen, which the fatal revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the *Dragonnades** had forced to quit and hate their country. They revenged upon her the intrigues of the Jesuit La Chaize, and the cruelties of Louvois. William, followed by a body of men so animated, overthrew the first squadrons that opposed themselves to him. At length he was overthrown himself, falling under his horse that was killed; but he was soon extricated, and continued the battle with the greatest obstinacy.

Luxemburg entered the village of Nervinde twice, sword in hand. The Duke de Villeroy was the first who leaped into the enemy's entrenchments. The village was twice taken and recovered.

At Nervinde also, Philip Duke de Chartres shewed himself a grandson worthy of Henry IV. He charged thrice at the head of a squadron; which being repelled, he found himself in a hollow way, surrounded on all sides with men and horses killed or wounded. A squadron of the enemy came up, and called out to him to surrender. They seized him: he defended himself singly against them, wounded the Officer who held him prisoner, and disengaged himself. His party flew to his relief, and rescued him from his danger. The Prince of Condé, who was called *Monsieur the Duke*, and the Prince of Conti, his emulator, who had signalized themselves so greatly at Steinkirk, fought here likewise for their lives, as well as for their glory, and were obliged to kill their enemies with their own hands; which rarely happens now a-days to General Officers, since fire-arms decide every thing in battles.

~~Monsieur~~ Luxemburg distinguished and exposed himself more than ever. His son, the Duke of Mont-

* A sort of military service, so called in France, employed by Louvois and La Chaize to terrify the Huguenots from quitting Mother Church. *Translator.*

morency, stepped before when he saw a pistol presented at him, and received the wound aimed at his father. At length the General and the Princes retook the village a third time, and won the battle.

Few actions were ever more bloody. There were about twenty thousand men killed; twelve thousand on the side of the Allies, and eight thousand of the French. It was upon this occasion said, that there was more reason to sing *De profundis** than *Te Deum*.

If any thing can soften the horrors which attend on war, it is what Count Salm said, when he was wounded and a prisoner in Tirlemont. Marshal Luxemburg paying great attention to his situation, "What a nation are ye!" said the Prince: "There are no enemies more formidable in a battle, nor more generous friends after a victory."

All these battles gained much glory, but few great advantages. The Allies, though defeated at Fleurus, Steinkirk, and Nerve, had never been completely routed. King William always made matterly retreats; and in a fortnight after the loss of one battle, it was found necessary to fight another with him, to be master of the campaign.

The Cathedral of Paris was filled with the colours of the Allies. The Prince of Conti called Marshal Luxemburg "the Upholsterer of *Nôtre Dame*." Nothing was spoken of but victories. However, Louis XIV had before conquered one-half of Holland and Flanders, and all Franche-Comté, without fighting a single battle; and yet now, after the utmost efforts, and the most bloody victories, they had scarcely got footing in the United Provinces; they could not even lay siege to Brussels.

Sept. 1 and 2, 1692 Marshal de Lorges had likewise on his side gained a considerable battle near Spirebach, and had even taken the old Duke of Wirtemberg prisoner, and penetrated into his country; but, after having entered it as a conqueror, he was obliged to quit it again. Monseigneur took and plun-

* A hymn sung in the funeral-service in the Roman Catholic Churches. *Translator.*

dered the City of Heidelberg a second time, which the enemy had retaken; but afterwards was obliged to act upon the defensive against the Imperialists.

Marshal Catinat, notwithstanding his victory at Staffarda, and the conquest of Savoy, could not prevent the Duke of Savoy from making an irruption into Dauphiné; nor, after his victory at Marfail, could he save the important city of Casal.

In Spain, the Marshal de Noailles also gained a battle on the banks of the Ter; he took Girona and some small places; but his army was ^{May 27,} weak, and he was obliged, after his victory, ^{1694.} to retire from before Barcelona. The French, everywhere victorious, but weakened by their successes, had an hydra to engage in the Allies, that was continually rising up afresh. France began to find it difficult to raise recruits, and still more so to procure money. The rigour of the season, by which the fruits of the ^{1691.} earth were at that time destroyed, brought on a famine. They were perishing for want, while the kingdom resounded with *Te Deums* and rejoicings. The spirit of confidence and superiority, which had been the soul of the French troops, began visibly to diminish. Louis XIV. no longer appeared at their head. Louvois was dead; and they were much discontented with Barbesieux, his son: finally, the death of Marshal Luxemburg, under whom they ^{January,} thought themselves invincible, seemed to put ^{1695.} an end to the rapid victories of the French.

The art of bombarding maritime towns with ships, now turned upon its inventors: not that the infernal engine with which the English attempted to burn St. Malo, and which was wrecked without producing its intended effect, was of French contrivance. Machines of this kind had been a long time attempted in Europe. It was the art of throwing bombs with as much certainty from a moving vessel as from the solid ground, that the French had invented; and it was by this art that the English had from their ships bombarded the towns of Dieppe, Havre-de-grace, St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Calais.

July, 1694, and 1695. *lais.* Dieppe, as being the most easy of access, was the only place which suffered any real damage. This town, which is now so delightful on account of the regularity of its buildings, and which owes its beauty to its misfortune, was almost reduced to ashes. There were not above twenty houses beaten down and burnt in Havre-de-Grace by the bombs; but the fortifications of the place were entirely destroyed. In this sense it is that the medal struck by the Dutch is true, notwithstanding so many French Writers have inveighed against its falsity. In the exergue we find these words in Latin: *The harbour of Havre burnt and destroyed, &c.* This inscription does not say that the town was burnt, which would have been false; only that the harbour was burnt, which is true.

Soon afterwards the French lost Namur, which they had taken. The nation had lavished encomiums on Louis XIV. for having conquered this place; and raileries had been thrown out, as well as indecent ballads printed, against King William, for not having succoured it with an army of eighty thousand men*. William at length became master of it, by the same manner in which it had been lost. He attacked it in the face of an army much stronger than his own was at the time that Louis XIV. laid siege to it. He now met with new fortifications of Vauban's raising. The French garrison which defended this town was an army of itself; for while they were preparing to invest it, Marshal Boufflers found means to throw himself into it, with seven regiments of dragoons; so that Namur was not only defended by sixteen thousand men, but was daily in expectation of being relieved by an army of an hundred thousand.

Marshal Boufflers was a man of great merit; an active and diligent General, and a good Citizen, who had no-

* See Boileau's Ode upon this subject, and the *Historical Fragment* of Racine. "Experience," said the latter, "has convinced the Prince of Orange how vain the attempt is to oppose any achievement that the King conducts in person." *Voltaire.*

After this read Prior's Ode on the retaking of Namur, which will have the better effect, if compared with Boileau's. *Translator.* thing

thing so much at heart as the welfare of the service, to promote which he valued neither his pains nor his life. The Marquis de Feuquieres, in his Memoirs, accuses him of several faults in the defence of the place and citadel; and even blames his conduct in the defence of Lille, by which he gained so much honour. Those who have written the history of Louis XIV. have servilely copied the Marquis de Feuquieres in military matters, and the Abbé de Choisi in private anecdotes. They could not know that Feuquieres, who was an excellent Officer, and perfectly well versed both in the theory and practice of war, was of a disposition as morose as discerning, the Aristarchus, and sometimes the Zoilus of Generals*. He alters facts, to have the pleasure of censuring faults; he complains of every one, and every one of him. It was said he was the bravest man in Europe, because he slept in the midst of a hundred thousand enemies. His merit not having been rewarded with the staff of Marshal of France, he employed his great parts too much against the servants of the State, which would have been extremely useful, had he been as conciliating and candid, as he was discerning, active, and brave.

He charged the Marshal de Villeroy with a greater number of faults, and more essential ones, than he had imputed to Boufflers. Villeroy, at the head of fourscore thousand men, was to have relieved Namur; but even had the Marshals Villeroy and Boufflers done every thing, generally speaking, that might have been done (which is very seldom the case), the situation of the ground was such, that Namur could not be relieved, and must be taken sooner or later. An army of observation posted along the banks of the Meuse, which had prevented King William from bringing up his succours, now necessarily prevented Marshal Villeroy from doing the same.

Though Marshal Boufflers, the Count de Guiscard, Governor of the town, the Count de Laumont du Châ-

* The first denied some verses in Homer to be his, and the other abused those that were. *Translator.*

telet, commandant of the infantry, and all the officers and soldiers in the place, defended it with remarkable obstinacy and bravery, it retarded the capitulation only two days. When a town is besieged by a superior army, when the works are well carried on, and the season favourable, they can judge nearly within what time it will

be taken, be the defence ever so vigorous. King
 Sept. William at length made himself master of the
 1695. town and citadel, though not in so short a time as Louis XIV. had done.

The King, while he was thus losing Namur, bombarded Brussels; an useless revenge which he took upon the Emperor for his towns that had been bombarded by the English. All this occasioned a war equally ruinous and fatal to both parties.

One of the effects of human activity and frenzy, for these two centuries past, has been that of not confining the havock of war to our own continent of Europe. We drain ourselves of men and money to destroy one another in the farther parts of Asia and America. The Indians, whom we have compelled by force or artifice to admit our settlements amongst them; and the Americans, from whom we have wrested their Continent, after having dyed it with their blood; look upon us as the foes of human kind, who come from the farthest part of the globe to butcher them, and afterwards to massacre one another.

The French had no other Colony in the East Indies than that of Pondicherry, which had been formed by Colbert with great pains, and at an immense expence, and from whence no considerable advantage could be drawn for several years. The Dutch easily made themselves masters of it, and thus destroyed the trade of the French in the East Indies, almost in its infancy.

Our plantations in St. Domingo were destroyed
 1695. by the English; and one of the Breton privateers laid waste theirs at Gambia, on the coast of Africa. The privateers of St. Malo carried fire and sword into the eastern part of Newfoundland, of which they were in possession; and our squadrons insulted their Island of
 Jamaica,

Jamaica, took and burnt their shipping there, and ravaged the coast.

Pointis, commander of a squadron of our ships of war, and some privateers of America, sailed as far as the line, and surprised the town of Carthagena, the magazine and mart for the Spanish treasures which come from Mexico. The damage he did ^{May, 1697.} there was computed at twenty millions of our livres, and the booty he got at about half that sum. There is always some deduction to be made from such calculations, but none from the grievous calamities occasioned by these glorious expeditions.

The Dutch and English merchant-ships were every day a prey to the French privateers, and especially to Du-Gué Trouin, a man singular in his way, and who wanted only a good fleet to have acquired as great a reputation as Dragut or Barbarossa.

John Barth was also famous among the Corsairs: From a common sailor he arrived to be a Commodore, as well as Du-Gué Trouin. Their names are illustrious still.

The enemy made fewer prizes from the French, because they had less to be taken. Our trade was greatly impaired by the death of Colbert and the war.

A general misery then was the result of these expeditions by sea and land. Those who delight more in humanity than politics may observe, that in this war Louis XIV. took up arms against his brother-in-law the King of Spain; against the Elector of Bavaria, to whose sister he had married his son the Dauphin; and against the Elector Palatine, whose country he burnt, though Monsieur, his brother, was married to the Princess-Palatine. King James likewise was driven from his Throne, by his son-in-law and his own daughter. Since that time we have seen the Duke of Savoy in league against France; where he had one daughter a Dauphiness, and against Spain, where another was Queen. Most of the wars between Christian Princes are, in some sort, civil wars.

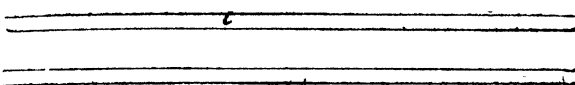
The most criminal enterprize in all this war proved the only truly fortunate one. William was perfectly successful

cessful in England and Ireland. In other places the successes were more equal. When I call this a criminal undertaking, I do not examine whether the Nation, after having shed the blood of the father, were right or wrong in banishing the son, and maintaining its religion and privileges : I only say, that if there is any justice on earth, the daughter and son-in-law of King James ought not to have driven him from his dominions *. Such an action would have been horrible between private persons. The interest of the people seems to have established another moral for Princes †.

* Spoken like a Papist and a Frenchman. *Translator.*

† And very justly so. Kings may plead an *hereditary right to reign*, but not an *indefeasible* one to oppress. *Ibid.*

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



T H E
A G E
O F
L O U I S XIV.

C H A P. XVII.

*Treaty with Savoy. Marriage of the Duke of Burgundy.
Peace of Ryswick. State of France and Europe. Death
and last Will of Charles II. King of Spain.*

FRANCE still maintained her superiority over all her enemies; some she had crushed, as the Duke of Savoy and the Elector-Palatine, and she carried the war to the frontiers of the others. She was like a powerful and robust body fatigued with a long resistance, and exhausted by its victories; a well-directed blow would have made her stagger. Whoever has a number of enemies at once, can at last find his safety only in their division, or in a peace. Louis XIV. obtained both the one and the other.

Victor-Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, was a Prince, of all others, the most easily persuaded to break his engagements, when his interest was concerned. To him the Court of France addressed itself. The Count de Tessé, afterwards Marshal of France, an amiable and able man, of a genius formed for pleasing, which is the

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first qualification of a negociator, had begun a private treaty at Turin; and Marshal Catinat, who was equally capable of making peace and war, concluded it. There did not want two such able men to determine the Duke of Savoy to accept of what was to his advantage. They restored him his country, gave him a sum of money, and proposed a marriage between the young Duke of Burgundy, son to Monseigneur, the heir to the crown of France, and his daughter.

Matters were soon agreed upon. The Duke and
 July. Catinat signed the contract at Our Lady of Lo-
 1696. retto, whither they went under pretence of a pilgrimage of devotion; which, however, imposed upon no one. The Pope (Innocent XIV.) entered heartily into this negotiation. His view was to deliver Italy at once from the invasions of the French, and the taxes which the Emperor was continually levying to pay his troops. He would have the Imperialists evacuate Italy, and leave it neuter. This the Duke of Savoy engaged himself by the treaty to obtain. The Emperor gave a denial at first; for the Court of Vienna rarely came to a determination, but at the last extremity. Upon the Emperor's refusal, the Duke joined his troops to the French army, and, from Generalissimo to the Emperor, became, in less than a month, Generalissimo to Louis
 1697. XIV. His daughter, who was only eleven years of age, was carried into France to be married to the Duke of Burgundy, who was thirteen.

After the defection of the Duke of Savoy, it happened, as at the peace of Nimeguen, that each of the Allies thought proper to treat. The Emperor agreed to leave Italy neuter. The Dutch proposed the Castle of Rylwick, near the Hague, as the place for holding the conferences for a general peace. Four armies, which the King had on foot, contributed to bring matters to a speedy conclusion. There were eighty thousand men in Flanders under Villeroy; the Marshal de Choiseul had forty thousand men on the banks of the Rhine; Catinat had another army in Piedmont; and the Duke of Vendôme, who had at length attained the rank of General,

neral, after having passed through all the degrees, from that of the King's guard, like a private soldier of fortune, commanded a body of troops in Catalonia, where he gained a battle, and took Barcelona. These new efforts and new successes proved the most effectual mediation. The Court of Rome again offered its arbitration, which was refused, as at Nimeguen. Charles XI. King of Sweden, was the mediator. At length the peace was concluded; not with that haughty superiority and those advantageous conditions which had before signalized the greatness of Louis XIV. but with a condescension and concession of rights on his side, that equally amazed the French and the Allies. It was a long time imagined, that this peace had been concerted with the deepest policy.

It was pretended that the French King's grand design was, what it certainly ought to have been, to prevent the entire succession of the vast Spanish Monarchy from devolving upon the other branch of the House of Austria. It was said, he entertained hopes that the House of Bourbon might at least come in for a share in the dismemberment, and perhaps one day succeed to the whole. The authentic renunciations made by the wife and mother of Louis XIV. were deemed but matters of form, which ought to give way to new conjunctures. In this view, which was to aggrandize France, or the House of Bourbon, it was necessary to shew some moderation, in the eyes of Europe; and not to incense so many Powers, who were still full of suspicions. The peace afforded time to form new alliances, to improve the finances, to gain over those who might be necessary, and to form new bodies of militia in the kingdom. Something must be given up, in hopes of obtaining considerably more.

These were thought to be the private motives of the peace of Ryſwick, which in the event actually procured the Throne of Spain for the grandson of Louis XIV. This notion, probable as it may appear, is not however true. Neither Louis XIV. nor his Council had con-

ceived those views that seemed likely to have occurred to them at that time. This is a strong instance of that concatenation of events in the world, which is merely incidental to the very men by whom they seem to be conducted. The obvious interest of soon possessing Spain, or at least a part of that Monarchy, had not the least influence in the peace of Ryſwick. This is acknowledged by the Marquis de Torcy, in his Manuscript Memoirs*. They made peace because they were weary of the war, and this war itself had been carried on without any particular object. On the side of the Allies, at least, it was only the indeterminate design of humbling the grandeur of Louis XIV. and in that Monarch but the consequence of that same grandeur, which would not make concessions.

King William had drawn over to his cause the Emperor, the Empire, Spain, the United Provinces, and Savoy; Louis XIV. found himself too far engaged to recede. The finest part of Europe had been laid waste, because the French King made use of the advantages he had gained by the peace of Nimueguen, in too haughty a manner. The league was formed rather against his person, than the kingdom of France. The King thought himself secure of the reputation he had gained by arms, and was now desirous of adding that of moderation: and the decay which began to be sensibly felt in his finances, inclined him the more readily to adopt such a conduct.

The political situation of affairs was debated in the Council, and the resolutions were there taken. The Marquis de Torcy, then young, was only charged with the execution of them. The whole Council was for peace. The Duke de Beauvilliers, particularly, there set forth the miseries of the people with such energy, that Madame de Maintenon was affected by it, and the King himself appeared not insensible; and it made the

* These Memoirs of Torcy have been since printed, and prove how well the Author of the Age of Louis XIV. was informed of all he advances. *Voltaire.*

more impression, as the nation had fallen from that flourishing state to which the Minister Colbert had raised it. The great establishments of all kinds had cost immense sums, and no œconomy had been used to retrieve the confusion occasioned by these extraordinary expences. This inward calamity astonished every one, because it had never been felt since Louis XIV. had governed alone. These were the true causes of the peace of Ryswick *, though doubtless some virtuous sentiments had an influence in it. Those who think that Kings and Ministers ever, and without bounds, sacrifice every thing to their ambition, are no less mistaken, than they who think they always sacrifice to the happiness of the world.

The King then restored to the Spaniards all those places that he had taken from them near the Pyrenees, and likewise the conquests he had made in Flanders, during the last war; as Luxemburg, Mons, Ath, and Courtray. He acknowledged William III. lawful King of England, whom he had till then treated as Prince of Orange, a tyrant and an usurper. He promised not to assist his enemies for the future; and King James, whose name was left out in the treaty, remained at St. Germain, with the empty title of King, and a pension from Louis XIV. Thus sacrificed by his protector to the necessity of the times, and already forgotten in Europe, he ceased to publish any more manifestos.

The sentences which the Chambers of Brisac and Metz † had awarded against so many Sovereigns, and the reunions made at Alsace, monuments of a dangerous power and pride, were abolished, and the bailiwicks that had been juridically seized upon, were restored to their rightful masters.

* "A peace precipitated from the sole motive of relieving the distresses of the kingdom." *Memoirs of Torcy*, vol. 1. page 50. First Edition.

† Giannoné, so celebrated for his useful *History of Naples*, says, that these Tribunals were established at Tournay. He is often mistaken in all the things which relate not to his own country. He says, for instance, that at the treaty of Nimeguen, Louis XIV. made peace with Sweden. But Sweden was his Ally. *Voltaire*.

Besides these concessions, Friburg, Brisac, Kheil, and Philippsburg, were surrendered to the Empire. The King even submitted to destroy the fortrefs of Strasburg on the Rhine, Fort-Louis, Traerbach, and Mount-Royal; works on which the great Vauban had exhausted his art, and the King his treasury. Europe was surpris'd, and the French displeas'd, to see Louis XIV. make peace as if he had been conquer'd. Harlai, Creci, and Callières, who sign'd this peace, durst not shew themselves either at Court or in the City. They were loaded with reproaches and derision, as if they had taken a single step without the orders of the Ministry. They were reproach'd by the Court with having betrayed the honour of the French nation; and afterwards they were applauded for having, by this treaty, prepar'd the way for the succession to the Spanish Monarchy: but, in truth, they deserv'd neither the censure nor the praise.

It was by this peace that France at length restor'd Lorrain to the family which had been in possession of it above seven hundred years. Duke Charles V. the prop of the Empire, and conqueror of the Turks, was dead. His son Leopold, at the peace of Ryſwick, took possession of his sovereignty, with the loss indeed of his real privileges, it not being allow'd him to have ramparts to his capital; but they could not deprive him of a much more noble privilege, that of doing good to his subjects; a privilege which no Prince ever made a better use of than himself.

It were to be wish'd, that latest posterity may be inform'd, that one of the least powerful Sovereigns in Europe, was one who did the most good to his people*. He found Lorrain a desert waste; he repeopled and enrich'd it, and preserv'd it in peace, while the rest of Europe was desolated by war. He had always the prudence to keep well with France, and to make himself beloved in the Empire; happily preserv'g that just medium, which hardly any Prince without power has ever been able to maintain between two great potentates.

* Then he was the greatest Prince in Europe; and none of the rest deserv'd their power, if they did not deserve his character. *Transl.*
He.

He procured his people plenty,* to which they had been long strangers. His noblesse, reduced to the last degree of wretchedness, were raised to a state of opulence solely by his benefactions. If he saw the family-seat of a gentleman in ruins, he rebuilt it at his own expence: he paid their debts, portioned out their daughters, and lavished presents with that art of giving, which raised them even above munificence; bestowing his gifts with the magnificence of a Prince, and the politeness of a friend. The Arts, which were held in the highest honour throughout his little Province, produced a new circulation, which makes the riches of a State. His Court was formed after the model of that of France, and the traveller hardly perceived a change of place in passing to Luneville from Versailles. After the example of Louis XIV. he advanced the Belles-Lettres. He established a kind of University without pedantry at Luneville, where the young German Nobility came to be formed. The real Sciences were there taught in schools, where the theory of Natural Philosophy was demonstrated to the eye by the most curious apparatus. He sought out men of talents, even in the shops and in the woods, to bring them forward, and to be himself their patron. In a word, the whole business of his reign was to procure his nation tranquility, riches, knowledge, and pleasure. "I would quit my sovereignty to-morrow, (said he) if I could no longer do good." Accordingly he tasted the satisfaction of being beloved; and I myself saw, long after his death, his subjects shed tears on mentioning his name. When he died, he left an example to be followed by the greatest Kings, tho' he had not been able to prepare the way for his son to the Throne of the Empire.

At the time that Louis XIV. was negotiating the peace of Ryswick, which was to bring about the Spanish succession, the Throne of Poland became vacant. This was the only regal Crown in the world that was then elective. Natives and foreigners had equally a right to pretend to it; but to retain it required either a merit sufficiently striking, and properly supported by

intrigues to secure the suffrages, (as was the case with John Sobieski, the late King), or else money enough to buy the kingdom, which is almost always put up to auction.

The Abbé, afterwards Cardinal Polignac, had at first the address to engage the suffrages in favour of the Prince of Conti, known by the valiant actions he had performed at Steinkirk and Nervinde. He had never the command in chief, nor was he admitted into the King's Councils. The Duke of Bourbon had an equal reputation as a warrior, the Duke of Vendôme a still greater; and yet his fame surpassed them both, by the great art of pleasing, and rendering himself of consequence, which no one possessed in a more eminent degree than he did. Polignac, whose talent lay in persuasion, first determined the minds of the people in his favour; and, by dint of eloquence and promises, counterbalanced the money which Augustus, Elector of

June 27, 1697. Saxony, lavished among them. Louis-Francis, Prince of Conti, was elected King, by the majority of the nation, and proclaimed by the Primate of the kingdom. Augustus was elected two hours afterwards by another party, inferior in numbers; but he was a Sovereign Prince, and powerful, and had a body of troops in readiness on the frontiers of Poland. The Prince of Conti was absent, destitute of money, men, and power, and had nothing on his side but his name and Cardinal Polignac. It remained that Louis XIV. should either prevent his accepting the Crown, or furnish him with proper assistance to get the better of his competitor. It was thought that the French Ministry did too much, in sending the Prince of Conti over; and too little, in furnishing him with only a small squadron of ships, and a few bills of exchange, with which he arrived in the harbour of Dan-zick: this was acting with that lukewarm policy, which begins an affair only to quit it again. They would not even receive the Prince at Dantzick, and his bills of exchange were protested. The intrigues of the Pope and the Emperor, with the money and troops of Saxony,

Saxony, having already secured the crown on his rival's head, he returned with the glory of having been chosen King, and France had the mortification of having made it appear, that she was not sufficiently powerful to make a King of Poland.

This disgrace of the Prince of Conti did not interrupt the peace of the North between the Christian powers; the South of Europe was soon afterwards restored to tranquility, by the peace of Ryſwick; and there remained no longer any war, but that which the Turks carried on against Germany, Poland, Venice, and Ruſſia. And here the Christians, though badly conducted, and divided among themſelves, had the ſuperiority. The battle of Zanta, in which ^{1695.} Prince Eugene beat the Grand Seignior in perſon, and remarkable by the deaths of the Grand Vizir, ſeventeen Baſhaws, and upwards of twenty thouſand Turks, humbled the Ottoman pride, and brought about the peace of Carlowitz, in which the Turks ^{1699.} ſubmitted to the laws impoſed by the conquerors. The Venetians had the Morea, the Muſcovites Aſoph, the Poles Kaminiak, and the Emperor Tranſilvania. All Chriſtendom was then happy and tranquil, the ſound of war was no longer heard either in Aſia or Africa, and the whole world was at peace [#] during the two laſt years of the ſeventeenth century; an epocha of too ſhort a duration!

The public calamities were ſoon renewed again. The peace of the North was diſturbed in the year 1700, by two men, the moſt extraordinary that were then in the world. One was Czar Peter Alexowitz, Emperor of Ruſſia, the other young Charles XII. King of Sweden. Czar Peter, a man ſuperior to his age, or nation, by his genius and ſurpriſing labours, became the reformer, or rather the founder, of his empire. Charles XII. more magnanimous than the Czar, and yet leſs ſerviceable to his ſubjects, formed to command ſoldiers, but not nations, was the firſt hero of his age, but died with the character of a very bad King. The deſolation which the North underwent, during a war of eighteen years, owed

owed its rise to the ambitious politics of the Czar and the Kings of Denmark and Poland, who wanted to take advantage of the youth of Charles XII. to despoil him of part of his dominions. But Charles, at the age of

1700.

sixteen, conquered them all three. He was the terror of the world, and already esteemed a hero, at an age in which other men have hardly finished their exercises. He was for nine years the most formidable monarch in the world, and for nine years more the most unfortunate.

The troubles of the South of Europe arose from another cause. The King of Spain lay at the point of death, and it was in dispute who should share the spoils he was to leave behind him. The Powers who already devoured in imagination this immense succession, did what we see frequently practised during the illness of a rich old man who has no children. The wife, the relations, the priests of the sick King, and even the officers appointed to receive the last commands of the dying, beset him on all sides to get a favourable word from him. Some of the inheritors agree to divide the spoils, and others prepare to dispute them.

Louis XIV. and the Emperor Leopold were in the same degree of consanguinity: they were both descended from Philip III. by the female line; but Louis was son of the eldest daughter. The Dauphin had, besides, a greater advantage over the sons of the Emperor; which was, that he was grandson of Philip IV. and the children of Leopold were no descendants of his. All the rights of nature were then on the side of France. One need only cast his eye on the following table.

PHILIP

PHILIP III. KING OF SPAIN.

FRENCH BRANCH | GERMAN BRANCH.

PHILIP IV.

Anna-Maria, the eldest daughter,
married to Louis XIII. in 1615.Maria-Anna, the youngest daughter,
married to Ferdinand III.
Emperor, in 1631.

CHARLES II.

Louis XIV. married, in 1660,
Maria Teresa, eldest daughter
of Philip IV.Leopold, son of Ferdinand III.
and of Maria-Anna, married
in 1666, Margareta - Teresa,
youngest daughter of Philip IV.
by whom he had,

Monseigneur.

Maria-Antoinetta-Josepha, married
to the Elector of Bavaria
Maximilian Emmanuel, who had
by her,The Duke of Burgundy.
The Duke of Anjou, King of
Spain.
The Duke of Berry.Joseph-Ferdinand-Leopold of Bavaria,
named heir to all the Spanish
Monarchy, at four years of
age.

But the House of the Emperor reckoned for its rights, first, the authentic renunciations to the Crown of Spain made and ratified by Louis XIII. and by Louis XIV.; then the name of Austria; the blood of Maximilian, whence Leopold and Charles II. were descended; the almost constant union between these two Austrian branches; the enmity, still more constant, of these two branches against the Bourbon race; the aversion that the Spanish nation had then to the French; and lastly, the secret springs of a policy it had long been in possession of, of governing the Council of Spain.

Nothing, at that time, seemed more natural than to perpetuate the Throne of Spain in the House of Austria. All Europe expected this, before the peace of Ryswick; but the weakness of Charles II. had disturbed this order of succession from the year 1696, and the House of Austria had been already sacrificed in secret. The King of Spain had a grand nephew, son to Maximilian-Maria, Elector of Bavaria. The King's mother, who was still living, was great-grandmother to this young Prince of Bavaria,

Bavaria, who was then about four years old; and this Princess, notwithstanding that she herself was of the House of Austria, being daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III. prevailed on her son to disinherit the Imperial family, in consequence of a pique she had conceived against the Court of Vienna. She therefore cast her eyes on the Prince of Bavaria, though hardly out of his cradle, and destined him to the Spanish monarchy, and that of the New World. Charles II. who was then entirely governed by her *, made a private will in the year 1666, in favour of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; but having afterwards lost his mother, he was governed by his wife Mariana, of Bavaria-Newbourg. This Bavarian Princess, who was sister-in-law to the Emperor Leopold, had as great an attachment to the House of Austria, as the Austrian Queen mother had to that of Bavaria. Thus the natural course of things was all along inverted in this affair, which concerned the most extensive monarchy in the world. Mariana of Bavaria procured that will to be destroyed, by which the young Prince of Bavaria was called to the succession, and obtained a promise from the King, that he would never have any other heir than a son of the Emperor Leopold, and would not injure the House of Austria. Matters were on this footing, at the peace of Ryswick. The Houses of France and Austria were equally fearful and suspicious of each other, and had likewise Europe to fear. England and Holland, then powerful, whose interest it was to maintain the balance between the States, would never suffer that the same head which wore the crown of Spain, should likewise wear that of France, or of the Empire.

What is most extraordinary, is, that the King of Portugal, Peter the Second, entered the list of pretenders to this succession. This was indeed absurd; for he could only deduce his claim from John I. natural son to Peter the Just, in the fifteenth Century. However, this chimerical pretension was supported by the Count

* See de Torcy's *Memoirs*, Vol. I. Page 75.

d'Oropeza, of the House of Braganza, who was a member of the Spanish Council. He ventured to propose it there, but was disgraced and expelled.

Louis XIV. would not suffer that a son of the Emperor should obtain the succession, and could not demand it himself. It is not certainly known who it was that first conceived the notion of making the premature and unheard-of partition of the Spanish monarchy, during the life-time of Charles II. Most probably it was the minister Torcy; for it was he who first opened it to Bentinck, Earl of Portland, Ambassador from William III. to Louis XIV.

King William entered with great alacrity into this new project; and, in concert with the Comte de Tallard at the Hague, disposed of the Spanish succession. To the young Prince of Bavaria they gave Spain and the West-Indies, without knowing that Charles II. had before that bequeathed him all his dominions. The Dauphin, son of Louis XIV. was to have Naples, Sicily, and the Province of Guipuscoa, together with some few towns. The Archduke Charles, second son to the Emperor Leopold, had only the Duchy of Milan appointed to him; and nothing was allotted for the Archduke Joseph, Leopold's eldest son, and heir to the Empire.

The destination of a part of Europe, and the half of America, thus settled, Louis engaged by this treaty of partition, to renounce the entire succession to the Spanish dominions. The Dauphin promised and signed the same thing. France was satisfied with making an addition to its territories; England and Holland had in view to settle the peace of part of Europe; but all these politics were vain. The dying King being informed that they were tearing his monarchy in pieces, during his life-time, was filled with indignation. It was generally expected, that upon hearing this news, he would declare either the Emperor, or one of his sons, his successor, as a reward for his not having intermeddled in this partition; and that the greatness and interest of the House of Austria would induce him to demise in its favour.

November, 1698. favour. He did indeed make a will, but he a second time declared the Prince of Bavaria sole heir to his dominions. The Spanish nation, which dreaded nothing so much as the dismembering of its monarchy, applauded this disposition. It seemed calculated to bring about a peace. But this hope likewise proved as vain as the treaty of partition. The Prince of Bavaria, the intended King, died at Brussels*.

The House of Austria was unjustly charged with the sudden death of this Prince, merely from the probability that those will be guilty of crimes, to whom those crimes are useful. New intrigues began to be revived again at the Courts of Madrid, Vienna, Versailles, London, the Hague, and Rome.

Louis XIV. King William, and the States-General, disposed once more of the Spanish monarchy in idea, and assigned to Archduke Charles, the Emperor's youngest son, that part which they had before given to the infant lately dead. The son of Louis XIV. was to possess Naples and Sicily, and all that had before been assigned to him by the former convention.

They gave Milan to the Duke of Lorrain; and Lorrain, so often invaded, and so often restored again by France, was to be annexed to it for ever. This treaty, which set the politics of all the Princes at work to thwart or support it, proved as useless as the first.

* The Author of the History of Louis XIV. had mentioned the most of these particulars, then new and very interesting, a long time before the Memoirs of the Marquis de Torcy had made their appearance; and these Memoirs have at length confirmed all the facts alledged in this History.

The scandalous reports which were propagated on the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, are no longer repeated by writers of any authority. In the pretended Memoirs of Mad. de Maintenon, vol. v. pag. 6. we meet with these words; "The Court of Vienna, which had always been tainted with Machiavelian maxims, and was suspected of employing poisoners to retrieve the mistakes of its Ministers." It would seem by this expression, that the Court of Vienna had always kept poisoners in a kind of office, the same as their hussars and dragons. It is a duty to reprobate such indecent expressions, and contradict such calumnies. *Voltaire.*

Europe

Europe was again deceived in its forecast, as almost always happens.

When this treaty of partition was offered to the Emperor to be signed, he refused, because he was in hopes of having the entire succession. The French King, who had pressed the signing it, waited in uncertainty for the event.

When this new affront was known at the Court of Madrid, the King was overpowered with resentment, and the Queen his wife was so transported with rage, that she broke some of the furniture of her apartment to pieces, particularly the glasses and other ornaments that had come from France; so much alike are the passions in all ranks of mankind. This scheme of partition, these intrigues, these quarrels, were all but a personal concern. The Spanish nation itself was quite out of the question. It was never consulted, nor even asked what King it would choose. It was proposed to assemble *Las Cortes*, the states-general; but Charles trembled at their very name.

This unhappy Prince, who saw himself dying in the flower of his age, was then for bestowing all his dominions on the Archduke Charles, his wife's nephew, and second son to the Emperor Leopold. He could not venture to leave them to the eldest son, so prevalent was the system of a balance of power in all minds; and so certain it was, that the apprehension of seeing Spain, Mexico, Peru, both the Indies, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, in the same hands, would have armed the rest of Europe. He wanted the Emperor Leopold to send his second son Charles to Madrid, at the head of ten thousand men; but neither France, England, Holland, nor Italy, would have suffered it. They were all for the partition. The Emperor would not send his son alone, to be at the mercy of the Spanish Council, and he could not transport ten thousand men thither: he only wanted to march troops into Italy, to secure that part of the Austrian-Spanish monarchy.

There now happened in the most important concerns between two great Princes, what happens every day between private persons, in the most trifling matters: they disputed, they grew warm; the Castilian haughtiness

was offended by the German pride. The Countess of Perlipz, who governed the wife of the dying King, alienated the minds of those in Madrid whom she ought to have conciliated, and the Court of Vienna disgusted them still more by its arrogance.

The young Archduke, who was afterwards the Emperor Charles VI. used never to mention the Spaniards but with some opprobrious appellation. He then experienced how incumbent it is on Princes to weigh well their words. The Bishop of Lerida, who was Ambassador from the Court of Madrid to Vienna, on some occasion of dislike against the Germans, collected these expressions, and transmitted them with exaggerations in his dispatches, and treated the Austrian Council more injuriously in his letters, than the Archduke had done the Spaniards in his expressions. "Leopold's Ministers, said he, have understandings like the horns of the goats in my country, small, hard, and crooked." This letter was made public. The Bishop of Lerida was recalled, and, at his return to Madrid, he doubly increased the aversion of his countrymen against the Germans.

While the Austrian party made itself thus hated by the Court of Madrid, the Marquis, afterwards Marshal Duke of Harcourt, the French Ambassador, gained all hearts by his extreme magnificence, his dexterity, and perfect knowledge in the art of pleasing. Received at first but coldly at Madrid, he sustained all the slights he met with without complaining. Three intire months passed without his being able to obtain an audience of the King *. He employed this vacation in gaining the

* Reboulet says that this Ambassador was magnificently received, at the first. He gives a pompous description of his liveries, of his superb gilt coach, and the gracious reception he met with from his Majesty. But the Marquis himself, in his dispatches, assures, that he was not treated with any manner of civility, and that he was only suffered to see the King for a minute in a dark chamber, by the light of but two small bougies, for fear he should perceive that he was dying. In fine, the Memoirs of Torcy shew, that there is not a word of truth in all that Reboulet, Limiers, and the other historians have said upon this subject.

affections of the people. He was the first who changed into benevolence that antipathy which the Spanish nation had nourished against the French, ever since the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic; and his prudent conduct laid the foundation for that period, when France and Spain renewed the ancient bonds by which they were united before the time of that Ferdinand, of "crown with crown, nation with nation, and man with man." He brought the Spanish Court by degrees to have an affection for the House of France; its Ministers not to have the least diffidence with regard to the renunciations made by Maria-Theresa and Anne of Austria, and the King himself to waver between his own House and that of Bourbon. He was therefore the *primum mobile* of the greatest revolution both in the administration and the minds of the people. But this change was as yet at a considerable distance.

The Emperor employed entreaties and threats. The King of France represented his rights, but without venturing to ask the entire succession for his grandson. His only measure was to flatter the dying King. The Moors besieged Ceuta. Immediately the Marquis of Harcourt made an offer of ships and troops to Charles, who seemed sensible of the kindness; but the Queen, his wife, was alarmed at it; she feared lest her husband might be too grateful for the favour, and coldly declined the proffer.

The Council of Madrid were as yet undetermined which side to take; and Charles II. who was every day drawing nearer to his grave, was in equal uncertainty. Leopold in a pique recalled his Ambassador, the Count d' Harrach, but soon afterwards sent him back again; and the hopes in favour of the House of Austria began to be revived. The King of Spain wrote to the Emperor, that he would chuse the Archduke for his successor; upon which the French King menacing in his turn, assembled an army on the frontiers of Spain, and the Marquis of Harcourt was recalled from his embassy to command these forces. There remained then only an Officer of foot at the Court of Madrid, who had served as Secretary to the embassy, and was now appointed Resident,

as De Torcy tells us. Thus the dying King, threatened alternately by those who pretended to the succession, and perceiving that the hour of his death would be that of a war, and that his dominions were likely to be soon torn in pieces, drew towards his end comfortless, irresolute, and involved in inquietudes.

In this violent crisis of affairs, Cardinal Portocarrere, Archbishop of Toledo, the Count of Monterey, and others of the Spanish grandees determined to save their country, and joined together to prevent the dismembering of the monarchy. Their hatred to the Austrian government fortified in their breasts the reasons of state, and rendered the Court of France essential service, without her knowing it. They persuaded Charles II. to prefer the grandson of Louis XIV. to a Prince at so great a distance, and incapable of defending them. This was not an invalidation of the solemn renunciations of the Spanish crown made by the mother and wife of Louis XIV. because these had been made only to prevent the elder sons of their descendants from uniting the two kingdoms under one head; and here it was not an elder son that was chosen. It was at the same time doing justice to the rights of blood, and preserving the Spanish monarchy from a partition.

The scrupulous King caused his Divines to be consulted, who were all of opinion with the Council; and, ill as he was, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Pope Innocent XII. proposing the same case to him. The Pope, who thought the liberty of Italy depended upon the weakening of the House of Austria, wrote back to the King, "That the laws of Spain, and the policy of Christendom, required of him to give the preference to the House of France." This letter of the Pope's was dated July 16, 1700. He treated this case of conscience proposed by a Sovereign, as an affair of state; while the King of Spain made a case of conscience of an important affair of state.

Louis XIV. was informed of these transactions by Cardinal Janson, who then resided at Rome, and this was all the share the Court of Versailles had in this event.

Six months had passed without there being any Ambassador at the Court of Madrid. This was perhaps a fault; but perhaps also this very neglect secured the Spanish monarchy to the House of France. The King of Spain then made his third will, which was for a long time thought to be the only one, and by which he bequeathed all his dominions to the Duke of Anjou *.

Oct. 2,
1699.

It was generally thought in Europe, that this will of Charles II. had been dictated at Versailles. The dying King consulted only the interest of his kingdom, and the wishes and even fears of his people; for the French King had ordered his troops to advance to the frontiers, in order to secure to himself a part only of the inheritance, at the time the dying King determined to leave him the whole. Nothing is more true, than that the reputation of Louis XIV. and the dread of his power, were the only negociators that consummated this great revolution.

Charles of Austria, after having signed the ruin of his house, and the aggrandizement of that of France, languished about a month longer, when he ended at length, at the age of thirty-nine, the obscure life he had led on the throne. It may perhaps not be altogether useless towards giving an insight into the human mind, to mention, that this monarch, a few months before his death, caused the tombs of his father, his mother, and his first wife, Maria-Louisa of Orleans, to the poisoning of whom he was suspected to have been privy †, to be opened at the Escorial, and kissed the remains of their dead bodies. In this he either followed the example of some of the

Nov. 1,
1700.

* Some memoirs tell us that Cardinal Portocarrero prevailed on the King to sign this will when he was dying, and gave us a long speech which the prelate made to this monarch, to engage him to comply with his request. But it is easily perceived that every thing had been prepared and disposed for this, in the month of July preceding. Besides, who could know what Cardinal Portocarrero said to the King, when they were in private together? *Voltaire.*

† See the Chapter of Anecdotes. *Ibid.*

ancient Kings of Spain, or was willing to accustom himself to the horrors of death, or from a secret superstition thought that opening these tombs would retard the hour in which he was to be carried to his own.

This prince was born as weak in mind as body; and this weakness had spread itself throughout his dominions. It is the fate of monarchies to have their prosperity depend upon the character of a single man. Charles II. had been brought up in such profound ignorance, that when the French were besieging Mons, he thought that place had belonged to the King of England. He neither knew whereabouts Flanders lay, nor what part of it belonged to himself*. This King left the Duke of Anjou all his dominions, without knowing what he had bequeathed him.

His will was kept so secret, that the Count d'Harcourt, the Emperor's Ambassador, still flattered himself that the Archduke would be acknowledged his successor. He waited a long time for the issue of the great Council which was held immediately upon the King's death. At length seeing the Duke of Abrantes coming towards him with open arms, he immediately concluded that the Archduke was King, when the Duke embracing him, accosted him thus: *Vengo ad despedirme de la casa de Austria*: "I am come to take my leave of the House of Austria."

Thus, after two hundred years of war and negotiations for some few frontier towns of the Spanish dominions, the House of France, by the single stroke of a pen, was put in possession of the whole monarchy, without treaties, without intrigues, and even without having entertained hopes of the succession. We thought ourselves obliged to bring to light the simple truth of a fact which has till now been obscured by so many statesmen and historians, led away by their own prejudices, and by appearances that are almost always fallacious. What we find related in a number of books, concerning the sums of money distributed by the Marshal d'Harcourt,

* See Torrey's Memoirs, vol. I. page 12:

and the bribing of the Spanish Ministers to get this will signed, may be ranked in the number of political lies and popular errors. But the King of Spain, in chusing for his successor the grandson of a King who had so long been his enemy, had always in view the consequences that naturally follow from a notion of a general equilibrium of power. The Duke of Anjou, Louis XIV's grandson, was called to the Spanish succession, only because he could never pretend to the crown of France; and in this very will, by which, in default of younger children of the blood of Louis XIV. the Archduke Charles (afterwards the Emperor Charles VI.) is called to the succession, it is expressly declared, that the Empire and Spain shall never be united under one sovereign.

Louis XIV. might still have abided by the treaty of partition, which was advantageous to France, or he might have accepted the will, which was to the interest of his family. This matter was actually in debate, in an extraordinary Council. The Nov. 11,
1700. Chancellor Pontchartrain and the Duke of Beauvilliers were of opinion to abide by the treaty, as foreseeing the dangers of having a new war to support. Louis foresaw them also; but he was accustomed not to fear them. He therefore accepted the will; and as he was coming out of the Council, meeting the Princess of Conti with Madame the Dutchess, "Well," said he to them, smiling, "on which side are you?" and then, without giving them time to reply, "Which-soever side I take, added he, I am sure to be blamed *."

* Notwithstanding the just contempt in which the pretended Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon are held throughout France, we think it necessary to acquaint strangers that every thing there said relating to this will, is intirely false. The author pretends, that when the Spanish Ambassador presented the will of Charles II. to Louis, that Prince replied, "We shall consider of it." Certainly the King never made use of so extraordinary an expression; since by the Marquis de Torcy's confession, the Spanish Ambassador had not his audience of Louis XIV. till after the holding of the Council in which the will was accepted.

The Minister who then resided in Spain from the French Court, was named Blécour, and not Belcour; and the Spanish Ambassador's name was Castel dos Rios, and not Rius. The answer made by the King to this Ambassador, never had existence but in this idle romance. *Voltaire.*

The actions of Kings, though often flattered, are likewise so liable to strictures, that the King of England himself underwent the reproaches of his *Parliament*, and his Ministers were prosecuted, for having been concerned in the treaty of partition. The English, who reason better than any other nation, but who frequently suffer the rage of party spirit to extinguish their judgment, exclaimed at once both against William, who had made this treaty, and against Louis, who broke it.

Europe at first seemed struck with a lethargy of surprise and inaction when it saw the Spanish monarchy become subject to France, whose rival it had been for above three hundred years. Louis XIV. seemed the most fortunate and powerful monarch in the world. He saw himself, at the age of sixty-two, surrounded with a numerous posterity, and one of his grandsons going to rule under his guardianship the kingdom of Spain, America, one-half of Italy, and the Low Countries. The Emperor as yet could do nothing but complain.

King William, now fifty-two years of age, become old and feeble, no longer appeared the formidable enemy he had been. He could not make war, without the consent of his *Parliament*; and Louis had taken care to send sums of money over to England, with a view to obtain an influence in that assembly. William and the Dutch, not being strong enough to declare themselves, addressed Philip V. as lawful King of Spain. Louis XIV. was secure of the Elector of Bavaria, father of the young Prince lately deposed, who had been appointed to the succession. This Elector, who governed the Netherlands in the name of the deceased King, Charles II. immediately secured the possession of Flanders to Philip V. and left a passage open for the French army through his electorate to the capital of Germany, in case the Emperor should venture to declare war. The Elector of Cologne, brother to the Elector of Bavaria, was as intimately connected with France as his brother; and these two princes seemed to adopt the most prudent measure, the party of the House of Bourbon being at that time

time without comparison the strongest. The Duke of Savoy, already father-in-law to the Duke of Burgundy, was going to be the same to the King of Spain, and was to have the command of the French forces in Italy. It was hardly imagined then, that the father of the Dutchess of Burgundy and the Queen of Spain would ever make war upon his two sons-in-law.

The Duke of Mantua, who had been sold to France by his Minister, now sold himself, and received a French garrison into Mantua. The Dutchy of Milan acknowledged Louis's grandson without hesitation; and even Portugal, who was naturally the enemy of Spain, immediately joined with it. In a word, from Gibraltar to Antwerp, and from the Danube to Naples, all seemed to be at the devotion of the Bourbons. The King was so elated with his prosperity, that talking with the Duke of Rochefoucault, one day, on the subject of the proposals which the Emperor made him at that time, he expressed himself thus: "You will find them still more insolent than you have been told *."

King William, who to the hour of his death continued an enemy to the aggrandisement of Louis XIV. promised the Emperor to arm England and Holland in his cause: he likewise engaged the Court of Denmark in his interest; and at length signed at the Hague that league which had been already set on foot against the House of France. The King, however, was not much Sept. 16,
1701. surprised at this; and depending upon the divisions he hoped to cause in the English Parliament by the money he had sent over, and still more on the united forces of France and Spain, seemed to despise his enemies.

At this time King James died at St. Germain's. Louis might on this occasion have paid what appeared due to decency and good politics, in not too hastily acknowledging the Prince of Wales † for King of England, after having already acknowledged William's title by

* At least this is what we find related by Mr. Dangeau, in his manuscript Memoirs, though they are not always strictly true. — *Voltaire*.

† The Pretender.

the peace of Ryſwick. He was at firſt determined, from an emotion of pure generoſity, to give the ſon of King James the conſolation of a title and dignity which his unfortunate father had bore till the hour of his death, and which the treaty of Ryſwick had not deprived him of. The principal members of the Council, however, were of a different opinion. The Duke of Beauvilliers eſpecially ſet forth, in the moſt eloquent manner, the many miſteries of war which were likely to be the conſequence of ſo dangerous a magnanimity. This nobleman was Governor to the Duke of Burgundy, and in every thing thought like that Prince's Preceptor, the famous Arch-biſhop of Cambray, ſo well known by his humane maxims of government, and the preference he gave to the intereſts of the people over the grandeur of the monarch. The Marquis de Torcy enforced as a politician, what the Duke de Beauvilliers had advanced as a citizen. He repreſented how impolitic it was to incenſe the Engliſh nation by ſo raſh a ſtep. Louis yielded to the opinion of his Council, and reſolved not to acknowledge the ſon of James II. as King.

The ſame day Mary of Modena, widow to the deceased James, went to Madame de Maintenon's apartment, to ſpeak with Louis XIV. She with a flood of tears conjured him not to treat her ſon, herſelf, and the memory of a King he had proteſted, with ſo much indignity as to reſuſe an empty title, the only remains of all their former greatneſs: adding, that as her ſon had always received the honours of a Prince of Wales, he ought to be treated as King, after the death of his father; and that even William himſelf could not complain of this, provided he was left to enjoy his uſurpation. Theſe arguments ſhe ſtrengthened with another which concerned the glory of Louis XIV. by repreſenting to him, that whether he acknowledged the ſon of James II. or not, the Engliſh would nevertheless declare war againſt France, and that he would only feel the mortification of having ſacrificed the nobleneſs of his ſentiments to a fruitleſs precaution. Theſe repreſentations and tears were ſeconded by Madame de Maintenon. The King
reſumed

resumed his former sentiments, and the noble resolution of protecting distressed Kings to the utmost of his power. In a word, James III. was acknowledged, the same day that it had been determined in Council not to acknowledge him.

The Marquis de Torcy has frequently owned this remarkable anecdote. He has not indeed inserted it in his manuscript memoirs, because (as he himself observes) he thought it was not to the honour of his master, to be prevailed upon by two women to alter a resolution which had been taken in his Council. Some English gentlemen * have told me, that had it not been for this step, their Parliament might not perhaps have taken part in the dispute between the Houtès of Austria and Bourbon; but that the acknowledging as their King a person proscribed by them, appeared an insult offered to the nation, and an attempt towards exercising an absolute authority over Europe †. The instructions given by the City of London to its Representatives, contain the following violent expressions ‡: “The King of France “has created a Viceroy for himself, in conferring the “title of our Sovereign on a pretended Prince of Wales. “Our condition would be unhappy, indeed, if we were “to be governed by the will of a Prince, who has employed fire, sword, and the galleys, to destroy the Pro-

* Among others, my Lord Bolingbroke, who in his *Memoirs* has since justified all that the Author of the *Age of Louis XIV.* advances. See his *Letters*, Vol. II. page 56. M. de Torcy is of the same opinion in his *Memoirs*: he says, Vol. I. page 164, “The King’s resolution “to acknowledge the Prince of Wales for King of England, wrought a “change in the dispositions which a great part of the nation shewed “towards preserving the peace, &c.” Lord Bolingbroke says, in his letters, that Louis XIV. acknowledged the Pretender “through female importunities.” These are sufficient proofs how industriously the Author of the *Age of Louis XIV.* has sought after the truth; and with what candour he has related it. *Voltaire.*

Madame de Caylus, niece to Madame de Maintenon, tells the same story in her *Memoirs*. *Translator.*

† It was somewhat Papal, to be sure. *Ibid.*

‡ Were they not justifiable, both from their own resentments, and the character of Louis? *Ibid.*

“testants of his own kingdom. Would he have more
“humanity for us than for his own subjects?”

William expressed himself to his Parliament with the same strength. The new King James was declared guilty of high-treason; a Bill of Attainder was enacted against him, that is to say, he was condemned to death, as his grandfather was; and it was in virtue of this Act that a price was afterwards set upon his head. Such was the fate of this unhappy family, whose misfortunes were not yet exhausted! It must be acknowledged, that this was opposing barbarity to the generosity of the King of France*.

It appears more probable, that the English would have declared war against Louis XIV. even though he had refused the empty title of King to the son of James II. His grandson being in possession of the Spanish monarchy, seemed alone sufficient to arm all the maritime Powers against him. A few Members of the House of Commons bribed to favour his cause, could never have opposed the torrent of the nation. It remains to be decided, then, whether Madame de Maintenon did not judge better than the French Council, and whether Louis XIV. was not in the right to indulge the pride and sensibility of his soul?

The Emperor Leopold first began this war in Italy, in the spring of the year 1701. Italy has always been the favourite object in all the concerns of the Emperors. He knew his arms could more easily penetrate here through the Tirolese and the Venetian State; for Venice, though neuter in appearance, still inclined more to the House of Austria than to that of France; and being also obliged by treaties to allow a passage to the German troops, she only fulfilled her engagements with the less reluctance.

The Emperor, before he ventured to attack Louis XIV. on the side of Germany, waited till the Germanic body began to stir in his favour. He had correspond-

* It must not be acknowledged that there was either *barbarity* or *generosity* in the whole affair. *Translator.*

ents and a party in Spain; but these advantages could turn to no account, unless one of the sons of Leopold was on the spot to avail himself of them, and he could not be transported thither but with the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets. King William hastened the preparations. His soul, more active than ever in a feeble and almost lifeless body, set every thing in motion; not so much to serve the House of Austria, as to humble Louis XIV.*.

He was to have headed the armies himself, at the beginning of the year 1702: but death prevented his design. A fall from his horse completed the disorder of his enfeebled organs, and a slight fever carried him off. He died without making any reply to what the English clergymen † who attended at his bed-side said to him in relation to their religion, and shewed no other concern but for the affairs of Europe. March 16,
1702.

He left behind him the character of a great politician, though he was never popular; and a formidable General, though he had lost so many battles. Always circumspect in his conduct, and spirited only in the day of battle, he reigned peaceably in England, merely because he did not attempt to be absolute. He was called the English Stadtholder, and the Dutch King. He understood all the European languages, but spoke none of them well, as he had a much greater share of

* What an invidious motive is given here! A spice of French morality this. *Translator.*

† Our author is mistaken. Instead of shewing any solicitude about the affairs of Europe, he paid little or no attention to the Earl of Albemarle, just arrived from Holland, when he explained to him in private the posture of affairs upon the Continent: all the answer he made was, *Je tire vers ma fin*, "My life draws near a close." He conferred on spiritual matters with Archbishop Tennyson and Bishop Burnet, and received the Sacrament with great devotion.

As this is a fact upon record, the above assertion appears rather a misrepresentation than a mistake. Perhaps M. Voltaire might imagine that infidelity would receive a sanction, by having a monarch ranked under its banners. But Kings may *sometimes* be as weak and wicked as any of their subjects. *Ibid.*

reflection than imagination. His character was in every thing the very reverse of that of Louis XIV; gloomy, reserved, severe, dry, and silent, as much as Louis was affable. He hated women * as much as Louis loved them. Louis made war like a King; William like a foldier. He had fought against the Great Condé and against Luxemburg, leaving the victory doubtful between Condé and him at Senef; and quickly repairing his derents at Fleurus, Steinkirk, and Nerveinde. He was as proud as Louis; but his pride was of that harsh and supercilious kind, which rather disgusts than awes. If the fine arts flourished in France by the patronage of the King, they were neglected in England, where they addicted themselves to nothing but a harsh and restless sort of politics, agreeable to the nature of the Prince.

Those who admire most the merit of having defended his country, and the advantage of having acquired a kingdom without any natural right to it, and of maintaining a rule over a people without being beloved by them; or having governed Holland with all the authority of a Sovereign, without enslaving it; or having been the soul and head of one-half of Europe; of possessing the talents of a General with the courage of a foldier; of never having persecuted any one on the score of religion; of having a contempt for the superstitions of mankind; of having been simple and moderate in his manners; such, I say, will doubtless give the title of Great to William, rather than to Louis. But those who are more delighted with the pleasures and gaiety of a brilliant Court, with magnificence, with the protection given to the

* Burnet hints the reason,

The Memoirs of M. Dangeau are quoted for King William's having said once, "The King of France ought not to hate me, for I imitate him in many things, I fear him in more, and admire him in all." But such a speech is not of the character of King William. It is not to be found in any of the English memoirs or anecdotes relating to that Prince; nor is it possible he could ever have said he had copied Louis; his whole manners, taste, and conduct, both in war and peace, were in every thing opposite to those of that monarch. *Le tairé.*

the arts, with a zeal for the public good *, a thirst for glory, and a talent for reigning ; who are more struck with that authoritative manner with which his Ministers and Generals added whole Provinces to France, on an order from their King ; who are besides astonished to see a single State make head against so many Powers ; who have greater esteem for a King of France that procures the kingdom of Spain for his grandson, than for a son-in-law who dethrones his father-in-law ; in a word, those who admire more the protector, than the persecutor, of King James ; such will give Louis the preference.

* In what sense Louis XIV. could be said to be zealous for the public good, I cannot conceive ; he whose criminal ambition impoverished his kingdom, and reduced his subjects to misery. As to his talent for reigning, we shall only observe, that, after Richelieu had reduced the power of the nobles, and Colbert had enriched the kingdom with commerce, as well as established the plan of internal government, it was a very easy matter to maintain authority and order in a nation of slaves, over-awed by a standing army of above four hundred thousand banditti, trained to blood and rapine. *Granger*

C H A P. XVIII.

The memorable war for the succession of the Monarchy of Spain. Conduct of the Ministers and Generals till the year 1703.

TO William III. succeeded the Princess Anne, daughter to King James by the daughter of Counsellor Hyde, afterwards Chancellor, and one of the principal men of the kingdom. She was married to the Prince of Denmark, who ranked but as the first subject of the realm. As soon as she came to the crown, she adopted all the measures of King William, though she had been at open variance with him during his life. These measures were those of the nation. In other kingdoms, a Prince obliges his people to enter implicitly into all his schemes; but in England a King must enter into those of his people.

The dispositions made by England and Holland for placing, if possible, the Archduke Charles, son to the Emperor, on the throne of Spain, or at least to oppose the establishment of the Bourbon family, merits, perhaps, the attention of all ages.

The Dutch on their part were to keep an army of one hundred and two thousand men in pay, either in garrison or in the field. This was much more than the whole Spanish monarchy could furnish at that time. A province of merchants, who, thirty years before, had been almost totally subdued in the space of two months, could now do more than the masters of Spain, Naples, Flanders, Peru, and Mexico. England promised to furnish forty thousand men, besides its fleets. It happens in most alliances, that, in the continuance of them, the parties concerned fall short of their stipulations; but England, on the contrary, furnished fifty thousand men, the second year, instead of forty; and, towards the latter part of the war, kept in pay, on the frontiers of France, in Spain, Italy, Ireland, America, and on board her fleet, near two hundred thousand fighting men,
soldiers

soldiers and sailors, partly her own troops, partly those of her allies; an expence almost incredible to those who reflect, that England, properly so called, is not above one third so large as France, and has not one-half of the current coin; but which will appear probable in the eyes of those who know what commerce and credit can do. The English always bore the greatest share of the burthen in this alliance, while the Dutch insensibly lessened theirs: for, after all, the Republic of the States-General is only an illustrious trading company; whereas England is a fertile country, a commercial and a war-like nation.

The Emperor was to furnish ninety thousand men, exclusive of the succours of the Empire, and those allies which he hoped to detach from the House of Bourbon; and yet the grandson of Louis XIV. already reigned peaceably at Madrid, and Louis, at the beginning of the century, was at the zenith of his power and glory. But those who penetrated into the political springs of the several Courts of Europe, and especially that of France, began to fear some revolt. Spain collected under the last Kings of the race of Charles V. became still more so during the early part of the reign of the Bourbons. The House of Austria had partisans in several provinces of this monarchy. Catalonia seemed ready to shake off the new yoke, and acknowledge the Archduke Charles. It was impossible but that Portugal must, soon or later, take part with the House of Austria. Its obvious policy was to foment a civil war among the Spaniards, its natural enemies, which must turn to the advantage of Lisbon. The Duke of Savoy, lately become father-in-law to the new King of Spain, and linked to the Bourbons by the ties of blood as well as treaties, seemed already displeased with his sons-in-law. Fifty thousand crowns a-month, afterwards encreased to two hundred thousand franks, did not appear a sufficient consideration to bind him to their interest. He wanted at least Montferrat, Mantua, and a part of the Dutchy of Milan. The haughty behaviour he met with from the French Generals, and from the Ministry at Versailles, made him
 appre-

apprehensive, and not without reason, that he should soon be thought of little consequence by his two sons-in-law, who kept his dominions surrounded on every side. He had already suddenly broke off his connections with the Empire in favour of France; and it seemed more than probable, that, finding himself so little regarded by the latter, he would change sides the first opportunity.

As to the Court of Louis XIV. and his kingdom, persons of a quick discernment already perceived a change in them, which is only visible to duller intellects when the decline is far advanced. The King, now past three-score, was grown more retired, and consequently knew less of mankind; he saw things at too great a distance, with eyes less discerning, and dazzled with a long series of prosperity. Madame de Maintenon, with all the estimable qualities she was mistress of, had neither the strength, courage, nor greatness of mind, requisite for supporting the glory of a State. She was instrumental in procuring the management of the finances in 1698, and the department of war in 1701, for her creature Chamillard, who was more of the honest man than the Minister, and had ingratiated himself with the King by his discreet conduct, when employed at St. Cyr. But, notwithstanding this outward appearance of modesty, he had the misfortune to think himself capable of bearing those two burdens at once, which Colbert and Louvois had with difficulty supported separately. The King, depending upon his own experience, thought that he could successfully direct his Ministers; and when Louvois died, he said to King James, "I have lost a good Minister; but neither your affairs nor mine shall go the worse for it." When he made choice of Barbefieux to succeed Louvois, as Secretary of War, he said to him, "I formed your father, and will form you *." He said as much to Chamillard. A King who had conducted public affairs so long, and with such success, seemed to have

* See the manuscript memoirs of M. Dangeau. They are referred to here, because this anecdote, which is mentioned there, has been often confirmed by Marechal Feuilleade, son-in-law to Chamillard, Secretary of State. *Videtur.*

a right to speak in this manner. But a confidence in his abilities deceived him.

In regard to the Generals whom he employed, they were frequently limited by the strict orders they received from him; like Ambassadors who must not depart from their instructions. He and Chamillard directed the operations of the campaign in Madame de Maintenon's closet. If a General was desirous of executing any great undertaking, he was frequently obliged to dispatch a courier to Court for permission, who at his return found the opportunity lost, or the General beaten.

Military rewards and dignities were profusely lavished, under Chamillard's administration. Numbers of young persons, hardly fit to be taken from school, were allowed to purchase regiments, which, with the enemy, was the reward of twenty years service. This difference was very sensibly felt on many occasions, in which an experienced Officer might have prevented a defeat. The Crosses of the Knights of St. Louis, a reward invented by the King in 1693, and then the object of emulation among the Officers, were exposed to sale, in the beginning of Chamillard's Ministry, and were to be bought for fifty crowns a-piece, at any of the War offices. Military discipline, the soul of service, which had been so strictly kept up by Louvois, had degenerated into a fatal remissness: the companies were not complete in their number of men, nor the regiments in their Officers. The facility with which such deficiencies might be compromised with the Commissaries, and the inattention of the Minister, produced this disorder. Hence arose a defect, which, supposing an equality in other respects, must infallibly occasion the loss of all their battles. For, to have an equal extent of front with that of the enemy, they were obliged to oppose weak battalions to strong ones. The magazines were no longer so well provided, nor at such convenient distances, nor were the arms so well tempered as formerly. Those therefore who perceived these defects in the administration, and knew what Generals France had to deal with, trembled for her, even

in the midst of those first advantages which seemed to promise her greater success than ever*.

The first General who gave a check to the superiority of the French arms, was a Frenchman, for so we should call Prince Eugene, though he was the grandson of Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy. His father, the Count de Soissons, had settled in France, where he was Lieutenant-General of the King's armies, and Governor of Champagne, and married Olimpia Mancini, one of the nieces of Cardinal Mazarin. From this match, so unfortunate in other respects, was born at Paris this Prince, who afterwards proved so dangerous an adversary to Louis XIV. and was so little known to him in his youth. He was called at first in France by the name of the Chevalier de Carignan. He afterwards took the *petit-collet*, and was stiled the Abbé of Savoy. It is said that he asked the King for a regiment, and met with a denial, accompanied with some contumely. Not being able to succeed with Louis XIV. he went to serve the Emperor against the Turks, in Hungary, in 1683, together with the two Princes of Conti. The King sent an order to the Princes of Conti, and all those who had accompanied them in the expedition, to return home. The Abbé of Savoy was the only one

* The compiler of the *Memoirs* of Madame de Maintenon says, that, towards the end of the foregoing war, the Marquis de Nangis, Colonel of the King's regiment, told him, that he had no way to stop the desertion of his soldiers, but by knocking the deserters on the head. It is worth while to remark, that this Marquis de Nangis, afterwards a Marshal, was not Colonel of the King's regiment till the year 1711. *Voltaire*.

The same author abuses the regiment of guards, whom he calls *Pierrots*: he seems not to know how they distinguished themselves at Valcour, Steinkirk, Nérvinde, and at almost every siege. History should not be a satire against any body of men, or private persons. *Translator*.

All these circumstances imply, that the former prosperity of Louis was not owing to his own personal talents, but entirely to the great abilities of his old Ministers and Generals, who were now no more. *Ibid*.

who

who refused to obey the mandate*. He had before declared that he had renounced France for ever. The King, when he was told of this, said to his Courtiers, "Don't you think I have had a great loss?" and they gave it as their opinion, that the Abbé of Savoy would always be a wild fellow, and fit for nothing. They founded their judgments on certain fallies of youth, by which we are never to judge of men.

This Prince, who was held in so much contempt at the Court of France, was born with all the qualifications which form the hero in war, and the great man in peace: he had a sound judgment and a lofty mind, and that resolution which is requisite both in the field and the cabinet. He was guilty of faults, as all Generals have been, but these were lost in the number of his great actions. He shook the greatness of Louis XIV. and the Ottoman Power: he governed the Empire; and, in the course of his victories and ministry, shewed an equal contempt for vain-glory and riches. He cherished, and even protected learning, as much as could be done at the Court of Vienna. At this time he was about thirty-seven years of age, and had the experience of his own victories over the Turks, and the faults which he had seen committed by the Imperialists in the late wars, in which he had served against France.

He entered Italy by the city of Trent, in the territories of Venice, with thirty thousand men, and with full liberty to employ them as he pleased. The Court, at

* There were at that time several young Lords of the Court, who wrote indecent letters to the Princes of Conti, in which they were wanting in the respect they owed the King, and in complaisance to Madame de Maintenon, who was then only a favourite. These letters were intercepted, and the young people disgraced for some time.

The compiler of the Memoirs of Maintenon is the only one who asserts, that the Duke de la Rocheguyon said to his brother, the Marquis de Liancourt, "Brother, you deserve death, if your letters are intercepted." In the first place, no one deserves death for having an offensive letter intercepted, but for having wrote it; and in the next place, no one deserves death for writing a jest. It is evident that these young Lords did not deserve death, because they were all taken into favour again. All these supposititious speeches, which are so lightly repeated in the world, and afterwards collected and published by obscure and mercenary writers, are undeserving of belief. *Voltaire.*

first, forbade Marshal Catinat to oppose the passage of Prince Eugene, either because they would not commit the first act of hostility, which is bad policy when one is properly prepared, or else because they would not disoblige the Venetians, who were however less to be feared than the German army.

This first mistake in the Court occasioned Marshal Catinat to commit others. A person rarely succeeds, who follows a plan not his own. Besides, 'tis well known how difficult a matter it is, in a country cut through with rivers and streams of water, to prevent a skilful enemy from passing them. Prince Eugene to a great depth of design added a promptitude of execution. The nature of the ground likewise on the banks of the Adige, occasioned the enemy's army to be drawn up more compact, while that of the French was more extended. Catinat was for marching to meet the enemy; but the Lieutenants-General raised difficulties, and formed cabals against him. He had the weakness not to make himself be obeyed. The mildness of his disposition led him to commit this great error.

Eugene began by forcing the post of Carpi,
 July 9, near the White Canal, which was defended by
 1701. St. Fremont, who, by neglecting the General's orders in some respects, occasioned his own defeat. After this success, the German army had the command of all the country between the Adige and the Adda, and penetrated into the Bressan, while Catinat retreated behind the Oglio. Several good Officers approved of this retreat, which, in their opinion, was a very prudent one; to which we may further add, that the failure of the provisions and ammunition promised by the Ministry, rendered it absolutely necessary. The Courtiers, and especially those who had hopes of succeeding Catinat in the command, represented his behaviour as a scandal to the French name. Marshal Villeroi persuaded them that he could retrieve the honour of the nation. The confidence with which he spoke, and the affection the King had for him, procured him the command in Italy; and Marshal Catinat, notwithstanding his former victories

victories of Staffarde and Marfailles, was obliged to serve under him.

The Marshal Duke de Villeroi was son to the King's Governor, had been brought up with his royal master, and always enjoyed a principal share of his favour: he had been with him in all his campaigns, and made one in all his parties of pleasure: he was of an agreeable and engaging figure, extremely brave, a very worthy man, a good friend, sincere in his connections, and magnificent in all his actions*. But his enemies said he was more taken up, after he came to be General, with the honour and pleasure of commanding, than with the schemes of a great Captain; and reproached him with being so much wedded to his own opinion, as never to listen to the advice of others.

He now repaired to Italy, to give his orders to Catinat, and disgust the Duke of Savoy. His behaviour shewed that he thought a favourite of Louis XIV. at the head of so powerful an army, was infinitely superior to a Prince. He never called the Duke by any other name than *Monsieur de Savoy*, and treated him like a common General in the pay of France, and not like a sovereign, and master of the barriers which Nature has placed between France and Italy. In a word, the friendship of this Prince was not regarded so much as was necessary. The Court thought that fear was the surest knot to bind him; and that a French army surround-

* The Author, who in his younger days had frequently the honour of seeing this Nobleman, thinks himself authorized to declare, that the above is his real character. La Beaumelle, who abuses both Marshal Villeroi and Marshal Villars, and many others, in his notes on the Age of Louis XIV. speaks thus of the late Marshal Duke of Villeroi, page 102, vol. III. of the Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon: "Villeroi the vain-glorious, who used to amuse the women with so easy an air, and would ask his servants with so much arrogance, 'Is there any money put into my pockets?' How can any person put into the mouth, I will not say of a great Nobleman, but even of any well-bred man, words which were but once said to have been spoken by a Financier? How can he pretend to talk of so many great men of the past age, as if he had seen them all? Or, how can any one have the assurance to commit to writing such false, scurrilous, and absurd reports? *Vulgaire.*"

ing about six or seven thousand Piedmontese, was a sufficient pledge for his fidelity. Marshal Villeroi behaved to him as his equal in common intercourse, and his superior in the command.

The Duke of Savoy had the empty title of Generalissimo, but Marshal Villeroi was so in fact. He immediately gave orders for attacking Prince Eugene in the post of Chiari, near the Oglio. The General Officers were of opinion, that it was against all the rules of war to attack this post, for these essential reasons; that it was of no consequence; that the intrenchments were inaccessible; that nothing could be gained by forcing them; and that, if they failed, the reputation of the whole campaign would be lost. Villeroi, however, told the Duke of Savoy that he must march, and sent an Aid-de-camp to order Marshal Catinat, in his name, to begin the attack. Catinat made the messenger repeat the order to him three different times; then turning towards the Officers who were under his command, "Come on then, Gentlemen," said he, "we

Sept. 11, 1701. "must obey." They marched directly up to the intrenchments, and the Duke of Savoy, at the head of his troops, fought like a person

who had no subject of complaint against France. Catinat sought death every-where. He was wounded; nevertheless, on seeing the King's troops repulsed, and Marshal Villeroi issuing no order, he made a retreat; after which he quitted the army, and returned to Versailles, to give an account of his conduct to the King, without complaining of any one.

Prince Eugene always maintained his superiority over Marshal Villeroi. At length, in the heart of the winter, 1702, one day that the Marshal was sleeping in full security in Cremona, a pretty strong town, and provided with a very numerous garrison, he Feb. 2, 1702. found himself awakened with the noise of a discharge of small-arms. He rose in haste, mounted his horse, and the first thing he met with was a squadron of the enemy. The Marshal was immediately made prisoner, and led out of the town, without knowing any

any thing that had passed there, and unable to conceive the cause of so extraordinary an event. Prince Eugene was already in the town of Cremona. A Priest, named Bazzoli, Provost of St. Mary la Nova, had introduced the German troops through a common sewer. Four hundred men having been conveyed through this pass into the Priest's house, immediately slew the guards at the two gates, which were flung open, and Prince Eugene entered the city with four thousand men. All this was done before the Governor, who was a Spaniard, had the least suspicion, or Marshal Villeroi was awake. The whole affair was conducted with the greatest secrecy, order, and diligence. The Spanish Governor, on the first alarm, appeared in the street with a few soldiers, but was presently shot dead with a musket: all the General Officers were either killed or made prisoners, excepting Lieutenant-General Count de Revel, and the Marquis du Praslin. Chance, however, confounded the prudent measures of Prince Eugene.

It happened that the Chevalier d'Entragues was that day to review the regiment of marines, of which he was Colonel; and the soldiers were assembled by four o'clock in the morning at one of the extremities of the city, exactly at the time that Prince Eugene had entered at the other. D'Entragues began to run through the streets with his soldiers. He makes head against those of the enemy that came in his way, and by this means gives the rest of the garrison time to repair thither. The streets and squares were now filled with officers and soldiers, confusedly mingled together; some badly armed, and others half naked, without any commander, without order. They fight in confusion, and entrench themselves from street to street, and from square to square. Two Irish regiments, which formed part of the garrison, checked the efforts of the Imperialists. Never was greater art shewn in the surprize of a town, nor more valour in defending it.

The garrison consisted of about five thousand men. Prince Eugene had as yet introduced only four thousand. A large detachment of his army was to have joined them

by the bridge over the Po: the measures were well concerted, but another stroke of chance rendered them all fruitless. This bridge, which was guarded only by an hundred French soldiers, was to have been seized upon by the German cuirassiers, who were ordered to go and make themselves masters of it, the instant Prince Eugene entered the town. For this purpose, as they came in by the south gate, next to the common sewer, they were to go out into the country of Cremona, at the north part of the city, through the Po-gate, and then immediately make the best of their way to the bridge. As they were going through the city, the guide who conducted them was killed by a musket-shot from a window: the cuirassiers mistake one street for another, and wander out of their way. During this small interval of time, the Irish assemble at the Po-gate, attack and repulse the cuirassiers; and the Marquis du Praslin, seizing this lucky moment, orders the bridge to be broken down: the succours which the enemy expected cannot arrive, and the town is saved.

Prince Eugene, after having fought the whole day, and still keeping possession of the gate by which he entered, at length retired, carrying with him Marshal Villeroi, and most of the General Officers, prisoners; but disappointed of taking Cremona, which his activity and prudence, together with the negligence of the Generals, had once made him master of; and which chance, and the valour of the French and Irish troops, had snatched from him again.

Marshal Villeroi, who was extremely unhappy on this occasion, was condemned by the Courtiers at Versailles with all the severity and acrimony that his share of the royal favour, and the haughtiness of his character, which appeared to be vanity, could inspire. The King, who blamed without condemning him, provoked to find his choice so highly censured, suffered these words to escape him: "They abuse him because he is my favourite*," a term that he never before made use

* See Dangeau's Memoirs.

of in regard to any one. The Duke of Vendôme was immediately appointed to go and take the command in Italy.

The Duke of Vendôme, grandson to Henry IV. was, like him, intrepid, mild, beneficent, and humble; a stranger to hatred, envy, or revenge: he was haughty only among Princes, but condescending to every one else. He was the only General under whom the common soldiers were not led to fight from a sense of military duty, and that instinctive bravery, merely animal and mechanical, which obeys the orders of their Officers: they fought for the Duke of Vendôme; and would have laid down their lives to extricate him out of any difficulty into which his fiery genius sometimes hurried him. He was thought not to equal Prince Eugene in the coolness and depth of his designs, and the art of subsisting his troops. He was too apt to neglect little matters, and suffered military discipline to languish in his army: he sacrificed too much of his time to sleep and the pleasures of the table, as well as his brother. These indulgences put him more than once in danger of being taken prisoner: but on a day of action, he made amends for all these faults, by a presence of mind and discernment which seemed to be inspired by danger. These opportunities he was continually seeking, being not so well qualified for a defensive war as Prince Eugene, but fully equal to him in the offensive part.

The same disorder and negligence that he introduced into the army, were visible to a surprising degree in his household, and even in his own person. From his great aversion to shew, he contracted a cynical slovenliness almost unparalleled; and his disinterestedness, the most noble of all virtues, became in him a fault, by making him lose more through neglect of œconomy, than he would have expended in acts of bounty. He has been often known to want even common necessities. His brother, the Grand Prior, who commanded under him in Italy, had all his faults, which he carried to a still greater extent, and also made amends for by the same valour. It was surprising to see two Generals never rising from bed till four

four o'clock in the afternoon; and two Princes, grandsons to Henry IV. neglecting their persons in a manner that the meanest soldier would have been ashamed of.

What is still more surprising is, that mixture of activity and indolence with which Vendôme carried on so vigorous a war against Eugene; a war of artifice, surprises, marches, crossing of rivers, petty skirmishes often as fruitless as bloody, and murderous battles, in which both sides claimed the victory; such as that of

Aug. 15, 1702. Luzara, for which *Te Deum* was sung both at Paris and Vienna. Vendôme always came off conqueror, when he had not to contend with

Prince Eugene in person; but as soon as he appeared at the head of his troops, the French had no longer the advantage.

In the midst of these battles, and the sieges of so many towns and cities, private intelligence was brought

June 5, 1703. to Versailles, that the Duke of Savoy, grandson to a sister of Louis XIII. father-in-law to the Duke of Burgundy and Philip V. was going

to quit the Bourbon interest, and then actually in treaty with the Emperor. Every one was astonished, that he should at once leave two sons-in-law, and give up what appeared to be his true interest. But the Emperor had promised him all that his sons-in-law had refused him; Montferrat Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the Tanaro, with more money than he received from France. This money was to be furnished by England, for the Emperor had hardly sufficient to pay his troops. England, the richest of all the allies, contributed more than any of them towards the common cause.

Whether the Duke of Savoy shewed any regard to the laws of nature and nations, is a question in morality which has very little to do with the conduct of sovereigns*. The event, however, proved in the end,

* The law of nations will justify any Prince in renouncing an alliance, when he finds himself ill used by his Ally. Our author owns that the Duke of Savoy was treated with insolence by the Generals of France; and that the advantage of his kingdom was better consulted in his engagements with the Emperor. *Translator.*

that

that he was not at all wanting to the laws of policy, in the treaty he made; but he was deficient in another very essential point, in leaving his troops at the mercy of the French, while he was treating with the Emperor. The Duke of Vendôme ordered them to be disarmed. They were indeed no more than five thousand men, ^{Aug. 10} but this was no inconsiderable object to the Duke ^{1703.} of Savoy.

No sooner had the House of Bourbon lost this ally, than she heard that Portugal had likewise declared against her. Peter, King of Portugal, acknowledged the Archduke Charles for King of Spain. The Imperial Council, in the name of this Archduke, dismembered in favour of Peter II. a Monarchy, in which he was not as yet master of a single town; and, by one of those treaties which were never executed, ceded to him Vigo, Bayonne, Alcantara, Badajoz, a part of Estramadura, all the countries lying to the west of the river la Plata in America; in a word, he shared what he had not, in order to acquire what he could in Spain.

The King of Portugal, the Prince of Darmstadt, Minister to the Archduke, and the Admiral of Castile, his creature, implored even the assistance of the King of Morocco. They not only entered into a treaty with these barbarians for horses and corn, but stipulated likewise for a body of troops. The Emperor of Morocco, Muley Ismael, the most warlike and politic tyrant at that time in the Mahometan nation, would not send his troops but on such terms as were dangerous to Christendom, and shameful to the King of Portugal: he demanded a son of that King's as an hostage, together with a certain number of towns. The treaty did not take place; and the Christians tore one another to pieces with their own hands, without calling in the aid of barbarians. The assistance of Africa would not have done the House of Austria so much service as England and Holland did.

Churchill, Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Marlborough, declared General of the Confederate Armies of England and Holland, in the year 1702, proved as fatal

tal to the French greatness, as any man that had appeared for many ages. He was not one of those Generals to whom a Minister delivers the plan of the campaign in writing, and who, after having followed the orders he has received from the Cabinet at the head of his army, returns home to solicit the honour of being employed again. He at that time governed the Queen of England, both by the occasion she had for his services, and by the authority his wife had over her mind. He managed the Parliament by his powerful interest, and by that of the Treasurer Godolphin, whose son married one of his daughters. Thus having the direction of the Court, the Parliament, the War, and the Treasury, more a King than ever William had been, as great a Politician, and a much greater General, he exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the Allies. He possessed in a superior degree to any General of his time, that tranquil courage in the midst of tumult, and serenity of soul in danger, which the English call a cool head. It is perhaps to this qualification, the principal gift of Nature for a Commander, that the English were formerly indebted for their victories over the French in the fields of Poitiers, Cressy, and Agincourt.

Marlborough, who was indefatigable as a warrior, during the campaign, was no less active a negotiator in the winter. He went to the Hague, and visited all the Courts of Germany. He persuaded the Dutch to drain themselves to humble France. He roused the resentment of the Elector-Palatine. He flattered the pride of the Elector of Brandenburg, who wanted to be King, by holding the napkin to him at table, by which he drew from him a supply of between seven and eight thousand men. Prince Eugene, on his side, had no sooner finished one campaign, than he went to Vienna to make preparations for another. An army is certainly better supplied, where the General is likewise the Minister.

These two great men, who had sometimes the command jointly, sometimes separately, acted always in concert with each other. They had frequent conferences at the Hague with the Grand Pensionary Heinsius,

sus; and the Secretary Fagel, who governed the United Provinces with equal abilities, and better success, than the Barneveldts and De Wits. They, in conjunction, continually set the springs of one-half of Europe in play against the House of Bourbon; and the French Ministry was at that time too weak to oppose those combined forces long. The plan of their operations for the campaign was always kept an inviolable secret between them. They settled their designs amongst themselves, and did not intrust them even to those who were to second them, before the very instant of execution. Chamillard, on the contrary, being neither a politician, a warrior, nor even a good financier, and who yet acted as Prime-Minister, unable to form any plans of his own, was therefore obliged to apply to inferior people for their assistance. His secret was often divulged, even before he himself knew exactly what was to be done. Of this the Marquis de Feuquieres accuses him, with great justice; and Madame de Maintenon acknowledges in her letters, that she had made choice of a man who was not fit for the Ministry. This was one of the principal causes of the misfortunes which befel France.

Marlborough, as soon as he came to the command of the allied army in Flanders, shewed that he had learnt the art of war from the great Turenne, under whom he had formerly made his first campaigns as a volunteer. He was then known in the army only by the name of the handsome Englishman; but Turenne soon perceived that this handsome Englishman would one day be a great man. He began his command by raising several subaltern Officers in whom he discovered merit, and who were till then unknown, without confining himself to the order of military rank, which we in France call the *Order of the Roll**. He was sensible, that when preferment is only the consequence of seniority, all emulation must perish; and that an Officer is not always the better, for being the oldest. He presently formed men. He gained ground upon the French, with-

* A list of the Army, in which the dates of Commissions are noted.

out hazarding a battle. Ginkel, Earl of Athlone, the Dutch General, disputed the command with him the first month, and, before six weeks were at an end, was obliged to yield to him in every respect. The King of France sent his grandson the Duke of Burgundy against him, a wise and upright Prince, born to make a people happy. The Marshal de Boufflers, a man of indefatigable courage, commanded the army under the young Prince. But the Duke of Burgundy, after having seen several places taken before his face, and being obliged to retreat by the skilful marches of the English, returned to Versailles before the campaign was half over, leaving Boufflers to be a witness to Marlborough's successes, who took Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, and continued advancing, without losing the superiority a moment.

When Marlborough returned to London, at the close of this campaign, he received all the honours that could be bestowed either in a Monarchy or a Republic. He was created Duke by the Queen; and, what was still more flattering, received the thanks of the two Houses of Parliament, who sent deputies to compliment him at his own house.

However, there now arose a person who seemed likely to restore the fortunes of France. This was the Marshal Duke de Villars, then Lieutenant-general, and whom we have since seen, at the age of eighty-two, commander in chief of the armies of France, Spain, and Sardinia: a soldier full of bravery and confidence, who had himself been the architect of his own fortune, by his forwardness in transcending the mere line of his duty. He sometimes offended Louis XIV. and, what was still more hazardous, his Minister Louvois, by speaking to them with the same boldness with which he served. He was accused of not having a modesty becoming his courage. But at length it was seen that he had a genius formed for war, and to command Frenchmen. He had been greatly advanced within a few years, after having been left a long time unnoticed.

Never was there a man whose preferment created more jealousy, and with less reason. He was Marshal of France,

France, Duke and Peer, and Governor of Provence: but then he had saved the state; and others who had ruined it, or had no other claim but that of being courtiers, had met with as great rewards. He was even upbraided with the riches, though moderate, acquired by contributions in the enemy's country; a just reward for his valour and conduct; while those who had amassed fortunes of ten times the value, by the most scandalous methods, continued to possess them with the approbation of the Public. He did not begin to enjoy his fame till he was near eighty. It was necessary that he should have outlived the whole Court to have enjoyed it undisturbed.

It may not be amiss to acquaint the world with the reason of this injustice in mankind: it was owing to the want of address in Marshal Villars. He had not enough to make himself friends, though he possessed both integrity and understanding; nor to make himself esteemed, though he only spoke of himself as he deserved that others should say of him.

One day, when he was taking leave of the King to go and command the army, he said to him before the whole Court, "Sire, I am going to fight your Majesty's enemies, and leave you in the midst of mine." He said to the Courtiers of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of the Kingdom, who were all grown rich by that subversion of the State called System, "For my part, I never got any thing but by the enemies of my country." These expressions, in which there appeared the same courage as in his actions, were too humbling to those who were already sufficiently mortified at his good fortune.

At the beginning of the war he was one of the Lieutenant-generals who had the command of the detachments in Alsace. The Prince of Baden, at the head of the Imperial army, came to take Landau, defended by Melac for four months. The Prince made some progress. He had the advantages of numbers, of the ground, and the commencement of a successful campaign. His army was at that time in the Mountains of Brisgaw, which border upon the Black Forest; and this immense Forest

Foreſt ſeparated the Elector of Bavaria's army from the French. Catinat, who commanded in Straſſburg, had too much circumſpection to think of attacking the Prince of Baden at ſuch a diſadvantage; as in caſe of a repulſe the French army muſt infallibly be loſt, and Alſace laid open. Villars, who had reſolved to be Marſhal of France, or die in the attempt, hazarded what Catinat did not dare to undertake. He wrote to Court for permiſſion; and then marched towards the Imperialiſts at Friedlingen with an inferior force, and fought the battle of that name.

The horſe engaged in the plain: the French infantry climbed up to the top of the hill, and attacked the Ger-

Oct 14, man foot entrenched in the woods. I have
1702. more than once heard Marſhal Villars himſelf ſay, that after the battle was won, and he was marching at the head of his infantry, a voice was heard crying out, "We are cut off!" upon which the whole body immediately took flight. He ran up to them, crying out, "What is the matter, friends? We have gained the victory. Long live the King!" The ſoldiers, all pale and trembling, repeated, "Long live the King!" but began again to fly, as before. He declared that he never met with more difficulty than in rallying the conquerors, and that if only two of the enemy's regiments had ſhewed themſelves at that inſtant of general panic, the French would have been beaten: ſo frequently does the fate of battles depend upon chance.

The Prince of Baden, though he loſt three thouſand men, with all his cannon, was driven out of the field of battle, and purſued for two leagues through woods and deſiles, while, as a proof of his defeat, the fort of Friedlingen capitulated: nevertheleſs, he wrote to the Court of Vienna that he had gained the victory, and ordered *Te Deum* to be ſung, which was more ſhameful to him than even the loſs of the battle.

The French, recovered from their panic, proclaimed Villars Marſhal of France on the field of battle; and the

the King, a fortnight afterwards, confirmed the title which the soldiers had conferred on him.

Marshal Villars having afterwards joined the Elector of Bavaria with his victorious army, found him likewise a conqueror, gaining ground of the enemy, and in possession of the Imperial City of Ratibon, where the Diet of the Empire had lately vowed his destruction. April, 1703.

Villars was better qualified to serve his country in following his own genius, than in concert with a Prince. He carried, or rather dragged, the Elector across the Danube; but no sooner had they passed the river, than the Elector began to repent of what he had done, perceiving, that upon the least check he should be obliged to leave his dominions at the enemy's mercy. The Count of Styrum, at the head of near twenty thousand men, was in march to join the grand army under the Prince of Baden, near Donawert. The Marshal told the Elector that this must be prevented, by marching directly and attacking Styrum. The Elector, willing to temporize, replied, that he must confer with his Ministers and Generals. "Am not I your Minister and General?" answered Villars: "Do you want any other council but me, when you are to give battle?" The Prince, full of the danger which threatened his dominions, still kept back, and even grew angry with the General. "Well then, said Villars, if your Electoral Highness will not embrace this opportunity with your Bavarians, I will begin the battle with the French;" and immediately gave orders for the attack. The Prince was incensed*, and looked upon Villars as a madman, but was obliged to fight against his will. This was in the plains of Hochstet, near Donawert.

* All this may be found in the memoirs of the Marshal de Villars in manuscript, where I myself have seen every circumstance. The first volume of these memoirs in print are really his; the two others are by another hand, and somewhat different. *Voltaire.*

Sept. 20,
1703. After the first charge, there appeared another instance of the effect of chance in battles. The enemy's army and that of the French were both seized at the same time with a panic, and fled; and Marshal Villars saw himself left alone for some minutes on the field of battle: however, he rallied his troops, led them back to the charge, and gained the victory. Three thousand of the Imperialists were left dead on the field, and four thousand taken prisoners, with their cannon and baggage. The Elector made himself master of Augsburg. The road to Vienna was open, and it was even debated in the Emperor's Council, whether he should quit his capital.

The Emperor was excusable for his apprehensions; he was beaten every where. The Duke of Burgundy, with the Marshals Tallard and Vauban under him, had just taken Old Brisac; and Tallard had not only taken Landau, but had also defeated the Prince of Hesse, afterwards King of Sweden, near Spire, as he was attempting to relieve the town. If we believe the Marquis de Feuquieres, (a most excellent Officer and complete judge in the military art, though rather too severe in his judgments) Marshal Tallard won the battle by a fault and a mistake. However, he wrote thus to the King from the field of battle: "Sire, your Majesty's army has taken more standards and colours, than it has lost of private men."

In this action there was more execution done by the bayonet, than in any other during the war. The French have a singular advantage in the use of this weapon, on account of their natural impetuosity; but it is now become more menacing than fatal: the quick and close firing has prevailed in its stead. The English and Germans were accustomed to fire in divisions with greater order and readiness than the French. The Prussians were the first who loaded with iron rammers. The second King of Prussia taught his troops such an exercise, that they could fire six times in a minute with great ease. Three ranks discharging their fire at once, and then advancing briskly up, decide the fate of battles at present.

present. The field-pieces likewise produce a no less formidable effect. The battalions who are staggered with the fire, do not wait to be attacked with the bayonet, and are completely routed by the cavalry; so that the bayonet frightens more than it slays, and the sword is become absolutely useless to the infantry. Strength of body, skill, and courage, are no longer of any service to a combatant. The battalions are become great machines, and those which are best formed naturally bear down all that stand in their way. This was the very thing which gave Prince Eugene the victory over the Turks, in those famous battles of Temeswar and Belgrade; while the latter would in all probability have had the advantage from their superiority of numbers, had these battles been what we call close fights *. Thus the art of destroying each other is not only entirely different from what it was before the invention of gun-powder, but even what it was a century ago.

As the French arms maintained their reputation with such success at first in Germany, it was presumed that Marshal Villars would carry it still farther, by an impetuosity which would disconcert the German phlegm: but the same character which made him a formidable chief, rendered it impossible for him to act in concert with the Elector of Bavaria. The King would not suffer his Generals to shew haughtiness to any but his enemies; and the Elector of Bavaria, unhappily for himself, wrote for another Marshal of France.

Villars himself, quite tired with the intrigues of a faction and interested Court, of the irresolution of the Elector, and still more with the letters of the Minister of State, Chamillard, full of prejudices against him, arising from his ignorance, requested leave from the King to retire. This was the only recompence he required for all his skilful operations in war, and a battle won.

But Chamillard, for the misfortune of France, sent him into the midst of the Cevennes, to make peace with the fanatical peasants; and so deprived the armies of

* The French word is *melée*. It means a close fight, where men are personally engaged sword in hand. *Translator.*

France of the only General, except the Duke of Vendôme, who was then capable of inspiring them with an invincible courage. We shall speak of these fanatics in the Chapter of Religion. Louis XIV. had at this time enemies that were more formidable, successful, and irreconcilable, than the inhabitants of the Cevennes.

C H A P. XIX.

Loss of the Battle of Hochstet, or Blenheim, and its consequences.

THE Duke of Marlborough was returned to the Low Countries, in the beginning of 1703, with the same conduct and the same success. He had taken Bonn, the residence of the Elector of Cologne. From thence he marched and retook Hui and Limburg, and made himself master of all the Lower Rhine. Marshal Villeroi, now returned from his confinement, commanded in Flanders, where he had no better success against Marlborough, than he had had against Prince Eugene. Marshal Boufflers, with a detachment of his army, had indeed gained a small advantage in the fight of Eckeren, over the Dutch General Opdam; but a success which has no consequences, is of no account at all.

The House of Austria, notwithstanding, seemed to be undone, if the English General did not march to the assistance of the Emperor. The Elector of Bavaria was master of Passau. Thirty thousand French, under the command of Marshal Marfin, who had succeeded Villars, over-ran the countries on the other side the Danube. There were several flying parties in Austria. Vienna itself was threatened on one side by the French and Bavarians, and on the other by Prince Ragotski, at the head of the Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and supplied with money from the French and the Turks. In this situation of affairs, Prince Eugene hastened from Italy to take the command of the armies in Germany, and

and had an interview with the Duke of Marlborough, at Heilbron. The English General, whose hands were at full liberty, being left to act as he pleased by his Queen and the Dutch, marched with succours into the heart of the Empire. Taking with him, for the present, ten thousand English foot, and twenty-three squadrons of horse, he makes forced marches, and arrives on the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, opposite to the Elector of Bavaria's lines, where about eight thousand French and as many Bavarians lay entrenched, to guard the country they had conquered. After an engagement of two hours, Marlborough forces the lines, at the head of three battalions of English, and routs the Bavarians and French. It is said that he killed six thousand of the enemy, and lost as many himself. A General concerns himself little about the number of slain, ^{July 2,} provided he succeeds in his enterprize. ^{1704.} He then took Donawert, passed the Danube, and laid Bavaria under contribution.

Marshal Villeroi, who attempted to follow him in his first marches, lost sight of him on a sudden, and knew not where he was, till he heard the news of his victory at Donawert.

Marshal Tallard, who with a corps of thirty thousand men had marched by another route to oppose Marlborough, came and joined the Elector. At the same time Prince Eugene arrives, and joins Marlborough.

At length the two armies met, within a small distance of the same Donawert, and nearly in the same plains, where Marshal Villars had gained a victory, the year before. He was then in the Cevennes; and I know, that having received a letter from Tallard's army, written the night before the battle, acquainting him with the disposition of the two armies, and the manner in which Marshal Tallard intended to engage, he wrote to his brother-in-law, the President de Maisons, telling him, that if Marshal Tallard gave the enemy battle in that position, he must infallibly be beaten. This letter was shewn to Louis XIV. and afterwards became public.

The French army, including the Bavarians, consisted of eighty-two battalions, and one hundred and sixty squadrons, which made in all near sixty thousand men, the corps being then not quite complete. The enemy had sixty-four battalions, and one hundred and fifty-two squadrons, in all not above fifty-two thousand men; for armies are always made more numerous than they really are. This battle, that proved so bloody and decisive, deserves a particular attention.

The French Generals were accused of a number of errors; the chief was, the having brought themselves under a necessity of accepting battle, instead of letting the enemy's army waste itself for want of forage, and giving time to Marshal Villeroy, either to fall upon the Netherlands, then in a defenceless state, or to penetrate farther into Germany. But it should be considered, in reply to this accusation, that the French army, being somewhat stronger than that of the Allies, might hope to defeat it, and that the victory would have dethroned the Emperor. The Marquis de Feuquieres reckons up no less than twelve capital faults committed by the Elector, Marfin, and Tallard, before and after the battle. One of the most considerable was, the not having placed a large body of foot in their centre, and having separated the two bodies of the army. I have often heard Marshal Villars say, that this disposition was unpardonable.

Marshal Tallard was at the head of the right wing, and the Elector, with Marfin, at the left. Tallard had all the impetuous and sprightly courage of a Frenchman, an active and penetrating understanding, and a genius fruitful in expedients and resources. It was he who had concluded the partition treaties. He had attained to glory and fortune by all the ways of a man of genius and courage. The battle of Spire had gained him great honour, notwithstanding the animadversions of Feuquieres; for a victorious General never appears culpable in the eyes of the Public, while he who is beaten is always in the wrong, however just or prudent his conduct may have been.

But

But Marshal Tallard laboured under a malady of very dangerous consequence to a General; his sight was so weak, that he could not distinguish objects at the distance of twenty paces from him. Those who were well acquainted with him have told me, moreover, that his impetuous courage, quite the reverse of the Duke of Marlborough's, growing still warmer in the heat of the action, deprived him sometimes of the necessary presence of mind. This defect was owing to a dry and inflammatory state of the blood. It is known that the qualities of the mind are intirely influenced by the constitution of the body *.

This was the first time that Marshal Marfin had ever commanded in chief. With a great share of wit and a good understanding, he is said to have had rather the experience of a good Officer, than of a General.

As to the Elector of Bavaria, he was looked upon less as a great General, than as a valiant and amiable Prince, the darling of his subjects, and one who had more magnanimity than application.

At length the battle began, between twelve and one o'clock in the afternoon. Marlborough with his English, having passed a small rivulet, began the attack upon Tallard's cavalry. That General, a little before, had rode towards the left wing to observe its disposition. It was no small disadvantage to Tallard's corps at the onset, to be obliged to fight without its General at its head. The corps commanded by the Elector and Marfin, had not yet been attacked by Prince Eugene. Marlborough was engaged with the French right wing near an hour, before Eugene could come up to the Elector at the left.

As soon as Marshal Tallard heard that Marlborough had attacked his wing, he immediately posted thither, where he found a furious action begun. The French cavalry rallied three times, and was as often repulsed. He then went to the village of Blenheim, where he had

* M. Voltaire has here rendered *man a machine*, by one stroke of his pen. The Marquis d'Argens has written a treatise on this hint. Such redoubted authorities must certainly exhaust our souls out of our bodies, like an air-pump. *Translator.*

posted twenty-seven battalions, and twelve squadrons. This was a little detached army, that kept a continual fire on Marlborough's troops. After giving his orders in this village, he hastens back to the place where the Duke with a body of horse, and battalions of foot between the squadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him.

Mr. de Feuquieres is certainly mistaken in saying that Marshal Tallard was not there at this time, but was taken prisoner as he was returning from Marfin's wing to his own. All accounts agree, and it was but too true for him, that he was actually present. He received a hurt in the action, and his son was mortally wounded by his side. His cavalry was routed before his face. The victorious Marlborough forced his way between the two bodies of the French army, on one side; while, on the other, his General Officers got between the village of Blenheim and Tallard's division, which was also separated from the little army in that village.

In this unhappy situation, Marshal Tallard flew to rally some of the broken squadrons; but the badness of his sight made him mistake a squadron of the enemy for one of his own, and he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops that were in the English pay. At the very instant that the General was taken, Prince Eugene, after having been three times repulsed, at length gained the advantage. The rout now became total in Tallard's division; every one fled with the utmost precipitation; and so great was the terror and confusion throughout that whole wing, that officers and soldiers ran headlong into the Danube, without knowing whither they were going.

There was no General Officer to give orders for a retreat; no one thought of saving those twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons of the best troops of France, that were so unfortunately shut up in Blenheim, or of bringing them into action. At last Marshal Marfin ordered a retreat. The Count du Bourg, afterwards Marshal of France, saved a small part of the infantry, by desiling through the marshes of Hochstet; but

But neither he, Marfin, nor any one else, thought of this little army, which still remained in Blenheim, waiting for orders which they never received. It consisted of eleven thousand effective men, from the oldest corps. There are many examples of less armies that have beaten others of fifty thousand men, or at least made a glorious retreat; but the nature of the post determines every thing. It was impossible for them to get out of the narrow streets of a village, and range themselves in order of battle, in the face of a victorious army, that would have overwhelmed them at once with a superior front, with its artillery, and even with the very cannon of the beaten army, which were then in the possession of the conqueror.

The General-Officer who commanded there, the Marquis of Clairambault, son to the Marshal of that name, was hastening to receive orders from Marshal Tallard, when he was told that he was taken prisoner; and seeing nothing but fugitives, he fled with them, and was drowned in the Danube.

Brigadier Sivières, who was posted in this village, ventured upon a bold stroke. He called aloud to the Officers of the regiments of Artois and Provence to follow him: several officers even of other regiments obeyed the summons, and rushing out of the village, like those who make a sally from a town that is besieged, fell upon the enemy; but after this sally they were to retreat back again. One of these Officers, named Des-Nonvilles, returned some few moments afterwards on horseback, with the Earl of Orkney †. As soon as he entered the village, the rest of the Officers flocked round him, enquiring if it was an English prisoner he had brought in? "No," "Gentlemen, replied he, I am a prisoner myself, and am come to tell you, that you have no measure left but to surrender yourselves prisoners of war. Here is the Earl of Orkney, who is come to offer you terms."

At hearing this, all these old bands shuddered with horror: the regiment of Navarre tore its colours, and

† Hamilton.

buried

buried them. But at length they were obliged to yield to necessity ; and this whole army laid down its arms, without having struck a blow. Lord Orkney has told me that it was impossible for them to do otherwise, in their confined situation. Europe was struck with astonishment, that the best troops in France should have suffered in a body such a disgrace. Their misfortune was at first imputed to cowardice ; but a few years afterwards fourteen thousand Swedes, who surrendered at discretion to the Muscovites in the open field, fully justified the French.

Such was this famous battle, which in France Aug. 13, was known by the name of Hochstet, in Germany
1704. of Pleintheim, and in England of Blenheim. The victors had near five thousand killed, and eight thousand wounded ; the greatest part of which loss fell on the side of Prince Eugene. The French army was almost intirely cut to pieces. Of sixty thousand men, who had been so long victorious, not above twenty thousand could be collected together after the battle.

This fatal day was distinguished by the loss of twelve thousand men killed, fourteen thousand made prisoners, all the cannon, a prodigious number of standards, colours, tents, and equipages, with the General of the army, and twelve hundred Officers of note, in the hands of the conquerors. The fugitives dispersed themselves on all sides ; and near an hundred leagues of country were lost in less than a month. The whole Electorate of Bavaria, now fallen under the yoke of the Emperor, experienced all the severity of Austrian resentment, and all the cruelties of a rapacious soldiery. The Elector flying to Brussels, met on the way his brother the Elector of Cologne, who like him was driven out of his dominions, and they embraced each other shedding tears. The Court of Versailles, accustomed to continual successes, was struck with astonishment and consternation at this reverse. The account of this defeat arrived in the midst of the rejoicings made on account of the birth of a great-grandson of Louis XIV. No one would venture to acquaint the King with the shocking news. At length Madame
de

de Maintenon took upon her to let him know that he was no longer invincible.

It has been affirmed, both orally and in writing, and the same has been repeated in all the histories, that the Emperor ordered a monument of this defeat to be erected on the plains of Blenheim, with an inscription reflecting on the French King; but no such monument ever existed *. The English alone erected one to the honour of the Duke of Marlborough. The Queen and the Parliament built an immense palace for him, on one of his principal estates, to which they gave the name of Blenheim, where this battle is represented both in paintings and in tapestry †. The thanks of the two Houses of Parliament, and of the Cities and Boroughs, and the general acclamations of the people, were the first-fruits he received from his victory. But the poem written by the ingenious Mr. Addison, a monument more durable than the palace of Blenheim, is reckoned by this warlike and learned nation among the most honourable recomences of the Duke of Marlborough. The Emperor created him a Prince of the Empire, by bestowing on him the Principality of Mindelheim, which was afterwards exchanged for another; but he was never known by that title; the name of Marlborough being now the most noble by which he could be distinguished.

By the dispersion of the French army an open passage was left to the Allies, from the Danube to the Rhine. They passed the latter of these rivers, and entered Alsace. Prince Louis of Baden, a General famous for his encampments and marches, invested Landau. Joseph,

* Reboulet assures us, that the Emperor Leopold actually caused such a pyramid to be erected; and it was firmly believed in France, till Marshal Villars, in 1707, sent fifty masons thither to demolish it, who could find no such thing. The Continuator of Rapin, who has only compiled from the Dutch Gazettes, takes this inscription for granted, but imputes it to the English. It was merely an invention of some of the idle French Refugees. It was very common then, and continues so still, to give the lye of the day, or flying rumours, for matters of fact. Formerly, history was deficient in memoirs; it is now crammed with them. The truth is swallowed up in an ocean of pamphlets. *Voltaire.*

† This possibly might have given rise to the story. *Transl.*

King of the Romans, eldest son of the Emperor Leopold, came to be present at this siege. Nov. 19, and Landau was taken, and afterwards Traer- 23, 1704. bach.

The loss of an hundred leagues of country did not yet straiten the frontiers of France. Louis XIV. supported his grandson in Spain, and his arms were victorious in Italy. It required great efforts to make head against the victorious Marlborough in Germany, which however he did. The scattered remains of the army were gathered together, the garrisons were ordered to furnish men, and the militia were commanded to take the field. The Ministry borrowed money every where. At length an army was got together; and Marshal Villars was recalled from the centre of the Cévennes, to take the command upon him. He came and joined the army at Triers, where he found himself in view of the English General, with an inferior army. Both sides were desirous of giving battle; but the Prince of Baden not coming up soon enough to join his troops to those of the English,

Villars had the honour of obliging Marlborough May, 1705. to decamp. This was doing a great deal, at that time. The Duke of Marlborough, who had a sufficient respect for Marshal Villars to wish to be esteemed by him again, wrote him the following billet, while he was decamping: "Do me the justice, Sir, to believe, that my retreat is entirely the Prince of Baden's fault, and that I esteem you even more than I am angry with him."

The French had still some barriers in Germany. The enemy had not yet attempted any thing in Flanders, where Marshal Villeroi, now at liberty, had the command. In Spain, King Philip V. and the Archduke Charles were both in expectation of the crown; the former, from the powerful assistance of his grandfather, and the good-will of the greater part of the Spaniards; the latter, from the assistance of the English, and the partisans he had in Catalonia and Arragon. This Archduke, afterwards Emperor, and at that time second son to the Emperor Leopold, went, towards the latter part of

of 1703, without any retinue, to London, to implore the assistance of Queen Anne.

At this crisis the English power appeared in all its glory. This nation, which had so little interest with this quarrel, furnished the Austrian Prince with two hundred transport-ships, thirty ships of war joined to ten sail of the Dutch, nine thousand men, and a sum of money, to go and conquer a kingdom. But notwithstanding the superiority which power and benefits confer, the Emperor, in his letter to Queen Anne, which the Archduke presented, did not give this Princess, his benefactress, the title of Majesty, but only that of Serenity*, agreeably to the stile of the Court of Vienna, which custom alone could justify, and which reason has since changed, when pride has been obliged to stoop to necessity.

C H A P. XX.

Losses in Spain. Loss of the battles of Ramillies and Turin, and their consequences.

ONE of the first exploits performed by these English troops was the taking of Gibraltar, a place justly deemed impregnable. A long chain of steep rocks forbade all approach to it by land; it had no harbour, but only a long bay, very wild and unsafe, where ships lay exposed to storms and the artillery of the fortress and mole: the inhabitants of the town were alone sufficient to defend it against a fleet of a thousand ships; and an hundred thousand men. But this very strength was the cause of its being taken. There were only an hundred men in garrison, but these were more than sufficient, had they not neglected a duty which they looked upon as useless. The Prince of Hesse had landed with eighteen hundred men on the isthmus to the northward, behind

* Reboulét says that the German Chancery gave the title of *Dilection* to Kings, but this is the title given to Electors. *Voltaire*.

the town; but the steepness of the rock made an attack upon the place impracticable on that side. The fleet in vain fired upwards of fifteen thousand discharges of cannon; but at length a body of sailors, in one of their extravagant moods, happened to row in their boats close under the mole, the cannon of which must infallibly

have sunk them; but not a gun was fired. They
 Aug. 4, 1704. mount the mole, make themselves masters of it, and fresh troops flocking in on all sides, this impregnable town was at length obliged to surrender. It is still in possession of the English, at the time I am now writing *. Spain, now again become a formidable power under the administration of the Princess of Parma, second wife to Philip V. and lately victorious in Africa and Italy, beholds, with an impotent grief, Gibraltar in the hands of a northern nation, that had hardly a ship in the Mediterranean two centuries ago.

Immediately after the taking of Gibraltar, the English fleet, now mistress of the sea, attacked the Count de Toulouse, Admiral of France, in view of the castle of Malaga. This battle, though not decisive,
 Aug. 26, 1704. was the last epocha of the maritime power of Louis XIV. His natural son the Count de Toulouse, Admiral of the kingdom, had fifty ships of the line, and twenty-four galleys, under his command. He made a glorious retreat, with very little loss. But the King having afterwards sent thirteen ships to attack Gibraltar, while Marshal de Tessé laid siege to it by land,

this double rashness proved the ruin of both
 March 1705. army and fleet. Some of the ships were destroyed by a storm, others were boarded and taken by the English, after a most noble resistance, and another part of them burnt on the coast of Spain. From that day the French had no longer any large fleets, either on the Ocean, or in the Mediterranean. The marine returned nearly to the same state from whence Louis XIV.

* This was written in the year 1740. *Voltaire.*

And we are yet in possession of it, at the time I am now translating, in September 1779. *Translator.*

had raised it, as well as many other glorious things which rose and set under his reign.

The English, who had taken Gibraltar for themselves, in less than six weeks conquered the Kingdom of Valentia and Catalonia for the Archduke Charles. They took Barcelona by an event of chance, which was owing to the rashness of the besiegers.

The English were at that time commanded by one of the most singular men that was ever produced by that country, so fruitful in noble, valiant, and irregular geniuses. This was the Earl of Peterborough, a man who, in every respect, resembled those heroes with whose exploits the imagination of the Spaniards has filled so many volumes. At fifteen years of age he left London, to go and make war against the Moors in Africa. At twenty, he commenced the revolution in England, and was the first who went over to Holland to the Prince of Orange; but, lest the true reason of his voyage should be suspected, he took shipping for America, and from thence went to the Hague in a Dutch vessel. He lost, and gave away all his fortune, and established it again more than once. He was now carrying on the war in Spain almost at his own expence, and maintained the Archduke and all his household. It was this extraordinary man, who, with the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt *, was then laying siege to Barcelona. He proposed to the Prince to make a sudden attack on the entrenchments which covered Fort Montjoy and the town. These entrenchments were carried sword in hand, and the Prince of Darmstadt fell in the attack. A bomb falling upon a magazine of powder in the fort, blew it up. The fort was taken, and the town capitulated. The Viceroy came to one of the gates to confer with Lord Peterborough; but the articles were not yet signed, when their ears were suddenly struck with loud cries and shrieks. "You have betrayed us," said the Viceroy to Peterborough. "We made a fair capitulation, and yet

* Reboulet, in his history, calls this Prince *the head of the rebels*, as if he had been a Spaniard who had rebelled against Philip V. *Voltaire*.

" your

" your English have entered the city over the ramparts, and are killing, plundering, and violating." " You are mistaken, replied Lord Peterborough, it must certainly be the Prince of Darmstadt's troops. There is no other way left to save your town, but to let me enter immediately with my English. I will make every thing quiet, and return again to the gate to sign the capitulation." He spoke this with such an air of frankness and spirit, that, added to the present danger, entirely persuaded the Governor, who immediately suffered him to enter.

He then flew through the streets with his Officers, where he found the Germans and Catalans plundering the houses of the principal citizens; he drove them off, and made them quit their booty. He happened to meet with the Dutchess of Popoli in the hands of some soldiers, who were going to dishonour her: he rescues her, and delivers her to her husband. At length, having appeased the tumult, he returns to the gate according to his promise, and signs the capitulation*. The Spaniards were confounded to find such magnanimity in the English, whom the populace had always been taught to look upon as merciless barbarians, because they were heretics.

To the loss of Barcelona succeeded the mortification of a fruitless attempt to retake it. Philip V. though he had the greater part of Spain in his interest, had neither Generals, engineers, or hardly any soldiers. France supplied them all. The Count of Toulouse returned to block up the harbour with twenty-five ships of war, the whole remains of the French navy; Marshal Tessé formed the siege by land, with thirty-one squadrons of horse, and thirty-seven battalions of foot: but the English fleet appearing †, that of France was obliged to retire, and Tessé raised the siege with precipitation, leaving an immense quantity of provisions behind him in his camp, and one

May 2.
1706.

* There was a good faith in this, above the common maxim of *Plus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirit?* The story of Regulus is more famous; but then this one is all true, and some historical sceptics doubt the other. *Translator.*

† Commanded by Sir John Leake. *Ibid.*

thou-

thousand five hundred wounded, to the mercy of Lord Peterborough. These were heavy losses; and it could hardly be said whether it had cost France more to conquer Spain, than it now did to assist it. Nevertheless, the grandson of Louis XIV. still kept his ground, through the affection of the Castilians, whose greatest pride is their fidelity, and who, on this occasion, continued firm to the choice they had made.

In Italy affairs wore a better aspect. Louis was revenged of the Duke of Savoy. The Duke of Vendôme had, in the beginning, repulsed Aug. 16,
1703. Prince Eugene, with some glory, in the battle of Cassano, near the Adda: this proved a bloody day, and one of those drawn-battles for which both sides sing *Te Deum*, and which only serve to destroy men, without advancing the interests of either party. After the battle of Cassano he gained a complete victory at Cassinato*, in the absence of Prince Eugene; April 19,
1706. and that Prince, arriving next day, saw another detachment of his army intirely routed. In short, the Allies were obliged to give ground, every where, before the Duke of Vendôme. Turin alone remained to be taken. They were already in march to invest it, and there appeared no possibility of relieving it. Marshal Villars pushed the Prince of Baden in Germany. Ville-roi commanded an army of eighty thousand men in Flanders, and was in hopes to retrieve against Marlborough the ill success he had met with against Prince Eugene. His too great confidence in his own abilities, proved now more fatal than ever to France.

Marshal Villeroi's army was encamped near the river Mehaigne, towards the sources of the little Ghetto. His center was at Ramillies, a village since as famous as that of Blenheim. It was in his power to have avoided a

* It was the Count de Reventlau, a native of Denmark, who commanded at the battle of Cassinato, but the troops were all Imperialists. *Voltaire.*

La Beaumelle observes on this occasion, in his notes on the reign of Louis XIV. "That the Danes are as little wor abroad as at home." It is very extraordinary to see a writer thus abusing every nation. *Ibid.*

battle. He was advised to do so by his General Officers; but a blind passion for glory prevailed over every other consideration. It is said that the disposition he made for the battle, was such, that every one of the least experience foresaw the fatal consequence. His center was composed of new-raised troops, neither compleat nor disciplined. He left the baggage between the lines, and posted his left wing behind a morass, as if he intended to prevent it from coming near the enemy*.

May 23, 1706. Marlborough, who observed all these mistakes, drew up his army in such a manner as

to take advantage of them. He perceived that the left wing of the French army could not come up to attack his right; he therefore made draughts from that part in order to fall upon the enemy's center, at Ramillies, with a superior force. Monsieur de Gassion, the Lieutenant-General, observing these motions of the enemy, cried out to the Marshal, "You are undone, Sir, if you do not instantly change the order of battle. Make a draught from your left wing, that you may have an equal force to oppose to the enemy. Close your lines more. If you lose a minute, you are irrecoverably lost." This salutary advice was seconded by several of the other Officers; but the Marshal paid no regard to them. Marlborough began the attack, and had only to engage an army drawn up in the very manner in which he himself would have posted it for a defeat. This was what was said by all France; and history is partly a relation of the opinions of men: but may it not be also as justly said that the troops of the Confederates were better disciplined, and that the confidence they had in their Generals, and their past successes, inspired them with superior confidence? Were there not some of the French regiments who did not do their duty? And do we not know that those battalions who can best stand fire, decide the destiny of States? The French army did not maintain its ground for half an hour. At Blenheim the fight lasted for eight hours, and the French killed

* See Feuquieres's Memoirs.

the victor above eight thousand men; but at the battle of Ramillies, they killed them only two thousand five hundred. The defeat was general: the French lost twenty thousand men, together with the honour of their nation, and every hope of recovering the advantage. Bavaria and Cologne had been lost by the battle of Blenheim, and all Spanish Flanders was now lost by this of Ramillies. Marlborough entered victorious into Antwerp and Brussels, took Ostend, and Menin surrendered to him.

Marshal Villeroy, in despair, did not dare to acquaint the King with this defeat. He continued five days without dispatching a courier. At length he wrote a confirmation of the news, which had already filled the Court of France with consternation; and when he returned to Versailles to present himself to the King, that monarch, instead of reproaching him, only said, “Monsieur le Maréchal, people at our time of life are not fortunate.*”

The King immediately sent for the Duke of Vendôme out of Italy, where he thought his presence not necessary, in order to send him into Flanders, and repair, if possible, this disgrace. He still entertained hopes, and with just reason, that the taking of Turin would make him amends for all these losses. Prince Eugene was at too great a distance to come to its relief. He was on the other side the Adige, and a long chain of intrenchments that lined the river on this side, seemed to make a passage impracticable. Forty-six squadrons and an hundred battalions formed the siege of this great city.

The Duke de Feuillade, who commanded this army, was the gayest and most amiable man in the kingdom; and, though son-in-law to the Minister, was the darling of the people. He was son to that Marshal de la Feuillade who crested the statue of Louis XIV. in the square des Victoires. He appeared to have as much courage as his father; the same ambition, the same magnificence,

* There is something very amiable in this mildness of Louis, upon so very trying an occasion. He deserved the title of *le Grand*, for this *sa victoire*, more than for all his conquests. *Translator.*

and more understanding. He expected the staff of Marshal of France as a reward for his taking Turin. Chamillard, his father-in-law, who loved him tenderly, had left nothing undone to secure him success. The imagination stands appalled at the detail of the preparations made for this siege. Those readers who have it not in their power to inform themselves of these matters, may perhaps not be displeased to meet here with an account of this immense and fruitless apparatus.

There were an hundred and forty pieces of cannon; and it is to be observed, that each large cannon mounted on its carriage, costs about two thousand crowns; one hundred and ten thousand balls; one hundred and six thousand cartridges of one form, and three hundred thousand of another; twenty-one thousand bomb-shells; twenty-seven thousand seven hundred hand-grenades; fifteen thousand sand-bags; thirty thousand pioneering-tools, and twelve hundred thousand pounds weight of powder; besides lead, iron, tin, cordage, with every thing proper for the miners, sulphur, salt-petre, and implements of all kinds. It is certain that the expence of all these preparations for destruction, was more than sufficient to have founded a numerous colony, and put it into a flourishing condition. Every siege of a great town requires the same prodigious expence, and yet when a ruined village is to be repaired at home, it is neglected.

The Duke de la Feuillade, full of ardour and activity, inferior to none in undertakings where courage alone was sufficient, but incapable of conducting those that required skill, reflection, and time, hurried the siege against all the rules. Marshal Vauban, the only General perhaps who loved his country better than himself, had proposed to the Duke de la Feuillade to come and direct the siege as an engineer, and to serve in his army as a volunteer; but the pride of la Feuillade made him take this offer for self-sufficiency, concealed beneath the appearance of modesty. He was piqued that the best engineer in France should presume to give him advice. He answered him in a letter which I have seen, "I hope

“to take Turin by Cohorn.” This Cohorn was the Vauban of the Allies, an excellent engineer, and a good General, who had taken several places that had been fortified by Vauban. After such a letter there was a necessity to take Turin; but having begun the attack by the citadel, which was the strongest part, and the city not being completely surrounded, an opening was left for men or provisions to be thrown in, or for the Duke of Savoy to sally out; and the greater impetuosity the Duke de la Feuillade shewed in his repeated and fruitless attacks, the more tedious was the siege*.

The Duke of Savoy came out of the town with some squadrons of horse, in order to amuse the Duke de la Feuillade. The latter immediately quitted the direction of the siege to run after the Prince, who, being better acquainted with the ground, baffled his pursuit. Thus la Feuillade missed the Duke, and the business of the siege suffered by it.

Most of our historians assert, that the Duke de la Feuillade had no intention to take Turin, and pretend that he had sworn to the Dukes of Burgundy, to respect her father's capital: they likewise tell us that this Princess prevailed upon Madame de Maintenon, to cause such measures to be taken as would save the town. It is certain, that almost all the Officers in that army were

* During this siege, which continued from May to September, a simple corporal sacrificed his life for the good of his country, with a spirit equal to that of a Curtius or a Scævola. The French had made a lodgement in one of the subterraneous galleries of the Citadel, from whence they could have penetrated into the body of the place. A corporal of miners, whose name was Mica, being at work under the gallery, in finishing a mine which was not yet primed, and foreseeing that the enemy could not fail to have possession of the Citadel, unless they were immediately destroyed, devoted his life to the safety of his fellow-citizens. He forthwith primed the mine, and desired one of his companions to tell the King he implored his Majesty's protection for his wife and children; then ordered his pioneers to retire, and make a signal of their being in a place of safety, by firing a musket, which he no sooner heard, than he set fire to the mine, and perished with two hundred grenadiers, who had taken possession of the gallery. The King expressed a sense of this action by making a very ample provision for Mica's wife and children, and settling an annual pension of six hundred livres for ever on his descendants. *Smollet.*

for a long time persuaded of the truth of this; but it was only one of those popular rumours which are the disgrace of the novellist, and the dishonour of the historian. Besides, how contradictory was it, that the same General who would not take Turin, should endeavour to seize on the person of the Duke of Savoy?

From the 13th of May to the 20th of June the Duke of Vendôme had been posted on the banks of the Adige, to cover the siege; and thought himself able with seventy battalions and sixty squadrons to stop all the passages against Prince Eugene.

The Imperial General was in want of men and money. The Mercers Company of London lent him about six millions of our livres*: he then sent for a supply of men from the Circles of the Empire. The slowness of these succours might have proved the ruin of Italy; but the slowness of the siege of Turin was still greater.

Vendôme was already appointed to go and repair the losses in Flanders; but, before he left Italy, he suffered Prince Eugene to cross the Adige, to pass the White Canal, and even the Po itself, a river larger, and in some places more difficult of passage, than the Rhine: and before he himself left the banks of the Po, he saw Prince Eugene in a condition to advance even to Turin. Thus he left affairs in the most dangerous crisis in Italy, while in Flanders, Germany, and Spain, they appeared desperate.

The Duke of Vendôme then went to Mons, to assemble Villeroi's scattered forces; and the Duke of Orleans, nephew of Louis XIV. was sent to command his army on the banks of the Po. He found these troops in as much disorder as if they had suffered a defeat. Eugene had passed the Po, in sight of Vendôme: he now crossed the Tanaro, in view of the Duke of Orleans; took Carpi, Corregio, and Reggio; stole a march upon the French, and at length joined the Duke of Savoy, near Asti.

All that the Duke of Orleans could do was to march and join la Feuillade in his camp before Turin. Prince

* Or nearly 400,000 sterling, at 10½d to the livre. *Smollet.*

Eugene followed him with the utmost diligence. The Duke of Orleans had now two measures in his choice; either to wait for Prince Eugene in the lines of circumvallation, or to march and meet him while he was yet on the other side of Veillana †. He called a council of war, at which were present Marshal Marsin, the same who had lost the battle of Blenheim, the Duke de la Feuillade, Albergotti, St. Fremont, and other Lieutenant-generals, to whom he thus addressed himself: "Gentlemen, if we remain in our lines, we lose the battle. "The circuit of our circumvallation is above five leagues "in extent; it will be impossible for us to cover all these "entrenchments. On one hand, here is the regiment of "marines, that is not above two men deep; and on "the other hand, there are many places left intirely "naked. The Doire, which runs through our camp, "will prevent our men from marching readily to the "assistance of one another. Besides, when the French "wait to be attacked, they lose one of their principal "advantages; that impetuosity and instantaneous ar- "dour which so frequently decide the fate of battles. "Believe me, we should march directly to the enemy." The Lieutenant-generals immediately cried out, one and all, "Let us march." Then Marshal Marsin drew the King's order out of his pocket, which left every thing to his decision, in case of an action; and his opinion was to remain in the lines,

The Duke of Orleans was not a little incensed to find that he was sent to the army only as a Prince of the blood, and not as a General: however, he was obliged to follow Marsin's advice, and made the necessary preparations for this disadvantageous measure.

The enemy seemed at first to intend to make several attacks at once; and the variety of their movements threw the French camp into confusion. The Duke of Orleans proposed one thing, Marsin and la Feuillade another; they disputed, and concluded upon nothing; till at length they suffered the enemy to pass the Doire,

* About fifteen miles from Turin. *Transl.*

who advanced towards them in eight columns of twenty-five men deep each. There was an immediate necessity of opposing them with battalions of equal depth.

Albignati, who was posted at a distance from the main army, on the Capuchins hill, had twenty thousand men with him, and only a body of the enemy's militia to oppose, who did not dare to attack him. They sent from the camp for a detachment of twelve thousand men; but he returned for answer, that he could not weaken his division, and gave some specious reasons. They listened to him, and time was lost. Prince Eugene attacks the intrenchments, and in two hours time forces

Sept. 7.
1706. them. The Duke of Orleans was wounded, and had retired to be dressed; but he was scarce

got to the surgeon's tent, when word was brought him that all was lost, that the enemy was master of the camp, and that the defeat was become general. Nothing remained but immediate flight; the lines and trenches were abandoned, and the whole army dispersed. All the baggage, provision, and ammunition, together with the military chest, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Marshal Marfin himself was wounded in the thigh, and made prisoner. One of the Duke of Savoy's surgeons cut off his thigh, and he died a few minutes after the operation. Sir Paul Methuen, Ambassador from England to the Court of Turin, the most generous, affable, and brave man that his country had ever employed in her embassies, fought by the Duke of Savoy's side, during the whole action. He was present when Marshal Marfin was taken prisoner, and was near him in his last moments; and he told me, that the Marshal, when he was dying, spoke to him in these very terms: "Be persuaded, Sir, that it was contrary to my opinion that we waited for you in our lines." These words seem expressly to contradict what passed at the council of war, and may nevertheless be true; for Marfin, when he took leave of the King at Versailles, represented to his Majesty that it would be proper to march and attack the enemy, in case they should appear to relieve Turin; but Chamillard, intimidated by so many former defeats, had

had afterwards prevailed that the army should wait in the lines, and not offer battle: and this order given at Versailles occasioned the defeat of sixty thousand men.

The French had not above two thousand men killed in this engagement; but we have already seen, that a panic does more than even slaughter. The impossibility of finding subsistence, which would make an army retire after a victory, brought back the troops to Dauphiny after their defeat. Every thing was in such disorder, that the Count of Medavy-Grancei, who was at that time in the Mantuan, with a body of troops, and had beaten the Imperialists at Castiglione, under the command of the Prince of Hesse, afterwards King of Sweden, gained only a fruitless victory, though it was complete *. In a word, the Dutchy of Milan, ^{Sept. 9,} Mantua, Piedmont, and lastly the Kingdom of ^{1706.} Naples, were all lost, within a very little time of one another.

* This Officer surprised the Prince of Hesse in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and obliged him to retreat to the Adige, with the loss of two thousand men; but this action was attended with no other consequence. *Smo let.*

C H A P. XXI.

Continuation of the deſtructions of France and Spain. Louis XIV. ſends his principal Miniſter to ſue for peace, in vain. Little of Melplaquet loſt, &c.

THE battle of Hochſtet, or Elenheim, coſt Louis XIV. a fine army, with the whole country from the Danube to the Rhine; and the Elector of Bavaria all his dominions. All Flanders was loſt, to the very gates of Liſle, by the fatal day of Ramillies; and the defeat at Turin drove the French out of Italy, which had always happened to them in every war ſince the time of Charlemagne. They had ſtill ſome troops left in the Dutchy of Milan, and the little victorious army under the Count of Medavy. They were alſo ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong places. They offered to give up all theſe to the Emperor, provided he would permit theſe troops, which amounted to about fifteen thouſand men, to retire. The Emperor accepted of the propoſition, and the Duke of Savoy gave his aſſent. Thus the Emperor, with a daſh of his pen, became peaceable poſſeſſor of Italy. The conqueſt of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily was guarantied to him, and every thing that had formerly been conſidered as feudal, was now treated as ſubject to a ſupreme power. He impoſed a tax of one hundred and fifty thouſand piſtoles upon Tuſcany; forty thouſand upon the Dutchy of Mantua; and Parma, Modena, Lucca, and Genoa, notwithstanding they were free ſtates, were included in theſe impoſitions.

The Emperor, who had all theſe advantages on his ſide, was not that Leopold, the antient rival of Louis XIV. who, under a ſhew of moderation, had ſecretly cheriſhed the moſt ambitious views. It was the fiery, lively, and paſſionate Joſeph, his eldeſt ſon, who was not, however, a better ſoldier than his father. If ever there was an Emperor who ſeemed formed to enſlave Germany and Italy, it was Joſeph. His dominions ſtretched beyond the Alps: he laid the Pope under contribution; and,

and, by his sole authority, in 1706, had the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne put under the ban of the Empire, and then stripped them of their dominions. He kept Bavaria's children in prison, and deprived them even of their name. Their father had nothing left but to retire covered with disgrace to France and the Low Countries. Afterwards, in 1712, Philip V. ceded to him all Spanish Flanders*. If he could have kept this Province, it would have been a better settlement for him, than even Bavaria, and have freed him from his subjection to the House of Austria; but he could get possession only of the cities of Luxemburg, Namur, and Charleroi, the rest being in the hands of the conquerors.

Every thing now seemed to threaten Louis XIV. who had so lately been the terror of all Europe. There was nothing to oppose the Duke of Savoy's entering France. England and Scotland were lately become one Kingdom, by the Union: or, rather, Scotland, now become a Province of England, increased the power of its ancient rival. Towards the end of 1706, and at the commencement of 1707, all the enemies of France seemed to have acquired new strength, and that Kingdom to be on the verge of ruin. She was pressed on all sides, both by sea and land. Of the formidable fleets which Louis XIV. had raised, scarcely five-and-thirty ships were left remaining. Strasburg still continued to be the barrier town towards Germany; but by the loss of Landau, all Alsace lay exposed. Provence was threatened with an invasion by sea and land, and the losses already sustained in Flanders, made her tremble for what was left; and yet, notwithstanding all these disasters, the body of the Kingdom had not yet been attacked; and, unsuccessful as the war had been, she had lost nothing but her conquests.

Louis XIV. still opposed his enemies; and though defeated almost every-where, he continued to resist, protect, and even attack on all sides. But affairs were

* It is said in Reboulet's History, that he had this sovereignty as early as 1700; but at that time he possessed only the Viceroyalty. *Veltaire*.

as unsuccessful in Spain, as in Italy, Germany, and Flanders. It is said that the siege of Barcelona was still worse conducted than that of Turin.

The Count of Thoulouse* had hardly made his appearance with his fleet, when he was obliged to sail back again to Toulon. Barcelona was relieved, the siege raised, and the French, after having lost half their army, were forced, without ammunition or provisions, to march back into Navarre, a little Kingdom that they kept for the Spaniards, and of which our Kings take the title by a custom that seems beneath their dignity.

To these disasters was added yet another, which seemed to be decisive. The Portuguese, together with a body of English, took every place they presented themselves before, and were advanced even into the Spanish Estramadura, different from the Portuguese province of the same name. They were commanded by a Frenchman, who had been created a Peer of England†; namely, Lord Galway, before Count of Ruvigny; while the Duke of Berwick, an Englishman, and nephew to the Duke of Marlborough, who commanded the troops of France and Spain, in vain attempted to stop their progress.

Philip V. uncertain of his fate, was in Pampeluna; while his competitor, Charles, was increasing his party, and augmenting his forces in Catalonia. He was master of Arragon, of the Province of Valentia, Carthagena, and part of the Province of Granada. The English took Gibraltar for themselves, and gave him Minorca, Ivica, and Alicant: besides, the road of Madrid was open to

* In the beginning of April 1706, King Philip, at the head of a numerous army, undertook the siege of Barcelona, which was defended by his rival Charles, in person. It was at the same time blocked up by sea, by the Count de Thoulouse, and in all probability must have surrendered, had it not been relieved by the English fleet. Sir John Leake sailed from Lisbon with thirty ships of the line, and on the eighth day of May arrived in sight of Barcelona. The French Admiral at his approach made the best of his way to Toulon; and in three days after his departure, Philip retired in great disorder, leaving his tents behind, together with his sick and wounded. *Smollet.*

† This is a mistake; he was only an Irish Peer. *Translator.*

him,

him, and Lord Galway entered that city without any resistance, and proclaimed the Archduke Charles King. A single detachment also proclaimed him June 26,
1706. in Toledo.

In fine, Philip's affairs seemed so desperate, that Marshal Vauban, the first of engineers, and the best of citizens, a man continually engaged in schemes, some useful, others impracticable, but all of them singular, proposed to the French Court to send Philip over to America, to reign there; and the Prince himself consented to it. In this case, all the Spaniards in Philip's interest would have quitted their country to follow him. Spain would have been left a prey to civil factions. The French would have had the whole commerce of Peru and Mexico; and even by this reverse of fortune in Louis XIV's family, France would have received an aggrandisement of its monarchy. This project was in consideration at Versailles; but the perseverance of the Castilians, and the oversights of the enemy, preserved the crown to Philip V. The people loved him, as the King of their choice; and his Queen, the Duke of Savoy's daughter, had gained their affections by the pains she took to please them, by an intrepidity above her sex, and an active fortitude under misfortunes. She went in person from city to city, animating the minds of her subjects, rousing their zeal, and receiving the donations which they brought in on all sides; so that in three weeks time she remitted her husband above two hundred thousand crowns. Not one of the grandees who had taken the oath of fidelity proved false. When Lord Galway proclaimed the Archduke in Madrid, the people cried out, "Long live King Philip!" and at Toledo they rose in tumult, and put to flight the officers who proclaimed the Archduke.

The Spaniards had till then made very few efforts in support of their King; but when they saw him thus distressed, they exerted themselves in a distinguished manner; and on this occasion shewed an example of a courage quite the reverse of that of other nations, who generally commence with vigour, but afterwards relax. It is very dif-

difficult to impose a King upon a nation, against its will. The Portuguese, the English, and Austrians, that were in Spain, were miserably harrassed wherever they came, suffered much for want of provisions, and were guilty of errors almost unavoidable in a strange country; so that they were beaten in detached parties. In short, Philip V.

three months after his leaving Madrid like
 Sept. 22, a fugitive, entered it again in triumph, and
 1706. was received with as much joy and acclamations
 as his rival had met with coldness and aversion.

Louis XIV. redoubled his efforts, when he saw the Spaniards exert themselves; and though he was obliged to provide for the safety of the sea-coasts of the Western Ocean and the Mediterranean, by stationing militia all along the shore; and had one army in Flanders, another at Strasburg, a body of troops in Navarre, and one in Roussillon; yet he sent a fresh reinforcement to Marshal Berwick in Castile.

It was with these troops, seconded by the Spaniards,
 April 25, that Berwick gained the important battle of Al-
 1707. manza *, against Galway. Almanza, a city built
 by the Moors, is on the frontier of Valencia; and
 that fine Province was the prize of this victory. Neither Philip nor the Archduke were present at this action, on which the famous Earl of Peterborough, who was singular in every thing, observed, "That it was excellent, indeed, to fight against one another for them." This was what he wrote to Marshal Tessé, and what I heard him say, myself; to which he added, that none but slaves should fight for a man, and that one should only fight for a nation. The Duke of Orleans, who was to have the command in Spain, and who was desirous of being present, did not arrive till the day after the battle: however, he made all possible advantage of

* This was fought on the fourteenth day of April 1707, and was altogether a decisive action. The Allies were totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men taken prisoners, with all their colours and artillery. The defeat was in a great measure owing to the cowardice of the Portuguese troops on the right, who fled on the first onset. *Smollet.*

the victory, by taking several places, and among others Lerida, the rock on which the Great Condé had split.

On the other hand, Marshal Villars, now replaced at the head of the armies, merely because Government could not do without him, made amends for the fatal defeat at Hochstet. He forced the lines at Stolhofsen, on the other side the Rhine, dispersed the May 22,
1707. enemies troops, levied contributions for fifty

leagues round, and advanced as far as the Danube. This momentary success gave time to breathe, on the frontiers of Germany; but in Italy all was lost. The Kingdom of Naples, intirely defenceless, and accustomed to a change of masters, was under the yoke of the conquerors; and the Pope, unable to refuse a passage to the German troops through his dominions, saw, without daring to murmur, the Emperor make him his vassal against his will. It is a strong instance of the force of received opinions, and the power of custom, that Naples may always be seized upon without consulting the Pope, and yet that the possessor is always obliged to do him homage for it.

While the grandson of Louis XIV. was thus deprived of Naples, the grandfather was on the point of losing Provence and Dauphiny. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene had already entered those Provinces by the narrow pass of Tenda. Those frontiers are not defended as Flanders and Alsace are, that constant theatre of the war, set thick with citadels, which the danger of their situation had rendered it necessary to provide themselves with. There were none of these precautions taken towards the war; none of these fortified places to avert the progress of an enemy, and afford time to assemble an army. This frontier has been neglected even to our days, without its being possible to give any other reason for it, except that men cannot attend to every thing. Louis XIV. had the mortification to see that very Duke of Savoy, who a twelvemonth before had hardly any thing left but his Capital, and Prince Eugene, who had been brought up at his Court, on the point of stripping him of Toulon and Marseilles.

Toulon

August,
1707.

Toulon was besieged, and in danger of being taken: the English Fleet, mistress of the sea, lay before the harbour, and bombarded the town. A little more diligence, precaution, and unanimity, would have carried Toulon. Marteilles, then left defenceless, could have made no resistance, and France seemed likely to lose two Provinces. But what seems probable does not always happen. There was time to send succours. A detachment had been made from Marshal Villars's army, as soon as these Provinces were threatened; and the advantages in Germany were made to give way to the safety of a part of France. That part of the country by which the enemy entered, was dry, barren, and hilly; provisions were scarce, and a retreat difficult. A sickness, which made great havock in the enemy's army, proved a most favourable circumstance for Louis XIV. The siege of Tou-

August 22,
1707.

lon was raised*, and soon afterwards the enemy evacuated Provence, and Dauphiny was out of danger: so seldom does an invasion prove successful, unless there is an intelligence with the people of the country. Charles V. failed in the same design; and of late days the Queen of Hungary's troops have been likewise disappointed in their attempts upon this country †.

* This attempt upon Toulon might have succeeded, if the Emperor, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the Maritime Powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a considerable part of it towards Naples; and detained ten thousand recruits in Germany, from an apprehension of the King of Sweden, who was then in Saxony, and on very indifferent terms with the Court of Vienna. *Smollet*.

† A regard for truth, even in the most trifling matters, obliges one to challenge the speech that the compiler of Madame Maint. non's *Memoirs* imputes to Charles XII. King of Sweden, as spoken to the Duke of Marlborough. "If Toulon is taken, I will go and retake it." This English General was not near the King of Sweden, during that siege. He saw him at Altranstادت, in April 1707, and the siege of Toulon was raised in August. Besides, Charles XII. never interfered in that war, and constantly refused to see any of the French deputies that were sent to him. One meets with nothing in these *Memoirs* but conversations which never were, nor ever could have been held; and that book ought only to be considered as an ill digested novel. *Voltaire*.

However, this invasion, which cost the Allies so dear, proved of equal injury to the French. Their country had been ravaged, and their forces divided.

Europe little expected that while the French nation, thus exhausted, thought itself happy in having escaped an invasion, Louis XIV. was sufficiently great and fertile in resources, to attempt himself an invasion of Great-Britain, in spite of the weak state of his maritime forces, and the powerful fleets of the English that covered the seas. This expedition was proposed by some of the Scotch in the interest of the son of James II. The success was doubtful; but Louis thought the very attempt sufficiently glorious; and actually declared afterwards, that he was determined as much by this motive, as by his own political interest.

To carry the war into Great-Britain at a time when he could with difficulty support the burthen of it in so many other places, and to endeavour to replace the son of James II. at least on the throne of Scotland, while he could hardly support Philip V. on that of Spain, was a great idea, and, after all, not quite destitute of probability.

Those of the Scotch who had not sold themselves to the Court of London, were grieved to see themselves reduced to a state of dependence on the English, and privately with one accord called upon the descendant of their ancient Kings, driven in his infancy from the thrones of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and whose very birth had been contested by his enemies. They promised to join him with thirty thousand men in arms to fight his cause, if he would only land at Edinburgh with some few succours from France.

Louis XIV. who in the times of his past prosperity had made such efforts in behalf of the father, now did the same for the son, though his fortunes were on the decline. Eight ships of war and seventy transports were got ready at Dunkirk, and six thousand men put on board. The Count de Gacé, afterwards ^{March,} Marshal Matignon, had the command of the ^{1708.} troops, and the Chevalier de Forbin-Janson, one of the

best sailors of his time, was Admiral of the fleet. The conjuncture seemed favourable for their design: there were but three thousand regular troops in Scotland. England was left defenceless, its soldiers being all employed in Flanders, under the Duke of Marlborough. The difficulty was to get thither; for the English had a fleet of fifty ships of war cruising at sea. This expedition was exactly like the late one in 1744, in favour of the grandson of James II. It was discovered by the Government, and impeded by several unlucky accidents, which afforded the English Ministry sufficient time to send for twelve battalions out of Flanders. Several of the most suspected persons were seized in Edinburgh. At length, the Pretender having shewed himself upon the Scotch coast, and not seeing the signals which had been agreed upon, the Chevalier Forbin could do nothing more but conduct him back again to Dunkirk. He saved the French fleet, but the expedition was intirely frustrated*. Matignon was the only one who gained any thing by it. Having opened his orders after he came out to sea, he there found a patent for Marshal of France; a reward for what he meant to do, but could not perform.

Some historians † have suspected that Queen Anne had a correspondence with her brother in this affair. It

is

* Louis XIV. is said to have had other aims than those our author mentions. His chief design was to make a diversion from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great-Britain, which might give employment to the English Ministry, and hinder Queen Anne from exerting herself against France on the continent. The scheme was defeated by the vigilance of Sir George Byng, Commander of the English squadron, who reached the Firth of Edinburgh time enough to prevent the Pretender's landing. He gave chase to the French squadron, one of the ships of which he took, and Forbin escaped with great difficulty. *Smollet.*

† Among the rest, Rehoulet says so, vol. VIII. p. 238. He founds his suspicions upon those of the Chevalier Forbin. The author who has given so many falsities to the public under the title of *Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon*, and who, in 1752, printed at Frankfort a surreptitious edition of the *Age of Louis XIV.* asks, in one of his notes, Who are the historians that have pretended that Queen Anne acted in concert with her brother? It is a *phantom*, says he. But one may

is great folly to suppose that she would invite her competitor to come and dethrone her. They have confounded the time, and imagined that she favoured him then, because she afterwards looked upon him in private as her heir: but who would chuse to be driven from a throne by a successor?

While the affairs of France were every day growing worse and worse, the King thought, that by sending the Duke of Burgundy, his grandson, to head the army in Flanders, the presence of the presumptive heir to the Crown would excite the emulation of the troops, which began to droop. This Prince was of a resolute and intrepid disposition, pious, just, and philosophic. He was formed to command wise men. The pupil of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, he loved his duties, he loved mankind, and endeavoured to render them happy. Though versed in the art of war, he considered it rather as the scourge of human kind, and an unhappy necessity, than the source of real glory. This philosophical Prince was the person sent to oppose the Duke of Marlborough, and they gave him the Duke of Vendôme for an assistant. It now happened, as it too frequently does: the experienced Officer was not sufficiently listened to, and the Prince's Council frequently carried it over the General's reasons. Hence arose two parties; whereas, in the enemy's army there was but one, that of the public good. Prince Eugene was at that time on the Rhine; but when he and Marlborough were together, they never had but one opinion.

The Duke of Burgundy had the superiority in numbers: France, which Europe looked upon as exhausted, had furnished him with an army of near a hundred thousand men; and the Allies at that time had not quite eighty thousand. He had moreover the advantage of intelligence, on his side, in a country which had been so long under the Spanish dominion, was tired out with Dutch garrisons, and where a great part of the inha-

may here see clearly that it was no *phantom*, and that the author of the Age of Louis XIV. has advanced nothing without a proof in hand. History ought never to be written otherwise. *Voltaire.*

bitants were inclined to favour Philip V. By his correspondence in Ghent and Ypres, he became master of these two places; but the schemes of the soldier soon rendered fruitless those of the politician. The disagreements in the Council of War already began to distract their operations; so that now they marched towards the Dendre, and two hours afterwards turned back again towards the Scheld, to go to Oudenarde. In this manner did they lose time, while the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were making the best of theirs, and acting in concert with each other. The

French were routed near Oudenarde. This
 July 11, was not a great battle*; but it proved a fatal
 1708. retreat. Error was added to error. The re-

giments were suffered to wander at random, without receiving any orders, and above four thousand men were made prisoners on the road, by the enemy's army, a few miles distant only from the field of battle.

The army in despondency retreated without any order, part under Ghent, part under Tournay, and part under Ypres; and quietly suffered Prince Eugene, now master of the country, to lay siege to Lisle with an inferior army.

To sit down before so large and well-fortified a town as Lisle, without being master of Ghent, obliged to send for provisions and ammunition as far as Oitend, and these to be brought over a narrow causeway, at the hazard of being every moment surprised, was what Europe called a rash action; but which the misunderstanding and irresolution that prevailed in the French army, rendered very excusable, and was justified in the end by the success. The grand convoys, which might have been intercepted, arrived safe. The troops that escorted them, and which ought to have been defeated by a superior number, proved victorious†. The Duke of Burgundy's army, that might have attacked the

* If the night had not interposed, the whole French army would have been destroyed. *Smollet.*

† Alluding to the battle of Wynendale, in which Major-General Webb, with six thousand of the Allies, defeated two-and-twenty thousand French, commanded by the Count de la Motte. *Ibid.*

enemies entrenchments before they were complete, remained inactive; and Lisle was taken, to the astonishment of all Europe, who thought the Duke of Burgundy rather in a condition to besiege ^{Oct. 23, 1708.} Marlborough and Eugene, than those Generals to besiege Lisle. Marshal Boufflers defended the place near four months.

The inhabitants became so familiar with the noise of cannon, and all the horrors which attend a siege, that public diversions were carried on as frequent as in time of peace; and though a bomb one day fell very near the play-house, it did not interrupt the entertainment.

Marshal Boufflers had made such judicious dispositions, that the inhabitants of this great city remained perfectly secure in his vigilance. The defence he made gained him the esteem even of his enemies, the hearts of the inhabitants, and a reward from the King. Those historians, or rather the Dutch writers, who affect to blame him, should remember, that to contradict the public voice, a person must have been a witness, and an intelligent one, or prove what he advances*.

In the mean time, the army that had looked on while Lisle was taken, began to diminish by little and little, and suffered Ghent to be taken next, and then Bruges,

* Of this nature is a history which a Bookseller, called Van Duren, pretends to have been written by the Jesuit La Motte, when concealed in Holland, under the name of La Hode, and continued by Martiniere; the whole founded only on the pretended Memoirs of a Count de - -, Secretary of State.

The Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon, still fuller of falsties, say, vol. IV. p. 119, that the besiegers threw into the town little billets containing these words: *Rassurez-vous, Français, la Maintenon ne sera pas votre Reine; nous ne leverons pas le siège.* "Be comforted, ye French, Maintenon shall not be your Queen; for we shall not raise the siege. It was believed (he adds) that Louis, in a transport of joy, which the certainty of an unexpected victory had thrown him into, had offered or promised the throne to Madame Maintenon." How, in a transport of impertinence, could any one commit to paper such stuff? How could the dunce carry his assurance so far, as to say, that the Duke of Burgundy had betrayed the King, his grandfather, and suffered Prince Eugene to take Lisle, for fear that Madame Maintenon should be declared Queen? *Voltaire.*

and all the posts one after another. Few campaigns have proved more fatal than this. The Officers in the Duke of Vendôme's interest laid all these faults to the Duke of Burgundy's Council, who retorted them back upon the Duke of Vendôme. All minds were soured with misfortune. One of the Duke of Burgundy's Courtiers said, one day, to the Duke de Vendôme, "Thus it is never to go to mass; you see how misfortunes attend us*." "Do you think then, replied the Duke de Vendôme, that Marlborough goes there oftner than I?" The Emperor Joseph was puffed up with the rapid successes of the allied army. Absolute in the Empire, and master of Landau, he saw the road to Paris in a manner open to him by the taking of Lisle. A party of the Dutch had the boldness to advance as far as Versailles, from Courtrai, and carried off the King's Master of the Horse, almost from under the castle windows, thinking it had been the Dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy's father†. Paris was filled with terror.

The Emperor entertained as strong hopes of settling his brother Charles on the throne of Spain, as Louis XIV. did to keep his grandson in possession of it. This succession, which the Spaniards wanted to have rendered indivisible, was already split into three parts. The Emperor had taken Lombardy and the Kingdom of Naples to himself. His brother Charles was still in possession of Catalonia, and a part of Arragon. The Emperor at that time obliged Pope Clement XI. to acknowledge the Archduke for King of Spain. This

* The Marquis d'O.

† They were not Dutch, but a parcel of Officers in the Dutch service mostly French, whom the fatal Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had driven out of the kingdom. They mistook the chariot of the Marquis de Beringhen for that of the Dauphin, because it bore the scutcheon of France. Having carried him off, they put him on horse-back; but as he was old and infirm, they had the kindness to look out for a post-chaise, themselves, on the road, which occasioned so much loss of time, that they were overtaken on a pursuit; the Master of the Horse was rescued, and they were made prisoners in turn. Some minutes later they might have taken the Dauphin, who followed soon after Beringhen, with a single effort. *Voltaire.*

Pope,

Pope, who was said to resemble St. Peter, because he owned, denied, repented, and wept, had, after the example of his predecessor, acknowledged Philip V. and was attached to the House of Bourbon. The Emperor, to punish him, declared several sieges which at that time were held from the Popes, subject to the Empire, particularly Parma and Placentia; laid waste several lands belonging to the Holy See; and seized on the town of Comacchio.

In former times, a Pope would have excommunicated any Emperor who had attempted to dispute with him the most trifling privileges; and that excommunication would have driven the Emperor from his throne. But the power of the King being now reduced within its proper bounds, Clement XI. who at the instigation of France had ventured to unsheath the sword for some short time, had no sooner taken up arms than he repented of it. He perceived that the Romans were incapable of wielding the sword under a sacerdotal Government; he therefore laid down his arms, left Comacchio in the Emperor's hands as a pledge, and consented to write to the Archduke with the stile of "Our dearest son, the Catholic *King in Spain*." A fleet of English ships in the Mediterranean, and a German army in his dominions, soon made him glad to write, "To our dearest son Charles *King of Spain*." It was thought that this suffrage of the Pope's, though of no service in the German Empire, might have some effect on the Spanish populace, who had been made to believe that the Archduke was unworthy to reign, because he was protected by the heretics who had taken Gibraltar.

There yet remained to the Spanish Monarchy, beyond the continent, the two Islands of Sardinia and Sicily. An English fleet gave Sardinia to the Emperor Joseph; for the English were not willing that the Archduke should have any thing more than Spain. At that time they made treaties of partition with their arms. The conquest of Sicily they reserved for another time, chusing rather to employ their ships at sea in cruising for the Spanish galleons, some of which

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they took, than in conquering new territories for the Emperor.

France was now as much humbled as Rome, and more in danger : its resources began to fail, credit was at a stand, and the people, who had idolized their Monarch in his prosperity, began to murmur against him when unfortunate.

A set of men to whom the Ministry had sold the nation for a little ready money to supply the immediate calls, grew fat on the public calamity, and insulted the sufferings of the people by their luxurious manner of living. The money they had advanced was spent ; and had it not been for the bold industry of certain traders, particularly those of St. Malo, who made a voyage to Peru, and brought home thirty millions, half of which they lent to the Government, Louis XIV. would not have had money to pay his troops. The war had ruined the kingdom, and the merchants saved it. This was the case in Spain, likewise. The galleons, which had escaped being taken by the English, helped to support Philip V. ; but this resource, which was only of a few months duration, did not facilitate the raising of recruits. Chamillard, who had been Treasurer, and Secretary at War, resigned the Finances in 1708*, which he left in such disorder, that nothing could repair them, during that reign ; and in 1709, he also resigned the post of Minister for the War Department, which had become not less difficult than the former. Many faults were objected to him. The Public, generally more severe than indulgent, never considered that there are often certain unhappy times when errors are unavoidable. Monsieur Voisin, who succeeded him as Secretary of War, and Monsieur Desmarêts, who was appointed to the Treasury, could not frame more successful plans of war, nor restore an annihilated credit.

* The History of the Ex-Jesuit La Motte, digested by La Martinière, says, that Monsieur de Chamillard was removed from the Treasury in 1703, and that Marshal Harcourt was called by the public voice to succeed him. The blunders of this writer are numberless. *Volsaire.*

The severe winter of 1709 completed the despair of the nation. The olive-trees, which are a great resource in the south of France, were all destroyed; almost all the fruit-trees were killed with the frost; there were no hopes of an harvest, and there was very little corn in the granaries; and what could be brought at a very great distance from the sea-ports of the Levant and of Barbary, was liable to be taken by the enemies' fleets, to which we had hardly any ships of war to oppose. The scourge of this dreadful winter was general all over Europe; but the enemies had more resources; especially the Dutch, who had been so long the factors for other nations, had magazines sufficiently stored to supply the strongest armies the Allies could bring into the field, in a plentiful manner, while the French troops, diminished and disheartened, seemed ready to perish for want.

The King sold his gold plate for four hundred thousand franks; and all the Nobility sent their silver plate to the public mint. Nothing but brown bread was eaten in Paris for several months; and many families, even at Versailles, lived upon oaten bread. Madame Maintenon set the example.

Louis XIV. who had already made some advances towards a peace, determined, under these fatal circumstances, to propose it to those very Hollanders formerly so ill-treated by him.

The States-General had chosen no Stadtholder since the death of King William; and the Dutch Magistrates, who already began to call their families "the patrician families," were so many petty Kings. The four Dutch Commissioners who attended the army, behaved with the utmost insolence to thirty German Princes in their pay. "Send Holstein hither," said they; "bid Hesse come and speak to us*." In this manner did a set of merchants express themselves, who,

* This is what the Author had from the mouths of twenty persons who heard them speak in this manner, in Lille, after the taking of that town. However, it is possible that such expressions might have been not so much the effect of insolence, as of that laconic style usual in the army. *Voltaire.*

all plain in their garb, and abstemious in their way of living, took a pleasure in mortifying the haughtiness of the German mercenaries, and the pride of a great King who had formerly been their conqueror. They had sold their alliance to Louis XIV. at a low price, in 1665; sustained their misfortunes in 1672, and repaired them with intrepid courage; and now they were resolved to use the benefit of their good fortune. They were not contented with shewing the world, by these external marks of superiority, that power is the only real greatness; they likewise insisted upon having ten towns in Flanders given them up in sovereignty; and, among others, Lisle, which was already in their hands, and Tournai, which was not yet taken. Thus the Dutch wanted to reap all the fruits of the war, not only at the expence of France, but at that of the House of Austria likewise, whose cause they had been fighting; just as Venice had formerly augmented its territories with those of all its neighbours. The Republican spirit is upon the whole full as ambitious as the Monarchical.

This plainly appeared a few months afterwards; for when this shadow of a negotiation was vanished, and the allied army had gained some fresh advantages, the Duke of Marlborough, at that time more absolute in England than his Mistress, having been gained over by the Dutch, concluded with the States-General, in 1709, the famous Barrier-treaty, by which they were to keep possession of all the frontier towns which should be taken from the French; were to have garrisons in twenty fortresses in Flanders, to be maintained at the expence of the country, in Huy, in Liege, and in Bonn; and to have Upper Gueldres in perpetual sovereignty. By this treaty they would have become, in effect, sovereigns of the seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, and have had the supreme rule in Liege and Cologne. In this manner did they want to aggrandize themselves by the ruin even of their allies. They were full of these lofty projects, when the President Rouillé was sent privately by the King to endeavour to bring them into a treaty.

This

This negotiator first met at Antwerp with two Burgomasters of Amsterdam, Buys and Vanderduffen, who spoke to him in the stile of conquerors, and behaved towards the Envoy of the proudest Prince in Europe with all that haughtiness which had been used towards themselves in 1672. They afterwards held a conference with him in one of those villages that the Generals of Louis XIV. had formerly ravaged with fire and sword. When they had sported with him thus for a considerable time, they declared to him that the King of France should oblige his grandson to relinquish the Crown of Spain, without the least compensation; and that the Elector of Bavaria, Francis-Maria, with his brother, the Elector of Cologne, should make a submission, or that the fortune of war should conclude the treaty.

The hopeless dispatches of the President Rouillé arrived, stroke after stroke, to the Council at the time of the most deplorable misery, in which the kingdom had been reduced to its most wretched state. The winter of 1709 had left the most shocking traces, and the people were perishing of famine. The troops were without pay, and the desolation was universal. The groans and the terrors of the Public still augmented the malady.

The Council was composed of the Dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy his son, the Chancellor of France Pontchartrain, the Duke of Beauvilliers, the Marquis de Torcy, the Secretary of War Chamillard, and the Comptroller-General Desmarêts. The Duke of Beauvilliers gave so moving a description of the condition to which France was reduced, that the Duke of Burgundy wept, and the whole Council shed tears along with him. The Chancellor declared for peace, at whatever price it might be purchased. The Ministers of the war and the finances acknowledged, that they were both without resources. "A scene so melancholy," said the Marquis of Torcy, "would be difficult to describe, even though one was at liberty to reveal the secret that was the most touching part of it." This secret was the circumstance of the tears which were then flowing.

The

The Marquis de Torcy, in this crisis, offered to go himself and share the insults offered to the King in the person of the President Rouillé. But what hopes could he have to obtain what the conquerors had already refused? He could not expect it but upon still harder conditions.

May 22, The Allies then opened the campaign. Tor-
1709. cy went under a borrowed name to the Hague. The Grand Pensionary Heinsius was much astonished when he was told that the person who was regarded by foreigners as the principal Minister of France, was in his anti-chamber. Heinsius had been formerly sent to France by King William, to discuss his rights upon the Principality of Orange. He addressed himself to Louvois, Secretary of State, having the department of Dauphiny, which borders on Orange, under his charge. William's Minister spoke spiritedly, not only for his master, but for those of the reformed religion in Orange. But can it be believed, that Louvois should threaten *to send him to the Bastille?** Such an expression used to a meer subject would have been odious; but to a foreign Minister was an insolent outrage against the law of nations. One may judge whether or no this treatment had not left a deep impression in the heart of a Magistrate of a free people.

There have been but few examples of so much pride followed by such great humiliations†. The Marquis de Torcy, a suppliant at the Hague, in the name of Louis XIV. addressed himself to Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, after having lost his time with Heinsius. But they were all three for continuing the war. The Prince considered in it his greatness, and his revenge; the Duke his glory, and immense riches, of which he was equally fond; and the third, who was governed by the other two, looked upon himself as a Spartan humbling the pride of a Persian King. They con-

* See the Memoirs of Torcy, Volume III. Page 2. They confirm all that is advanced here. *Voltaire.*

† More is the pity! *Translator.*

sented, not to a peace, but only a truce; during which full satisfaction was to be made to all their allies, without taking any notice of the King's; with these further conditions, that the King should assist his enemies to drive his own grandson out of Spain, in the space of two months; and that, by way of security, he should commence by ceding to the States-General, for ever, ten towns in Flanders, restore Strasburg and Brisac, and renounce the sovereignty of Alsace.

Louis little expected, some years before, when he refused a regiment to Prince Eugene, when Churchill was not yet a Colonel in England, and the name of Heinsius was hardly known to him, that one day these three men should impose such laws on him. In vain did Torcy attempt to bribe Marlborough with an offer of four millions; for the Duke, who loved glory as much as money, and who, from the vast gains produced by his victories, had amassed above four millions already, left the Minister of France only the mortification of having made a shameful and an useless offer.

Torcy reported to the King the conditions, or rather the commands, of his enemies. Louis XIV. now did what he had never before done with his subjects. He justified himself to them: he addressed to the Governors of the Provinces, and to the Corporations of the Towns, a circular letter, by which, in communicating to his people the further burden he was obliged to impose upon them, he excited their indignation, their honour, and even their compassion*.

* The author of the *Memoirs of Madame Maintenon* says, vol. V. p. 92 and 93, that "the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene had gained over Heinsius," as if Heinsius required to be brought over. He puts into the mouth of Louis XIV. instead of the spirited expression he made use of in full Council, these low and flat words, *Alors, comme alors* (a). He also cites the Author of the *Age of Louis XIV.* and reprehends him for having said that Louis XIV. *had the circular letter posted up in the streets of Paris*. We have examined all the editions of the *Age of Louis XIV.* and could not find a single word of the passage here quoted, not even in the surreptitious edition that he printed himself at Frankfort, in 1752. *Voltaire*.

(a) These words are but the beginning of the sentence he imputes to Louis XIV. and having no meaning by themselves, cannot be translated. *Translator*.

The politicians said, that Torcy went to the Hague in that suppliant manner, only to throw the whole blame upon the enemy, to justify Louis XIV. in the eyes of Europe, and animate the French to a just resentment; but the fact is, that he went there solely to sue for peace. The President Rouillé was even left some days longer at the Hague, to endeavour to get more favourable conditions; but all the answer he received was an order from the States-General to depart Holland in twenty-four hours*.

Louis XIV. when he heard the rigorous terms imposed upon him, said in full Council, "Since I must make war, I would rather it should be against my enemies, than my children." He then made preparations to try his fortune once more in Flanders. The famine, which had laid waste the countries round, proved a resource for the war. Those who wanted bread enlisted for soldiers. Many lands lay untilled; but an army was raised. Marshal Villars, who had been sent the preceding year into Savoy, to command a few troops, whose ardour was revived by his presence, and who had met with some little successes, was recalled into Flanders, as the person in whom the State placed all her hopes.

Marlborough had already taken Tournay; and with Prince Eugene, who had covered the siege, marched to invest Mons. Marshal Villars advanced to prevent them, having with him Marshal Boufflers, a senior Officer, but who had desired to serve under him. Boufflers had a true affection for his King and Country; and proved, on this occasion (notwithstanding what has been said by a great Genius†), that there are virtues in a Monarchical State, especially under a good master. There are doubtless as many as in a Republic, with

* Torcy had actually agreed to preliminaries which Louis rejected; and it was in consequence of this rejection, that Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four-and-twenty hours. *Smollet*.

† Montesquieu.

less enthusiasm, perhaps, but with more of what is called honour*.

As soon as the French advanced to oppose the investing of Mons, the Allies advanced to attack them near the wood of Blangies and the village of Malplaquet.

The army of the Allies consisted of about eighty thousand men, and that of the French of about seventy thousand. The French brought eighty pieces of can-

* This passage deserves to be examined. The celebrated Author of *The Spirit of Laws* says, that *honour* is the principle of Monarchical Governments, and *virtue* that of Republican ones.

These are but vague and confused ideas, which our Author has as vaguely and confusedly questioned; because men are seldom agreed in the definition of terms, and indeed rarely understand them. *Honour* is the desire to be honoured, to be esteemed; from whence arises the habit of avoiding every action of which a man ought to be ashamed. *Virtue* is the performance of all our duties in life, independent of the desire of esteem; from whence it comes, that *honour* is common, *virtue* rare.

The principle, therefore, of a Monarchy, or of a Republic, is neither *honour* nor *virtue*. A Monarchy is founded on the power of a single person; and a Republic is founded on the power of a number of persons to oppose the power of any single one. Monarchies are generally established by the Chiefs of Armies; Republics by a Convention of Citizens. *Honour* is common to mankind, and *virtue* scarce in all Governments. The selfishness of each individual of a Republic watches over the selfishness of others; each would be supreme, and therefore no one is so. The ambition of each Member is a general restraint, and an equality is thereby preserved.

In an established Monarchy ambition cannot succeed, but by gaining the favour of the King, or of those who rule under him. There is not in these first resources either *honour* or *virtue*, on one side or the other. Interest only prevails. *Virtue* is in all countries the result of education and of character. It is said in *The Spirit of Laws*, that *virtue* is more necessary in a Republic; but in one sense 'tis quite the reverse. There requires much more *virtue* in a Court, to enable one to resist so many seductions.

The Duke of Montausier and the Duke of Beauvilliers were both men of a rigid virtue. Marshal Villeroy joined milder manners to a probity not less incorruptible. The Marquis de Torcy was one of the honestest men in Europe, in a situation where politics permits a relaxation of morals. The Comptrollers-General le Pelletier and Chamillard were reckoned less skilful than virtuous.

It must be acknowledged, that Louis XIV. in this unfortunate war, was scarcely surounded by any but men of irreproachable characters. This is an observation very true and very important, in a History where the manners of the times take up so great a part. *French Note.*

non into the field, the Allies one hundred and forty. The Duke of Marlborough commanded the right wing, composed of the English, and German troops in English pay; Prince Eugene was in the center; Tilly and a Count of Nassau at the left, with the Dutch.

Sept. 1, 1709. Marshal Villars took the command of the left wing of his army, and left the right to

Marshal Boufflers. He had entrenched his army in haste; a method perhaps most suitable to his troops, that were inferior in numbers, had been a long time unsuccessful, and consisted of one half fresh recruits: it was most suitable likewise to our condition at that time; as an intire defeat would have completed the ruin of the nation. Some Historians have found fault with the disposition made by the Marshal: "He ought (say they) to have passed a large hollow, instead of having it in his front." Is it not being rather too discerning to judge thus from our closet of what passes in a field of battle?

All that I know is, what the Marshal himself said, that the soldiers, who had had no bread for a whole day, and had just their allowance distributed among them, threw half of it away, to come the lighter to action. There never was, for many ages, a longer or more obstinate battle; none more bloody. I shall say nothing of this action but what has been universally acknowledged. The enemies left wing, where the Dutch fought, was almost intirely cut to pieces, and pursued with bayonets fixed. Marlborough, at the right, made and withstood surprizing efforts. Marshal Villars had occasion to thin his center to oppose Marlborough; at that very instant the center was attacked, the entrenchments which covered it were carried, the regiment of guards who defended them making no resistance. The Marshal, in riding from his left wing to his center, was wounded, and the day was lost. The field of battle was covered with the bodies of thirty thousand men, killed or dying.

They marched over heaps of slain, especially in the Dutch quarter. The loss of the French in this battle, did

did not amount to more than eight thousand men; the enemy left near twenty-one thousand killed and wounded; but the center being forced, and the two wings cut off, those who had made the greatest slaughter lost the day.

Marshal Boufflers* made a retreat in good order, with the assistance of the Prince of Tingri-Montmorenci, since Marshal Luxemburg, inheritor of the valour of his ancestors. The army retired between Quefnoi and Valenciennes, carrying with them several standards and colours taken from the enemy. Louis XIV. comforted himself with these spoils, and it was esteemed a victory to have disputed the day so long, and to have lost only the field of battle. Marshal Villars, at his return to Court, assured the King, that if he had not been wounded, he should have gained the victory. I know the General himself was persuaded of this, but I know very few people besides who believe it.

It may seem surprising, that an army, which had killed the enemy near two-thirds more men than it lost itself, should not endeavour to prevent those who had gained no other advantage but that of lying in the midst of their dead, from going to lay siege to Mons. The Dutch were fearful for the success of this enterprize, and hesitated about it; but the conquered are frequently imposed upon and disheartened, by the name of having lost a battle. Men never do all that they might do, and

* In a book entitled *Memoirs of Marshal Berwick* it is said, that Marshal Berwick made this retreat. In this manner are a number of *Memoirs* written.

One reads in those of Madame Maintenon, by La Beaumelle, vol. V. page 99, that the Allies accused Marshal Villars of *having wounded himself, and that the French reproached him for having retreated too soon*. These are two very ridiculous charges. This General had received a musket-shot under the knee, which broke the bone, and obliged him to limp, all the rest of his life. The King sent him the *Grand Marechal*, his first surgeon, who solely prevented the cutting off the limb. This is what I received myself from the mouth of Marshal Villars, and of that great surgeon: 'tis what all his Officers knew, and what Marshal Villars condescended to confirm to me in his letters. He only treated with contempt the insolent and calumnious aspersions of La Beaumelle. *Voltaire*.

the foldier who is told he is beaten, fears to be beaten again. Thus Mons was befieged and taken, and all for the Dutch, who kept poffeffion of it, as they had done of Lifle and Tournai.

08. 11.
1709.

C H A P. XXII.

*Louis XIV. continues to follicit Peace, and to defend Himfelf.
The Duke of Vendôme fecures the King of Spain on his Throne.*

THE enemy not only continued thus advancing by degrees, and levelling all the barriers of France, on this fide; but they undertook, with the affiftance of the Duke of Savoy, to furprize Franche Comté, and penetrate at once by both ends into the heart of the kingdom. General Mercî, who was charged with facilitating this enterprize, by entering into Upper Alface by the City of Bafil, was happily ftopped near the Ifle of Newburg on the Rhine, by the Count, ſince Marſhal Dubourg. By I know not what unaccountable fatality, all thoſe of the name of Mercî have been always as unſucceſſful as they were eſteemed. This one was defeated in the completeſt manner. Nothing was undertaken on the fide of Savoy, but much was apprehended in regard to Flanders; and the domeſtic affairs of the kingdom were in ſo languid a ſtate, that the King once more ſolicited peace like a ſuppliant. He offered to acknowledge the Archduke for King of Spain; to withdraw all aſſiſtance from his grandſon, and leave him to his fate; to deliver up four places as ſecurities; to reſtore Straſburg and Briſac; to reſign the ſovereignty of Alface, reſerving only the preſecture; to raze all the fortified places between Bafil and Philipſburg; to fill up the long-formidable harbour of Dunkirk, and demolish its fortifications; and to leave Liſle, Tournay, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Condé, and Maaſbeuge, in the hands of the States-General. Theſe were

in

in part the articles proposed to serve as a basis for the peace which he implored.

The Allies, determined to have the triumph of discussing the submissive proposals of Louis XIV. permitted his Plenipotentiaries to come to the little town of Gertruydenberg, in the beginning of the year 1710, to present their master's supplications. Louis made choice of Marshal d'Uxelles, a man of great coolness and taciturnity, and of a disposition rather prudent than elevated or bold. With him was joined the Abbé, afterwards Cardinal, Polignac, one of the brightest wits and most eloquent orators of his age, and of a most engaging person and address. But wit, prudence, and eloquence, are of no service in a Minister, when the Master is unsuccessful. It is conquest that makes treaties. The Ambassadors of Louis XIV. were rather confined in Gertruydenberg, than received there. The Deputies came to hear their proposals, which they transmitted to the Hague to Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and Count Zinzendorf, Ambassador from the Emperor. These proposals were always received with contempt. The Plenipotentiaries were insulted by the most abusive libels, the work of French refugees, who were become more inveterate enemies to the glory of Louis XIV. than even Prince Eugene or the Duke of Marlborough*.

Though the French Plenipotentiaries carried their submission so far as to promise for the King, that he should furnish money to dethrone Philip V. they were not listened to. It was insisted upon as a preliminary, that Louis XIV. should engage alone to drive his grandson out of Spain, in two months, by force of arms. This absurd piece of inhumanity, much more insolent than a refusal, arose from fresh successes.

While the Allies were thus treating Louis XIV. like masters irritated against his pride and greatness, now equally humbled, the city of Douay was taken by them; and soon afterwards they took Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant; and Lord Stair proposed to send troops to the gates of Paris.

* And they had more reason to be so. *Smollet.*

Almost at the same time the Archduke's army, commanded by Guy Staremberg, the nearest in military reputation to Prince Eugene of all the German
 Aug. 20, 1710. Generals, gained a compleat victory near Saragossa* over that army in which Philip V. and his adherents had placed their hopes, and which was commanded by the Marquis de Bay, an unfortunate General. Here again it was observed, that the two rival Kings, though within reach of their armies, were not present at this battle. Of all the Princes for whom Europe was then up in arms, the Duke of Savoy was the only one who fought his own battles. It was a melancholy thing, that he could acquire his glory only by fighting against his two daughters, one of whom he endeavoured to dethrone, in order to gain a small spot of ground in Lombardy, about which the Emperor Joseph already began to make some difficulties, and which he would have been stript of, the very first opportunity.

This Emperor was successful every-where, but shewed no moderation in his good fortune. By his own meet authority he dismembered Bavaria, and bestowed the fiefs of it on his relations and creatures. He despoiled the young Duke of Mirandola of his dominions in Italy, and the Princes of the Empire maintained an army for him on the Rhine, without thinking that they were labouring to strengthen a power which they ought to fear, so much did the old prevailing hatred to the name of Louis XIV. occupy every mind, as appearing to be the principal concern. Joseph had likewise the good fortune to suppress the Hungarian male-contentes. The Court of France had set up Prince Ragotski against him, who came armed with his own pretensions and those of his country. Ragotski was beaten, his towns taken, and his party ruined. Thus Louis XIV. was equally

* The whole cavalry of Philip were defeated at Almenara, by the Allied horse, commanded by General Stanhope, who, with his own hand, slew General Amessaga, commander of the Spanish Guards. General Staremberg followed Philip's army to Saragossa, where they gave him battle, on the 9th day of August, and were totally defeated. Smollet.

unfortunate abroad and at home, by sea and land, in his public negotiations and his private intrigues.

It was believed by all Europe, at that time, that the Archduke Charles, brother to the fortunate Joseph, would reign without a competitor in Spain. Europe was threatened with a power more formidable than that of Charles V.; and the English, so long the declared foes of the Austrian-Spanish branch, and the Dutch, its revolted slaves, were those who exhausted themselves to establish it. Philip V. who had taken refuge in Madrid, quitted it again, and retired to Valladolid, while the Archduke Charles made his entry as a conqueror into the capital.

The French King could no longer supply his grandson with succours; he had been obliged to do that, in part, which the Allies had exacted of him at Gertruydenberg, to abandon the cause of Philip, by recalling, for his own defence, those troops that were yet in Spain; being hardly able to stand his ground against Savoy, on the Rhine, and in Flanders, where the stress of the war chiefly lay.

Spain was in a still more deplorable situation than France. Almost all its Provinces had been laid waste by its enemies and its friends. It was attacked by Portugal. Its commerce was destroyed. There was a general dearth throughout the kingdom; but this, indeed, was more severely felt by the victors, than by the vanquished; because, throughout a large extent of country, the affection of the people gave all in their power to Philip, and refused every thing to the Austrians. Philip had no longer either a General or troops from France. The Duke of Orleans, by whom his drooping fortunes had been a little raised, instead of commanding his army, was then considered as his enemy. It is certain, that notwithstanding the affection the inhabitants of Madrid had for Philip, and the fidelity of many of the *Grandeos*, and of all Castile, he had still a powerful party against him in Spain. The Catalonians, a warlike and headstrong nation, were obstinately attached to his rival. One half of Arragon had likewise been gained over.

One party of the people waited the event of affairs, and another hated the Archduke more than they loved Philip. The Duke of Orleans, the namesake of Philip, disgusted besides with the Ministry of Spain, and displeased with the Princess Ursini, who governed there, began to conceive hopes that he might secure for himself the country which he had come to defend; and when Louis XV. himself proposed to give up his grandson, and an abdication was already talked of in Spain, the Duke of Orleans thought himself worthy of filling the throne which Philip V. would be obliged to resign. He had some pretensions to that Crown, which had been left unnoticed in the King of Spain's will, but which his father had maintained a claim to by a protest.

By means of his agents, he made a league with some of the Grandees, who engaged to place him on the throne, in case Philip V. should quit it. Upon this event, he would have found many of the Spaniards ready to lift under the standard of a Prince who was so complete a warrior. This scheme, had it succeeded, could not have displeased the Maritime Powers, as there would have been less apprehension of seeing the kingdoms of France and Spain united in one person, and fewer obstacles would then have remained to the peace. The project was discovered at Madrid, about the beginning of 1709, while the Duke of Orleans was at Versailles, and his agents in Spain were imprisoned. Philip V. never forgave his cousin, for thinking him capable of abdicating, and endeavouring to succeed him. In France, the whole kingdom cried out against the Duke of Orleans. The Dauphin, father to Philip V. proposed in Council to bring the offender to justice as a criminal; but the King chose rather to bury in silence this abortive and pardonable project, than to punish his nephew, at the time that his grandson was on the verge of ruin.

In fine, about the time of the battle of Saragossa, the Spanish Council and most of the Grandees, finding they had no leader to oppose to Staremberg, whom they looked upon as a second Eugene, wrote in a body to Louis XIV. requesting him to send them the Duke de

Vendôme. This Prince, who had retired to Anet, set out immediately, and his presence was as good as an army. The Spaniards were struck with the great reputation he had gained in Italy, which the unfortunate campaign of Lisle had not been able to impair. His affability, openness, and liberality, which latter qualification he carried to a degree of profusion, and his love for his soldiers, won him all hearts.

The moment he set his foot in Spain, there happened to him what had formerly happened to Bertrand du Guesclin: his name alone drew a crowd of volunteers. He wanted money: the Corporations of the towns and villages, and the religious communities, supplied him. The nation was seized with a spirit of enthusiasm. The scattered troops left after the battle of Saragossa, assembled together under him at Valladolid. Every place exerted itself in furnishing recruits. The Duke de Vendôme, without allowing time for this fresh aidour to cool, goes in pursuit of the conquerors, brings the King back to Madrid, obliges the enemy to retire towards the frontiers of Portugal, follows them thither, makes his army swim over the Tagus, takes General Stanhope prisoner in Brihuega with five thousand English, comes up with General Staremberg at Villa Viciosa, and gives him battle the next day. Philip V. who had not accompanied any of his former Generals to the field, animated with the Duke of Vendôme's spirit, put himself at the head of the right wing, while that General took the left. A complete victory was gained over the enemy *, and, in less than four months time, this great

August,
1710.

Dec. 9,
1710.

H 4

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* Stanhope was surprised, surrounded, and, after a very obstinate resistance, obliged to surrender himself and all his forces, amounting to two thousand men, including three Lieutenant-generals, one Major-general, and one Brigadier. At Villa Viciosa, Staremberg fought against double his number. His left wing was utterly defeated: but with the remainder of his troops he maintained his ground till night, when the enemy retired in disorder, leaving him master of the field and all their artillery, after having lost above six thousand men, who were killed on the spot. Staremberg had suffered so much in the battle,

General, who had been called in when things were at the last extremity, retrieved all, and secured the crown for ever on the head of Philip V.*

While the Allies remained astonished at this surprising revolution, one of a more secret kind, and not less decisive, was preparing in England. A German † had by his ill conduct lost the House of Austria all the succession of Charles V. and was therefore the first author of the war; an Englishwoman by her indiscretion brought about the peace.

Sarah Jennings, Dutches of Marlborough, governed Queen Anne; and the Duke, her husband, governed the state. He had the Treasury at his command, thro' the means of the Lord-High-Treasurer Godolphin, whose son had married one of his daughters. His son-in-law, Sunderland, Secretary of State, submitted every thing in the cabinet to him; and the Queen's household, where his wife had an absolute authority, was at his devotion. He was also master of the army, as he had the disposal of all posts.

In two parties, the Whigs and the Tories, divided England, the Whigs, at whose head he was, did every thing that could contribute to his greatness; and the Tories had been forced to admire him, and be silent. It is not unworthy of history to add, that the Duke and Dutches were the two handsomest persons of their time; and that this advantage contributes not a little to impose upon the multitude, when accompanied with dignities and glory.

He had more interest at the Hague than the Grand Pensionary; and had great influence in Germany. As a Negotiator and General, he had ever been successful,

battle, that he could not pretend to maintain his ground any longer; he therefore ordered their cannon to be raised up, and retired to Catalonia. *Smollet.*

* It was reported, that after the battle, Philip V. having no bed, the Duke of Vendôme said to him, "I shall prepare for you the richest bed that ever Monarch reposed in;" upon which he had one constructed of all the standards and colours taken from the enemy. *Voltaire.*

† The former Emperor Leopold.

and

and enjoyed a more extensive share of power and reputation, than had ever fallen to the lot of any single person. He could likewise strengthen his power by the immense riches he had acquired during his having the command. I have heard his widow say, that, after he had given fortunes to his four children, he had remaining, independent of any gifts from the Crown, seventy thousand pounds per ann. which makes about one million five hundred thousand of our livres. Had not his parsimony been equal to his greatness, he might have formed a party in the kingdom that Queen Anne could not easily have overthrown; and had his wife been a little more complaisant, the Queen would never have broken her chains. But the Duke could never get the better of his thirst for riches, nor the Dutchess of her capricious temper. The Queen loved her with a tenderness that went even to submission, and the having no will but hers.

In attachments of this nature, it is generally on the side of the Sovereign that arises the disgust, the caprice, the haughtiness, and abuse of superiority; these are the things which first make the yoke felt: but all these the Dutchess of Marlborough heaped upon her mistress with a heavy hand. The Queen, who could not live without a favourite, turned her eyes upon Lady Masham, her Mistress of the Robes. The jealousy of the Dutchess broke out. A pair of gloves of a particular fashion which she refused the Queen, and a glass of water that she let fall in her presence upon Lady Masham's gown, by a purposed carelessness, changed the face of affairs in Europe. Matters grew warm between the two parties. The new favourite's brother asked the Duke for a regiment; the Duke refused it, and the Queen gave it to him herself. The Tories laid hold of this conjuncture to free the Queen from her domestic slavery, humble the power of the Duke, change the Ministry, make peace, and if possible replace the Stuart family on the throne of England *.

If

* We can affirm, on the very best authority, that the Tories never harboured any such design. There might indeed be some Jacobites among

If the disposition of the Dutchess would have allowed her to have made some concessions, she might still have retained her power. The Queen and she had been used to write to each other, every day, under feigned names. This mysterious familiarity always left the way open for a reconciliation; but the Dutchess made use of this resource only to make things worse. She wrote to the Queen with the greatest insolence; she said in her letter, "Do me justice, and make me no answer." She soon repented of what she had done: she went to ask pardon of the Queen, and wept; but her Majesty made her only this reply: "You have ordered me not to answer you, and I shall not answer you."

After this the breach was irreparable. The Dutchess appeared no more at Court, and some time afterwards Sunderland, the Duke's son-in-law, was removed from the Ministry, as the first step towards turning out Godolphin, and then the Duke himself. In other kingdoms this is called a disgrace; in England it is only a change of measures; but this was a revolution yet very difficult to be brought about.

The Tories, though masters of the Queen, were not so of the kingdom. They found themselves obliged to have recourse to religion. At present there is little more religion in Great-Britain than what is just sufficient to distinguish factions. The Whigs inclined to Presbyterianism. This was the faction that had dethroned James II. persecuted Charles II. and brought Charles I. to the block. The Tories were in the episcopal interest, who favoured the House of Stuart, and wanted to establish passive obedience to Kings, because the Bishops hoped by that means to have more obedience paid to themselves. A Clergyman was procured to preach up this doctrine in St. Paul's Cathedral, and to set forth

among them, who secretly entertained notions of that kind; but these they carefully concealed from the party with which they associated. Some too were driven into Jacobitism by hard usage: but the Tories in general had no intention to alter that succession which they had themselves established. *Smollet.*

Dr. Smollet was mistaken, if we may give credit to more authentic testimony. *Translator.*

in the most odious light the administration of Marlborough, and the party which had given the Crown to King William*. But notwithstanding the Queen secretly favoured this preacher, she could not prevent his being silenced, for three years, by the two Houses of Parliament, nor his sermon from being burnt by the hands of the common hangman. She felt her want of power still more sensibly, in not being able to indulge the secret ties of blood in opening a way for her brother to the throne, which the Whigs had barred against him. Those writers who say that Marlborough and his party fell, the instant the Queen ceased to support them with her favour, know nothing of the affairs of England. The Queen, though now desirous of peace, did not dare to remove Marlborough from the command of her armies; and, in the spring of 1711, he was still pursuing his conquests over France, though in disgrace at his own Court.

About the latter end of January, in this same year 1711, arrived at Versailles an unknown Priest, named the Abbé Gautier, who had formerly been coadjutor to the Almoner of Marshal Tallard, in his embassy to King William. He had from that time always remained in London, without any other employment than that of saying Mass in the private Chapel of the Count de Galas, Ambassador from the Emperor in England. Some chance or other had happened to introduce this man to the confidence of a nobleman, a friend to the new Minister who opposed the Duke of Marlborough. This unknown person presented himself to the Marquis de Torcy, and said to him, without any other preamble, "Would you have peace? Sir, I am come to offer you the means of obtaining it." "This is, replied

* The Marquis de Torcy calls him, in his *Memoirs*, a *Calvinist Preacher*; but he was mistaken; this is a title that is only given to the Presbyterian clergy. Henry Sacheverell, who is here meant, was a Doctor of Divinity at Oxford, and of the Episcopal party. He preached at St. Paul's in favour of passive obedience, and against toleration. These tenets were censured by the Parliament; but his invectives against the Marlborough faction were more so. *Voltaire*.

“ Mr. de Torcy, to ask a dying man if he would be cured *.”

A secret negotiation was then immediately set on foot, with Lord Oxford, High-Treasurer of England, and St. John, since Lord Bolingbroke, Secretary of State. These two persons had no other interest in giving peace to France, but that of depriving the Duke of Marlborough of the command of the army, and to build up their credit upon the ruin of his. The measure was dangerous; it was betraying the common cause of the Allies; it was to break through all engagements, and to expose themselves, without any manner of excuse, to the resentment of the greatest part of the nation, and to a Parliamentary inquiry, which might have cost them their heads. It is very doubtful whether they would have been able to have carried this point, or no; but an unforeseen event happened to facilitate this great work.

April 27, 1711. The Emperor Joseph died, and left the dominions of the House of Austria, the German Empire, and the pretensions upon Spain and America, to his brother Charles, who was elected Emperor, some months after †.

On the first news of this death, the prejudices which had armed so many nations, began to be dissipated in England by the suggestions of the new Ministry.

* Memoirs of Torcy, Vol. III. page 33.

† Lord Bolingbroke says in his letters, that at that time there were great cabals at the Court of France; and that he did not doubt but that there were formed in the Cabinet there, *strange projects of particular ambition*, Vol. II. page 24. He judged so from a conversation he since held at supper with the Dukes of Feuillade and of Mortemart. “ You had it in your power to have crushed us, and why did you not?”

Bolingbroke, notwithstanding his sense and philosophy, has fallen here into the error of some Ministers, who suppose that every thing said to them has some meaning. The state of the Court of France, and of the two Dukes, is sufficiently known to render it certain, that at the time of the peace of Utrecht, there were neither schemes nor cabals, nor any individual person in a condition to have undertaken any thing. *Voltaire*.

I have translated the note, though the sense of it is not very clear. *Translator*.

The

The war, said they, was begun, to prevent Louis XIV. from governing Spain, America, Lombardy, and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in the name of his grandson; why then should we endeavour to unite all these kingdoms under the dominions of Charles VI.? Why must the English nation exhaust its treasures? She has paid more to the war, than Germany and Holland together. The expences of this year alone, amount to seven millions sterling; and is the nation to ruin itself for a cause it has no concern with, and to procure a part of Flanders for the Dutch, its rival in trade? All these arguments emboldened the Queen, and opened the eyes of a great part of the nation; and a new Parliament being called, the Queen was at liberty to prepare matters for the peace of Europe.

But in doing this privately, she could not yet publicly break with her allies; so that while they were negotiating in the cabinet, Marlborough was carrying on the service in the field. He still continued advancing in Flanders, where he forced the lines that Marshal Villars had drawn from Montreuil to Valenciennes, took Bouchain; advanced as far as Quefnoy; Sept. and from thence to Paris there was hardly a 1711. single rampart to oppose him.

It was at this unfortunate period that the famous Du Gué-Trouin, who had not as yet any rank in the sea-service, and owed every thing to himself, by his own courage, and the assistance of some merchants who furnished him with money, fitted out a small fleet, and sailed to the Brasils, where he took one of the principal cities, called St. Sebastian de Rio Janeiro. Sept. and
Oct. 1711. He and his crew returned home loaded with riches; and the Portuguese lost even more than he had gained. But the mischief that had been done in the Brasils, did not alleviate the miseries of France.

C H A P. XXIII.

Victory of Marshal Villars at Denain. The Affairs of France revived. The general Peace.

THE negotiations which were now openly set on foot in London, proved more salutary. The Queen sent the Earl of Strafford Ambassador to Holland, to communicate to the States the proposals made by Louis XIV. Marlborough's leave was no longer asked. The Earl of Strafford obliged the Dutch to name Plenipotentiaries, and to receive those of France.

Three private persons still continued to oppose the peace. These were Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and Heinsius, who persisted in their intention of crushing Louis XIV. But when the English General returned to London, at the close of the campaign in 1711, he was deprived of all his employments. He found a new House of Commons, and had no longer a majority in the House of Lords. The Queen, by creating a number of new Peers, had weakened the Duke's party, and strengthened the Crown-interest. He was now accused, like Scipio, of malversation; and, like that hero, extricated himself by his glory and his retreat. He was still powerful, though in disgrace. Prince Eugene went over to London, to strengthen his party. This Prince met with the reception due to his birth and renown, but his proposals were rejected. The Court-interest prevailed, Prince Eugene returned to end the war alone; and the hope of fresh victories, without a partner to divide the honour, was a new incitement to him.

While the Congress was assembling at Utrecht, and the French Plenipotentiaries, who had been so ill used at Gertruydenberg, now returned to treat upon more equal terms, Marshal Villars lay behind his lines to cover Arras and Cambray. Prince Eugene took the town of Quesnoy, and overspread the country with an army of an hundred thousand men. The Dutch had exerted

exerted themselves; and though they had never before furnished their whole quota towards the necessary expences of the war, they had this year exceeded their contingent. Queen Anne could not as yet openly disengage herself from them; she had sent the Duke of Ormond to join Prince Eugene's army with twelve thousand English, and still kept in pay a number of German troops. Prince Eugene, after burning the suburbs of Arras, advanced towards the French army, and proposed to the Duke of Ormond to give them battle; but the English General had been sent with orders not to fight. The private negotiations between England and France drew towards a conclusion. A suspension of arms was proclaimed between the two Crowns. Louis XIV. put Dunkirk into the hands of the English, as a security for the performance of his engagements. The Duke of Ormond then retired towards Ghent. He endeavoured to take with him, along with the troops of his own nation, those that were in the Queen's pay; but none would follow him, except four squadrons of the regiment of Holstein, and one regiment of Liege. The troops of Brandenburg, of the Palatinate, of Saxony, Hesse, and Denmark, remained with Prince Eugene, and were paid by the Dutch. The Elector of Hanover himself, who was to succeed Queen Anne, notwithstanding her remonstrances, continued his troops in the pay of the Allies; which plainly shewed, that the pretensions of his family to the Crown of England did not depend upon Queen Anne's favour.

Prince Eugene, though deprived of the assistance of the English, was still superior, by twenty thousand men, to the French army; he was likewise superior by his position, by the great plenty of his magazines, and by nine years of continued victories.

Marshal Villars could not prevent him from laying siege to Landrecy. France, exhausted of men and money, was in consternation, and people placed no great dependence on the conferences at Utrecht, which might be all overthrown by the successes of Prince Eugene. Several considerable detachments had already ravaged

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Champagne, and advanced as far as the gates of Rheims.

The alarm was now as great at Versailles, as in the rest of the kingdom. The death of the King's only son, which fell out this year; the Duke of Burgundy, the Dutchess his wife, and their eldest son, all carried off within a few months, and laid in the same tomb; and the only remaining child at the point of death; all these domestic misfortunes, added to those from without, and the sufferings of the people, made the close of Louis XIV.'s reign considered as a time pointed out for calamities, and every one expected to see more disasters than they had formerly seen of greatness and of glory.

Precisely at this period, the Duke de Vendôme died in Spain. The general dispiritedness which seized upon the French nation on this occasion, of which I remember to have been myself a witness, filled them with apprehensions, lest Spain, which had been supported by the Duke de Vendôme, should fall with him.

As Landrecy could not hold out long, it was debated at Versailles, whether the King should retire to Chambord on the Loire. On this occasion he told the Marshal d'Harcourt, that, in case of any fresh misfortune, he would assemble the Nobility of his kingdom, lead them in person against the enemy, notwithstanding his age of seventy four, and die fighting at their head.

An error committed by Prince Eugene delivered the King and kingdom from these dreadful inquietudes. It is said, that his lines were too much extended; that his magazines stored at Marchiennes were at too great a distance; and that General Albemarle, who was posted between Denain and the Prince's camp, was not within reach of assisting him soon enough, in case he should be attacked. I have been assured, that a beautiful Italian woman, whom I saw some time afterwards at the Hague, and whom Prince Eugene then kept, lived in Marchiennes; and that it was on her account this had been made a place for the magazines. It is doing injustice to Prince

Prince Eugene, to suppose that a woman could have any share in his military arrangements; but when we know that a Curate, and a Counsellor of Douay, named Le Fevre d'Orval, walking together in those quarters, first conceived the idea that Denain and Marchiennes might easily be attacked, this will better serve to prove, by what secret and weak springs the great affairs of this world are often actuated.

Le Fevre communicated his notion to the Intendant of the province, and he to Marshal Montefquiou, who commanded under Marshal Villars: the General approved of the scheme, and put it into execution. To this action, in fact, France owed her safety, more even than to the peace with England. Marshal Villars used a finesse towards Prince Eugene. A body of dragoons was ordered to advance in sight of the enemy's camp, as if going to attack it; and while these dragoons retired towards Guise, the Marshal marched to-
 July 24,
 1712.
 wards Denain, with his army drawn up in five columns, forced General Albemarle's intrenchments, defended by seventeen battalions, who were all killed or made prisoners. The General himself surrendered prisoner of war, with two Princes of the House of Nassau, the Prince of Holstein, the Prince of Anhalt, and all the Officers of the detachment. Prince Eugene marched in haste to their assistance, but did not come up till the action was over; and, in endeavouring to get possession of a bridge that led to Denain, he lost a number of his men, and was obliged to return to his camp, after having been witness of this defeat.

All the posts along the Scarpe, as far as Marchiennes, were carried, one after another, with the utmost rapidity. The army then pushed directly for Marchiennes, which was defended by four thousand men; the siege of which was carried on with so much vigour, that in three days time the garrison were made prisoners of war; and all the ammunition and provisions that the
 July 30,
 1712.
 enemy had laid up for the whole campaign, fell into their hands. The superiority was now wholly on the side of Marshal Villars. The enemy dis-
 Vol. II. 1 couraged,

Sept. and Oct. 1712. encouraged, raised the siege of Landrecy, and soon afterwards saw Douay, Quesnoi, and Bouchain, retaken by our troops. The frontiers were now in safety. Prince Eugene drew off his army, after having lost near fifty battalions; forty of which were made prisoners between the action of Denain and the end of the campaign. The most signal victory could not have produced greater advantages.

Had Marshal Villars been possessed of the same share of popular favour with some other Generals, he would have been publicly called "the Restorer of France;" instead of which they hardly acknowledged the obligations they had to him, and envy prevailed over the public joy for this unexpected success*.

Every step of Marshal de Villars hastened the peace of Utrecht. Queen Anne's Ministry, as answerable to their Country and to Europe for their actions, neglected nothing that concerned the interest of England and its allies, and the safety of the public weal. In the first place, they insisted that Philip V. now settled on the throne of Spain, should renounce his right to the

* Marshal Villars had at Versailles a lodging in the apartment that was occupied by Monseigneur, and the King came to see him there. The author of the *Memoirs of Maintenon*, who confounds all time, says, vol. V. page 119 of those *Memoirs*, that Marshal Villars, after the late action, appeared in the gardens of Marly, and that the King having said to him, that "he was very well satisfied with him," the Marshal turning to the Courtiers, said, "Gentlemen, I hope you understand him." The story told upon this occasion, must appear a cold reception to a man who had just returned from having performed such signal services. It could not be at such a crisis of glory that he would have remarked to the Courtiers, that the King was barely satisfied. This bungled anecdote belongs to the year 1711. The King had in that campaign commanded him not to attack the Duke of Marlborough. The English took Bouchain, which raised a murmur among the people against Marshal Villars. It was after that event the King used this expression to him, and then it might have been proper in a General to silence the censures of the Court, by taking notice that his sovereign was satisfied with his conduct, though unsuccessful.

This matter is not of much consequence; but one should respect truth in the most trifling circumstance. — *Voltaire.*

crown of France, which he had hitherto constantly maintained; and that the Duke of Berry, his brother, presumptive heir to that crown, after the only remaining great-grandson of Louis XIV. then at the point of death, should likewise renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, in case he should come to be King of France. They likewise exacted the same, on the part of the Duke of Orleans.

The late twelve years war had shewn how little men are to be bound by such acts. There is no one known law that obliges the descendants of a Prince to give up their right to a throne, because their father may have renounced it. These renunciations are of no effect, except when the common interest is in concert with them: however, they served to calm, for the present, a twelve years storm; and it is probable, that one day several nations may join to support these renunciations, that are now the basis of the balance of power, and of the tranquility of Europe.

By this treaty the Island of Sicily was given to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King; and on the continent, the towns of Fenestrelles, Exiles, with the valley of Pragelas; so that they took from the House of Bourbon, to aggrandize him.

The Dutch had a considerable barrier given them, which they had always been aiming at; and if the House of Bourbon was despoiled of some territories in favour of the Duke of Savoy, the House of Austria was, on the other hand, stript to satisfy the Dutch; who were become, at its expence, the guarantees and masters of the strongest cities of Flanders. Due regard was paid to the interest of the Dutch, with respect to trade; and there was an article stipulated likewise in favour of the Portuguese.

The sovereignty of eight Provinces, and half of the Spanish Netherlands, was reserved for the Emperor, together with the advantageous Lordship of the barrier-towns. They likewise guarantied to him the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with all his possessions in Lombardy, and the four ports on the Coast of Tuscany. But

the Court of Vienna would not subscribe to these conditions, as thinking she had not sufficient justice done her.

As to England, her glory and interest were sufficiently secured. She had obtained the demolition of the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk, which had been the object of so much jealousy. She was left in possession of Gibraltar, and the Island of Minorca, by Spain. France ceded to her Hudson's Bay, the Island of Newfoundland, and Acadia; and she procured greater privileges for her American trade, than had been granted even to the French, who placed Philip V. on the throne. We must likewise reckon among the glorious acts of the English Ministry, its having engaged Louis XIV. to consent to set at liberty those of his subjects who were confined in prison on account of their religion. This was dictating laws, but laws of a very respectable nature.

Lastly, Queen Anne, sacrificing the rights of blood, and the secret inclinations of her heart, to the good of her country, secured the succession of the crown of Great Britain to the House of Hanover.

As to the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the former was to keep the Dutchy of Luxemburg, and the County of Namur, till his brother and himself should be restored to their Electorates; for Spain had ceded those two sovereignties to the Elector of Bavaria, as a consideration for his losses, and the Allies had taken neither of them during the war.

As to France, who demolished Dunkirk, and gave up so many places in Flanders that her arms had formerly conquered, and which had been secured to her by the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryfwick, she got back Lisle, Aire, Bethune, and Saint-Venant.

Thus did the English Ministry appear to do justice to all the parties: but this merit was denied them by the Whigs; and one-half of the nation reviled the memory of Queen Anne, for having done the greatest good that a sovereign possibly could do, in giving peace to so many nations. She was reproached with not having
dis-

dismembered France, when it was in her power to do so*.

All these treaties were signed, one after another, in the course of the year 1713: but whether it was owing to the obstinacy of Prince Eugene, or to the bad politics of the Emperor's Council, that monarch did not enter into any of these negotiations. He would certainly have had Landau, and perhaps Strasburg, had he at first fallen in with the views of Queen Anne; but he was bent upon continuing the war, and so got nothing.

Marshal Villars, having secured the rest of French Flanders, marched towards the Rhine, and, after making himself master of Spire, Aug. 20,
1713. Worms, and all the circumjacent country, he took Landau, which the Emperor might have had, by acceding to the peace; forced the lines that Sept. 20. Prince Eugene had drawn in Brisgau; defeated Marshal Vaubonne, who defended those lines; and lastly, besieged and took Friburg, the capital of Oct. 30. Upper Austria.

The Council of Vienna pressed the Circles of the Empire to send the succours they had promised, but none came. They now began to be sensible that the Emperor, without the assistance of England and Holland, could never prevail against France, and resolved upon peace, when it was too late.

Marshal Villars, after having thus put an end to the war, had the additional honour of concluding the peace with Prince Eugene, at Rastad. This was perhaps the first time that two Generals of opposite parties had been

* Queen Anne, in the month of August, sent her Secretary of State, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, to consummate the negotiation. The Marquis of Torcy has made a panegyric on this Minister, and says that Louis XIV. gave him the reception he deserved. And indeed he was received at Court as a man who came to give peace; and when he appeared at the Opera, the whole audience rose to do him honour. It is then a great calumny in the Memoirs of Maintenon to say, vol. V. page 115, "The contempt that Louis XIV. shewed for Lord Bolingbroke, is no proof that he had been one of his pensioners." It is ridiculous to hear such a man speak in this manner of the greatest men. *Voltaire.*

known to meet together at the close of a campaign, to treat in the names of their masters. They both brought with them that openness of character for which ^{March 6,} they were distinguished. I have heard Marshal ^{1714.} Villars relate, that one of the first things he said to Prince Eugene, was this: "Sir, we do not meet as enemies; yours are at Vienna, and mine at Versailles." In fact, both of them had always cabals to combat at their respective Courts.

There was no notice taken, in this treaty, of the pretensions which the Emperor still maintained to the Spanish monarchy, nor of the empty title of Catholic King, which he continued to bear, after Philip V. was in quiet possession of the kingdom. Louis XIV. kept Strasburg and Landau, which he had before offered to give up; Huningen, and New Brisac, which he had himself proposed to demolish; and the sovereignty of Alsace, which he had offered to renounce. But what was still more honourable for him, he procured the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria to be reinstated in their ranks and dominions.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, that France, in all her treaties with the Emperors, has constantly protected the rights of the Princes and States of the Empire. She laid the foundation of the Germanic liberties by the peace of Munster; and caused an eighth Electorate to be erected in favour of this very House of Bavaria. The treaty of Westphalia was confirmed by that of Nimeguen. By the treaty of Ryſwick she procured all the estate of Cardinal Furſtemberg to be restored to him. Lastly, by this peace of Utrecht, she obtained the re-establishment of the two Electors. It must be acknowledged, that throughout the whole negociation, which put an end to this long contention, France received laws from England, but imposed them on the Empire.

The historical memoirs of those times, from which so many histories of Louis XIV. have been compiled, for that Prince Eugene, when he had finished the conferences, desired the Duke de Villars to embrace the knees of Louis XIV. for him, and to present that monarchy

narch, in his name, with assurances of the most profound respect of "a subject towards his sovereign." In the first place, it is not true that a Prince, the grandson of a sovereign, can be the subject of another Prince, because he was born in his dominions; and in the second place, it is still less so that Prince Eugene, Vicar-general of the Empire, should call himself the subject of the King of France.

And now each State took possession of its new rights. The Duke of Savoy got himself acknowledged in Sicily, without consulting the Emperor, who complained of it in vain. Louis XIV. had his troops received into Lille. The Dutch seized on their barrier-towns, and the States of the country gave them one million two hundred and fifty thousand florins per annum to remain masters of Flanders. Louis XIV. filled up the harbour of Dunkirk, razed the citadel, and demolished the fortifications towards the sea, under the eye of the English Commissary. The inhabitants, who saw their whole trade ruined thereby, sent a deputation over to London, to implore the clemency of Queen Anne. It was a mortifying circumstance to Louis XIV. that his subjects should go to ask favours of a Queen of England; but it was still more melancholy for these poor people, that the Queen was obliged to refuse them.

The King, some time afterwards, enlarged the canal of Mardyke, and by means of sluices formed an harbour there, which was thought already to equal that of Dunkirk. The Earl of Stair, Ambassador from England, complained of this in warm terms to the King. It is said in one of the most popular books we have, that Louis XIV. made him this reply: "Mr. Ambassador, "I have always been master in my own kingdom, "sometimes in those of others: do not put me in remembrance of it." I know, of my own certain knowledge, that Louis XIV. never made so improper a reply. He had never been master in England; very far from it. He was indeed master in his own kingdom: but the point in question was, whether he was master of eluding a treaty to which he owed his repose, and per-

haps the greatest part of his kingdom *. The clause of the treaty that related to the demolition of the port of Dunkirk and its sluices, had not stipulated that there should be no port at Mardyke. It has been boldly said, in print, that Lord Bolingbroke, who had drawn up the treaty, was bribed to this omission at the price of a million of money †. This base calumny is to be found in the history of Louis XIV. under the name of La Martiniere; and it is not the only one that dishonours the work. Louis XIV. appeared to have a right to take advantage of the negligence of the English Ministry, and to stick to the strict *letter* of the treaty; but he chose rather to fulfil the *spirit* of it, solely for the sake of peace: and so far from saying to Lord Stair, "He should not oblige him to remember that he had been formerly master in other kingdoms," he was very ready to attend to his representations, which he might have disputed. He ordered the works at Mardyke to be discontinued, in the month of April 1714. They were soon after demolished, under the Regency, and the treaty was fulfilled in all its articles.

Notwithstanding the peace of Utrecht and Rastad, Philip V. was not yet in possession of all Spain; he had still Catalonia to conquer, and the Islands of Majorca and Ivisa.

It should be here mentioned, that the Emperor Charles VI. having left his wife at Barcelona, and finding himself unable to carry on a war in Spain, and yet unwilling to give up his claim, or accept of the peace of Utrecht, had nevertheless made an agreement with Queen Anne, for a Squadron of English ships to bring away the Empress and the troops, now useless in Catalonia. In fine, Catalonia was evacuated; and Staremberg,

* Lord Stair never spoke to the King, but in the presence of the Secretary of State, Torcy, who has declared that he never heard this pretended conversation. It would have been a very humiliating one to Louis XIV. if, after all, it had obliged him to have put a stop to the works of Mardyke. *Voltaire.*

† It is not said whether this sum was of English or French currency. *Translator.*

when he quitted that Province, resigned his title of Viceroy. But he left behind him all the seeds of a civil war, with the hopes of a speedy succour, on the part of the Emperor, and even of England. Those who had the most credit in that Province, imagined that they might be able to form a Republic under a foreign protection; and that the King of Spain would not be strong enough to oppose them. On this occasion, they displayed that character which Tacitus gave them so long since: "An intrepid people, says he, that count their lives for nothing, when not employed in fighting."

Catalonia is one of the most fertile countries, and the most happily situated, of any in the world. As well watered by fine rivers, by streams and springs, as Old and New Castille are void of these advantages, it produces all that is necessary to the wants of man, and all that can flatter his wishes, in trees, corn, fruits, and vegetables of every kind. Barcelona is one of the finest ports in Europe, and the country round it furnishes every thing requisite for ship building. Its mountains are enriched with quarries of marble, of jasper, and of rock crystal; and some precious stones are sometimes found among them. Mines of iron, tin, lead, alum, and vitriol, there abound; and the eastern coast produces coral. In fine, Catalonia might dispense with the whole universe; but its neighbours could not do without it.

This abundance, and these delights, have been so far from rendering the natives effeminate, that they have been always warriors, and the mountaineers especially are fierce. Yet notwithstanding their bravery, and their extreme passion for liberty, they have ever been a subjugated nation. The Romans, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Saracens, have been successively their masters.

They shook off the yoke of the Saracens, and put themselves under the protection of Charlemagne. They were subject to the House of Arragon, and afterwards to that of Austria. We have already seen that under Philip IV. being driven to extremities by the Count d'Olivares, Prime Minister, they transferred themselves
under

under the dominion of Louis XIII. in 1640 *. All their privileges were preserved to them, so that they were rather to be considered as wards, than subjects. They returned under the sovereignty of Austria, in 1652; and in the war of the Succession, they took part on the side of the Archduke Charles, against Philip. By the obstinate resistance they made, they proved that Philip, though delivered from his competitor, was not able to reduce them by his own power. Louis XIV. who, during the latter part of the war, had not been able to assist his grandson with either ships or soldiers against his rival, Charles, now sent him succours against his rebellious subjects. A fleet of French ships blocked up the harbour of Barcelona, and Marshal Berwick laid siege to it by land.

The Queen of England, more faithful to her treaty than to the interests of her Country, would not assist this city. The English resented it, and made the same reproach to their nation that was objected to the Romans for suffering Saguntum to be destroyed. The Emperor made a vain promise of succours. The besieged defended themselves with a courage that was fortified by fanaticism. The Priests and Monks ran to arms, and mounted the trenches as if it had been a religious war. A phantom of liberty rendered them deaf to all the advances made to them by their master. Above five hundred ecclesiastics died during this siege, with their arms in their hands. We may judge whether by their speeches and examples they helped to animate the people.

They hung out a black ensign upon the breach, and stood several assaults. At length the besiegers having made their way into the town, the besieged disputed street after street; and having retreated into the new town, after the old one was taken, they offered to capitulate, on condition of being allowed all their privileges; but they only obtained their lives and estates. Most part of their privileges were taken from them; but of all the Monks who had raised the insurrection, and

fought against their King, there were only sixty punished; and they were only condemned to the galleys. Philip V. had, during the war, treated the little town of Xativa much more severely *, by ordering it to be razed from the foundation, as an example; but though he might do this to a town of no importance, he would not destroy a large city that had a fine sea-port, and which was of use to the State.

This fury of the Catalans, that had not exerted itself while Charles VI. was among them, and which transported them to such extremes, when they were left without assistance, was the last spark of that flame which had been lighted up by the will of Charles II. King of Spain, and had so long laid waste the most beautiful part of Europe.

* The town of Xativa was razed in 1707, after the battle of Almanza; and Philip V. built another town upon its ruins, now called St. Philip. *Voltaire.*

C H A P. XXIV.

The State of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht, to the Death of Louis XIV.

I MAY still venture to call this long war a civil one*. The Duke of Savoy was here armed against his two daughters. The Prince of Vaudemont, who had espoused the cause of the Archduke Charles, was near taking his own father prisoner, in Lombardy, who sided with Philip V. All Spain was split into factions. Whole regiments of French Protestants served against their country. It was, in short, for a succession among relations, that the general war had been commenced; to which may be added, that the Queen of England excluded her brother from the throne, whom Louis XIV. protected, and whom she was obliged to proscribe.

Human prudence and expectations were deceived in this war, as they always are. Charles VI. though twice acknowledged in Madrid, was driven out of Spain. Louis XIV. on the brink of destruction, was retrieved by the unexpected dissensions in England. The Council of Spain, which had only called the Duke of Anjou to the throne in order to prevent the monarchy from being dismembered, saw many of its parts lopped off. Lombardy and part of Flanders † remained to the House of Austria; the House of Prussia had also a small part of Flanders; the Dutch had the dominion of another portion, and the French were left in possession of the rest. Thus was the inheritance of the House of Burgundy divided between four Powers, and the one that seemed to have the greatest right did not preserve even a single acre of it. Sardinia, an useless possession to the Emperor, remained to him for a time. For some

* See vol. I. page 221, paragraph last, the two last lines. *Transl.*

† The Provinces of the Low Countries, which belong to the Houses of Austria, are what is generally called Flanders, and the seven United Provinces are called Holland. *Voltaire.*

years he enjoyed Naples too, that grand fief of Rome, which is so often and so easily wrested from her. The Duke of Savoy held Sicily for four years, only to maintain against the Pope the singular, but ancient, right, of being Pope himself, in that Island; that is, of being, except in the Church tenets, absolute master in all ecclesiastical matters.

The weakness of politics appeared yet more remarkable after the peace of Utrecht, than during the war. It is certain that the new Ministry of Queen Anne formed a scheme in secret for the establishing the son of James II. on the throne*. The Queen herself began to listen to the voice of nature, through that of her Ministers, and entered into the design of procuring the succession to that brother on whose head she had before set a price, in spite of herself.

Softened by the pleadings of her favourite, Lady Mutham, and intimidated by the representations of the Tory Bishops, she reproached herself with that unnatural proscription. I know the Dutcheis of Marlborough was persuaded that the Queen received her brother,

* The Whigs, indeed, taxed them with such a design; though with all their industry they were never able to adduce a single proof to support the charge. It is well-known, that at this period, the Ministry was divided in itself; and that Oxford and Bolingbroke took all the methods in their power to recommend themselves to the Elector of Hanover, and the Duke of Marlborough. The Queen repeatedly declared to her Parliament her inviolable attachment to the Protestant succession; which both Houses voted to be out of danger. Oxford made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig party, and took particular opportunities of assuring the Elector of his attachment to the House of Hanover. Lord Bolingbroke proposed a Bill to make it high-treason in any person to lift or be enlisted in the Pretender's service; which motion was carried, and the Bill passed into a law. The same Lord held a secret correspondence with the Duke of Marlborough; and it was from this quarter, that, after the accession of George I. he received timely intimation that a design was formed to bring him to the block. If we allow this Ministry had any regard to their own safety, we cannot suppose they would harbour and seek to promote a design so repugnant to the inclinations of the people. *Smollet.*

This last argument proves rather too much; for the peace was more universally repugnant to the inclinations of the people. There would be neither brave nor bad men, in the world, if danger was to deter.

Translator.

privately; that she embraced him; and that if he would have renounced the Roman Catholic religion, which was regarded in England, and among all Protestants, as the mother of tyranny, she would have had him appointed her successor. Her aversion to the House of Hanover augmented still her affection for the blood of the Stuarts. It has been affirmed that the night before she died, she cried out, several times, "Oh, my brother! my dear brother!" She died of a stroke or an apoplexy, at the age of forty-nine, the 22d of August 1714*.

Both her friends and enemies agree in this character of her, that she was a woman of but very middling talents; and yet, since the days of Edward III. and Henry V. there has been no reign so glorious; never so great Commanders on land or sea; never more superior Ministers; nor Parliaments better informed, nor more eloquent Orators.

Her death prevented all her schemes. The House of Hanover, which she looked upon as alien, and which she loved not, succeeded her; and her Ministers were persecuted †.

Lord Bolingbroke, who had before come to give peace to Louis XIV. with a grandeur equal to that Monarch, was obliged now to seek an asylum in France, and repair thither again as a suppliant himself. The Duke of Ormond, the soul of the Pretender's faction, chose the same refuge. Harley, Earl of Oxford, had more resolution. He was the principal object of the new Ministry's resentment. He stood his ground with confidence; he defied the prison where he was confined, and the death with which he was threatened. He was possessed of a calm mind, inaccessible to envy, to a

* Queen Anne died August 1; but Mr. Voltaire seems to be so fond of her, that he has bestowed on her ten days life more than nature permitted her. In this calculation I make allowance for the difference of the *style*; which I confess I had not attended to, in my last note, page 46, of the former volume, upon his date of the martyrdom, as it is called, of Charles I. Yet even with this abatement he has mistaken a day, which is sufficient to shew his inaccuracy in dates. *Transl.*

† The words *persecution* and *prosecution* are so near in sound, that they are sometimes mistaken for each other. *Translator.*

desire of riches, or the fear of suffering. His very courage saved him, and his enemies in the Parliament esteemed him too much to pronounce his sentence.

Louis XIV. now drew near his end. It is difficult to believe that at the age of seventy-seven*, and in the distress to which his kingdom was reduced, he should venture to expose himself to a new war against England in favour of the Pretender, acknowledged by him for King, and who was called at that time the Chevalier St. George; and yet the fact is very certain. It must be allowed that Louis had ever in his soul an elevation of sentiment which prompted him to great actions, of every kind. The Earl of Stair, Ambassador from England, had braved him. He was forced to send James III. out of France, as in his younger days he had been obliged to banish Charles II. and his brother. This Prince was *incog.* at Commercy in Lorraine. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke interested the glory of the King of France; they promised him a rising in England, and especially in Scotland, against George I. The Pretender need only appear; all that was necessary would be a single ship, a few Officers, and a little money. The ship and the Officers were supplied, without the least deliberation; but it could not be a man of war, for the treaties would not permit it. Mr. L'Epine d'Anican, a famous privateer, fitted out the transport, with cannon and arms; but as to money, the King had none. They asked only for four hundred thousand crowns, and they were not to be had. Louis XIV. wrote with his own hand to the King of Spain, Philip V. his grandson, who advanced them. It was with these succours that the Pretender passed secretly into Scotland. He there met with a considerable party to support him, but he happened to be defeated by the English army of King George*.

Louis was then dead; and the Pretender returned to hide in Commercy the destiny which pursued him all his

* The last year of his life. *Translator.*

† At Preston, by General Wills, and on the same day at Sheriff Mors, by the Duke of Argyle. *Ibid.*

life, while the blood of his partisans was shed upon the scaffold.

We shall see, in the Chapters reserved for the private life and anecdotes of Louis XIV. how he died in the midst of the most odious cabals of his Confessor, and the most contemptible theological disputes that had ever disturbed the minds of ignorant and restless spirits. But here I shall consider the state in which he left Europe, at the time of his death.

The power of Russia was establishing itself daily, in the North; and this creation of a new people and a new empire, was then little attended to in France, in Italy, or in Spain.

Sweden, the ancient ally of France, and formerly the terror of the House of Austria, could no longer defend herself against Russia; and there remained nothing of Charles XII. except his glory.

A simple Electorate of Germany began to be a preponderating power. The second King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburg, with economy and an army, laid the foundation of a greatness till then unknown.

Holland still retained that importance which she had acquired in the last war against Louis XIV.; but the weight she threw into the scale became every day less considerable.

England, though agitated by factions in the beginning of the reign of an Elector of Hanover, still preserved all her power, and all her influence.

In Germany, the Empire languished under Charles VI.; but the generality of the Princes of the Empire rendered their states flourishing.

Spain began to draw breath under Philip V. who owed his throne to Louis XIV.

Italy enjoyed tranquility, to the year 1717. There was no ecclesiastical quarrel in Europe that could afford the Pope any pretence for renewing his ancient claims, or that could deprive him of the prerogatives which he had still preserved. Jansenism was the only dispute that disturbed France, but without making any schism, or exciting a civil war.

C H A P. XXV.

Private Memoirs and Anecdotes of the Reign of Louis XIV.

ANECDOTES are a sort of contracted field, where we glean after a plentiful harvest, of history; they are small details a long time kept private, from whence they receive the name of *anecdotes**; and when they relate to illustrious personages, the Public feel an interest in them.

Plutarch's Lives of Great Men, are but a collection of anecdotes, more entertaining than authentic. How could he have procured faithful memoirs of the private life of Theseus, or Lycurgus? Most of the maxims he puts into the mouths of his heroes contain, moral truths rather than historical ones.

The secret history of Justinian by Procopius †, is a satire dictated by revenge; and though malice may speak the truth, this satire, which contradicts his public history, has not every where the appearance of it.

But we are not now allowed to imitate Plutarch, much less Procopius. We admit for historic facts only those which are authenticated. When cotemporaries, like Cardinal de Retz and the Duke de Rochefoucault, enemies to each other, agree in the same article in their Memoirs, it is deemed indubitable; when they differ, we should hesitate; what does not appear probable should not be credited, unless several cotemporaries, worthy of belief, unanimously agree in the point.

The most useful and most valuable anecdotes are the private papers that great Princes leave behind them,

* *Inedita*, or unpublished. *Translator*.

† He had been Secretary to Belisarius in all his campaigns. His resentment to Justinian arose from the ungrateful conduct of that Emperor to his friend. However, this work is justly deemed spurious; and I think there is one circumstance in it that ought to make it suspected; which is, that the Empress, to whom he had no reason to bear any malice, is there abused also. *Ibid*.

when the candour of their minds is manifest in those minutes. Such are those I relate of Louis XIV.

Domestic occurrences only amuse curiosity ; weaknesses exposed to public view please only the malignant, except where such foibles are capable of instructing, either by the misfortunes that have attended, or by the virtues that have made amends for them.

The private memoirs of cotemporaries are suspected of partiality. Those who write one or two generations after, should use the greatest circumspection, should discard the trifling, reduce the extravagant, and soften what is censorious.

Louis XIV. was so magnificent in his Court as well as reign, that the smallest particulars of his life seem to interest posterity as much as they were the object of curiosity to all the Courts of Europe, and of all his cotemporaries. The splendor of his government shone through his most trivial actions. One is more eager, especially in France, to know the transactions of his Court, than the revolutions of other States ; such is the effect of a great reputation. We had rather be informed of what passed in the Cabinet or the Court of Augustus, than read a detail of the conquests of Attila, or of Tamerlane.

Hence there are hardly any of the historians who have not mentioned the first attachments of Louis XIV. for the Barons de Beauvois ; for Mademoiselle d'Argencourt ; for the niece of Cardinal Mazarin, who was married to the Count de Soissons, father of Prince Eugene ; and especially for her sister, Maria Mancini, who afterwards was espoused by the Constable Colonna.

He had not assumed the reins of empire when these amusements occupied that idle interval of life, in which Cardinal Mazarin, who governed with a despotic sway, suffered him to languish. His attachment to Maria Mancini was alone an affair of great importance ; for he was so passionately enamoured of her as to be tempted to marry her, and yet was sufficiently master of himself to relinquish her. The victory which he gained over this passion began to make known the greatness of his soul.

He

He gained a greater and more difficult one in leaving Cardinal Mazarin absolute master of the government. Gratitude * prevented him from shaking off that yoke which now began to weigh heavy upon him. It was a well-known anecdote at Court, that, after the Cardinal's death, he said, "I do not know what I should have done, had he lived any longer †."

He employed himself in this leisure with reading books of amusement, and particularly with the *Constance*, who had wit as well as his sisters. He was charmed with poetry and romances, which in describing gallantry and grandeur secretly flattered his own character. He read the *Tragedies* of Corneille, and formed in himself that taste which arises only from good sense, and the quick discernment of a sound judgment. The conversation of his mother and the ladies of her Court contributed not a little to give him a relish for that refinement of sentiment, and to fashion him to that peculiar politeness, which began then to characterize the Court of France. Anne of Austria had introduced into it a certain noble and elevated gallantry which resembled the Spanish genius of that time; to which was joined that elegance, softness, and guarded freedom, which was no where to be met with except in France.

The King made a greater progress in this School of Politeness, from the age of eighteen to twenty, than he had done in the Sciences, under the Abbé Beaumont, afterwards Archbishop of Paris. He was, indeed, but very little instructed. It were to have been wished that

* I cannot account for the meaning of this expression, here. It was not gratitude to Mazarin, but submission and respect to his mother's authority, through which Mazarin governed, that was the cause of Louis's permitting such absolute sway. *Translator.*

† This anecdote is attested by the *Memoirs of La Roche*, where we also see that the King had taken an aversion to the Cardinal; that this Minister, though his god father, and intrusted with the charge of his education, had taken no care to improve him, and had left him often in want of common necessities. He adds much heavier accusations, which reflect dishonour on the Cardinal's memory; but they do not appear to be proved, and no charge should be admitted without it. *Voltaire,*

he had at least been made acquainted with history, particularly the modern part; but what was extant at that time, was very ill written. It was an unhappy thing that they had then only succeeded in idle romances, and that useful writings were disgusting. A translation of Cæsar's Commentaries was printed under his name, and one of Florus under the name of his brother. But these Princes had no other part in them, than having had some passages out of those authors given them, to very little purpose, for their themes or exercises.

He * who presided over the education of the King, under the first Marshal Villeroy his Governor, was such as he ought to have been, both learned and agreeable. But the Civil Wars spoiled his education, and Cardinal Mazarin was very willing he should receive but little instruction. His passion for Maria Mancini made him soon master of the Italian language, to converse with her; and at the time of his marriage he applied himself to Spanish, but with less success. His neglect of study in his youth, a timidity which arose from the fear of exposing himself, with the ignorance in which Cardinal Mazarin kept him, led the whole Court to imagine that he would be always governed, like his father Louis XIII.

There was only one occasion, on which those who could frame a judgment before-hand, foresaw what he would be. It was in the year 1655, after the extinction of the Civil Wars, and after his first campaign and his Coronation, when the Parliament resolving to continue its assemblies on account of some edicts, the King came from Vincennes in his hunting-dress, attended by all his Court, entered the Parliament in his great-boots, with his whip in his hand, and pronounced these very words: "The mischievous consequences of your assemblies are well known. I order these to cease which were called together upon my edicts; and, Mr. First President,

* This may be either Abbé Beaumont, or the President Périgny; for they were both his Preceptors, under Villeroy. *Translator.*

“ I forbid you to suffer these assemblies to be continued, or any of you members to demand it *.”

The majesty of his person, which had already begun to appear †, the dignity of his countenance, and the commanding tone and air with which he spoke, made a stronger impression on them than the authority of his station, which till then they had but little respected. But this bloom of his greatness soon after vanished ; nor did the fruit appear, till after the Cardinal’s death.

The Court, upon the triumphant return of Mazarin, amused itself with Play, Balls, and Comedy, which being in its infancy in France, was not yet become an art; and with Tragedy, which had arrived to perfection in the hands of Peter Corneille. A Parish-Priest of St. Germain l’Auxerrois, inclining towards the rigorous notions of the Jansenists ‡, wrote often to the Queen against these exhibitions, from the first years of her Regency. He affirmed that it was a damnable sin to be present at them, and got this anathema signed by seven Doctors of the Sorbonne. But the Abbé Beaumont, the King’s Preceptor, supported by the approbations of more Doctors than had concurred in the censure with this puritanical Priest, quieted the scruples of the Queen; and afterwards, when he was Archbishop of Paris, he authorized the opinion he had defended when an Abbé. This fact may be found in the Memoirs of the candid Madame de Motteville.

It may be here mentioned, that from the time that Cardinal Richelieu had introduced at Court the regular

* These words, here faithfully copied, are in all the authentic memoirs of those times ; and it is neither allowable to omit, nor change any thing in them, in any history of France. But the author of the Memoirs of Madame Maintenon has taken upon him to say, at hazard, in his note: “ His speech was not quite so fine, and his eyes “ spoke more than his lips.” Where did he learn that the speech of Louis XIV. was *not quite so fine*, when these were his very words ? It was neither more or less fine ; it was exactly as above reported, *Voltaire*.

† He was then in his seventeenth year.

‡ Their tenets are nearly the same with those of Calvinism, about Grace, Predestination, Reprobation and Election. *Translator*.

Drama, which has rendered Paris at present the rival of Athens, there was not only a bench at these representations appropriated to the Academy, which included a number of Ecclesiastics, but also a particular seat for the Bishops.

Cardinal Mazarin, in the years 1646 and 1654, introduced upon the Theatre of the Palais Royal, and of the Little Bourbon near the Louvre, some Italian Operas, performed by singers whom he had sent for from Italy. This new exhibition had been commenced a short time before, at Florence; a country then equally favoured by Fortune as by Nature, and to which is owing the revival of many arts lost, for ages, as well as the invention of some new ones. But in France there had still subsisted a relick of her ancient barbarism, which opposed the re-establishment of these arts*.

The Jansenists, whom the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin were desirous to suppress, aimed their revenge against the amusements which these two Ministers had procured for the nation. The Lutherans and the Calvinists had acted after the same manner, in the Pontificate of Leo X. All that is necessary, often, to form a sect, is to be austere. The same fanatics who would subvert a state to establish an opinion, frequently absurd, anathematized the harmless sports necessary in a large city, and the arts which contribute to the splendor of a nation. The abolition of public shows would have been an idea more worthy the age of Attila†, than that of Louis XIV.

Dancing, which may now be numbered among the arts, as it is subject to rules, and gives gracefulness to the body, was one of the greatest amusements at Court. Louis XIII. had never danced but once, at a ball, in 1625; and this ball was in so coarse a stile, as afforded no sample of what the arts would arrive at in thirty

* Are we to reckon Operas among the old arts revived, or the new ones invented? *Translator.*

† King of the Huns, a great conqueror, in the 5th century, whose cognomen, or *nom de guerre*, was the *Source of God.* *Ibid.*

years after *. Louis XIV. excelled in the serious dancing, which suited the majesty of his figure, without offending against that of his rank. At the running of the ring, which was sometimes performed, and in which great magnificence was at that time displayed, he shewed to advantage the address he was master of at all his exercises.

Pleasure and magnificence, such as were then known, diffused themselves throughout. These, indeed, were nothing in comparison of what was seen when the King reigned alone; but they were the more remarkable after the horrors of a Civil War, and the dullness of the gloomy and retired life of Louis XIII. That Prince, sickly and peevish, had never been attended, or lodged, or accommodated, as a King. He possessed no jewels above the value of a hundred thousand crowns, belonging to the Crown; Cardinal Mazarin did not increase them to more than twelve hundred thousand; and now there are not less than to the amount of twenty millions of livres.

At the marriage of Louis XIV. every thing 1660.
assumed a yet higher air of taste and magnificence, which has been improving, ever since. When he made his entry with his Queen-Consort, Paris beheld with a tender and respectful admiration that young Queen, who was really handsome, seated in a superb equipage of a new construction, with the King on horseback, riding by her side, and adorned with all that art could add to his manly and heroic beauty, which attracted every one's admiration.

At the entrance of the streets of Vincennes, a triumphal arch was erected, the foundation of which was of stone; but the occasion not affording time, would not permit them to finish it with the same durable material. The superstructure, therefore, was only made of plaf-

* Cardinal Richelieu had before given balls, but they were without the least taste; as indeed were all the public entertainments before his time. The French, who have now carried the art of dancing to perfection, had in the minority of Louis XIV. only some Spanish dances; as the Saraband, the Courant, the Pavan, &c. *Voltaire.*

ter, and has been long since totally demolished. Claude Perrault drew the design of it. The gate of St. Antony was rebuilt, on the same occasion; a monument of an inferior taste, but ornamented with some tolerable pieces of sculpture. All those who had seen, on the day of the battle of St. Antony, brought back to Paris through this gate, then guarded by a portcullis, the dead and dying bodies of so many citizens, and who now beheld this entry so very different, blessed Heaven, and rendered it thanks for so happy a change.

Cardinal Mazarin, in order to celebrate this marriage, had an Italian Opera represented at the Louvre, intitled *Ercole Amante* *. But it did not please the French. They saw nothing in it they liked, except the King and Queen, who danced there. The Cardinal sought to render himself popular, by giving an entertainment more agreeable to the taste of the nation. The Secretary of State, de Lionne, undertook to have a kind of allegorical Tragedy composed, in the manner of Europa, in which Cardinal Richelieu had been concerned. It was lucky for the great Corneille that he was not pitched upon to fill up this wretched rough draught. The subject was *Lisís and Hesperia*. *Lisís* signified France, and *Hesperia* Spain. Quinault was appointed to this task, who had gained a great reputation by his *False Tiberinus* †, which, though a poor performance, had an amazing success. *Lisís* had not the same good fortune. It was performed at the Louvre, but had no merit in it, except the machinery.

The Marquis de Sourdiac, of the name of de Rieux, to whom the establishment of the Opera has been since

* Hercules in love.

† Tiberinus was a King of Alba, who was drowned in the river Albula, which from thence derived the name of Tiberinus, or Tibrís, the Tiber.

———Et in Tusci demersus fluminis undis

Nomina fecit aquæ. ———

Ov. Metam.

Tiberinus was the son of Capetus. If M. Voltaire had been a good Court-Genealogist, he might have derived Hugh Capet from this stock, for the honour of France, and the glory of Louis le Grand.
Translator.

owing in France, had, at the same time, *La Toison d'or, the Golden Fleece*, of Peter Corneille, with its machinery, exhibited at his own expence, at his castle of Newburg. Quinault, young, and of an engaging appearance, had the Court on his side; Corneille had his fame and all France. Thus it appears that we owe Plays and Operas in France to two Cardinals.

It was but a succession of feasts, pleasures, and galantry, from the time of the King's marriage, which was redoubled upon the marriage of Monsieur, his brother, with Henrietta of England, sister of Charles II.; and these continued without interruption, till the death of Cardinal Mazarin, in 1661.

Some months after the death of that Minister, there happened an event which has no example; and what is as strange, is, that none of the historians seem to know any thing of the matter. There was sent, with the utmost privacy, to the Castle in the Island of St. Margaret, in the Mediterranean, near Provence, a prisoner unknown, of stature above the ordinary size, young, and of a handsome and noble figure. This person on the road wore a mask, the chin part of which was composed of steel springs, which left him the liberty to eat, without taking it off. Orders were given to kill him, if he should attempt to discover himself. He remained in this Island till an Officer of great trust, named St. Mars, Governor of Pignerol, being made Governor of the Bastille, in the year 1690, went to bring him from the Island of St. Margaret, and conducted him to the Bastille, always masked. The Marquis of Louvois went to see him in the Island before his removal, and spoke to him standing, and in a manner denoting respect.

This stranger was brought to the Bastille, where he was lodged in the best apartment of the castle. He was refused nothing that he asked for. His greatest passion was for linen of the greatest fineness, and for lace*.

* What a natural sop must this person have been, who could affect finery that was never to be seen? Perhaps it might have been a lady, that was concealed under the mask.

"Here Betty give this cheek a little red."

Achilles was detected by such a characteristic as this. *Translator.*
He

He played on the guitar. His table was always served in the most elegant manner, and the Governor seldom sat down in his presence. An old Physician of the Bastille, who had often attended this singular personage in his illnesses, declared that he had never seen his face, though he had often examined his tongue, and other parts of his body. The Physician said he was extremely well-made, that his skin was rather brown, that he interested by the mere tone of his voice, never complained of his situation, nor gave the least hint who he was *.

This unknown person died in 1704, and was buried at night in the parish of St. Paul. What increases the mystery is, that when he was sent to the Island of St. Margaret, no considerable person had disappeared in Europe; and this prisoner was undoubtedly a man of some consequence: for on the first days after his arrival, the Governor himself placed the dishes on his table, and then retired, after shutting him in. One day the prisoner wrote something with the point of a knife, on one of the silver plates, and flung it out of the window towards a boat that stood near the bank, almost at the foot of the tower. A fisherman who owned the vessel, took up the plate, and carried it to the Governor. He with great surprize asked the fisherman, "Have you read what was written upon this plate, and has any one else seen it in your hands?" "I cannot read," replied the fisherman; "I have but just found it, and no-body else has seen it." The peasant was detained till the Governor was well informed that he never could read, and that the plate had not been seen by any other person. "Go then, said he, you are happy in not knowing how to read."

Among the witnesses of this fact, there is one, very worthy of credit, who is still alive. Monsieur de Chamillard was the last Minister who was intrusted with this extraordinary secret. The second Mar-

* A famous Surgeon, son-in law to this Physician, and who belonged to Marshal Richelieu, testifies what I advance, and Mr. de Bernaville, successor to St. Mars, has often confirmed it to me. *Falshire.*

Mal de la Feuillade, who was married to his daughter, told me, that when his father-in-law was on his death-bed, he intreated him * to let him into the mystery of the person who was known only under the name of *the Man in the Mask*. But Chamillard told him that it was a secret of State, and he had sworn never to reveal it. In fine, there are many of my cotemporaries still in being, who can attest the truth of what I advance, and I know of no fact either more extraordinary, or more authentic.

Louis XIV. continued to divide his time between the pleasures that suited his age, and the duties which belonged to his station. He held a Council every day, and afterwards had a private conference with Colbert. These private interviews produced the fall of the famous Fouquet, in whose ruin were involved the Secretary of State Guenegaud, Pellisson, Gouville, and many others. The disgrace of that Minister, who was less guilty than Cardinal Mazarin, made it appear that every one cannot venture to commit the same faults. His ruin was already resolved upon, at the very time the King had accepted of the magnificent entertainment that this Minister gave him, at his seat at Vaux. That palace, with the gardens, had cost him eighteen millions, which was about thirty-five of the present currency.

He had built this edifice twice over, and had purchased three villages, the land of which was inclosed within these extensive gardens, laid out mostly by Le Nôtre, and reputed then to be the finest in Europe. His water-works, which, since those of Versailles, of Marly, and St. Cloud, have appeared, seem so inconsiderable, were then regarded with wonder. However,

* The French expression is, *Il le conjura à genoux*, "He conjured him on his knees." I did not think that to satisfy a mere curiosity required so solemn a conjuration. Besides, there is something in the idea of kneeling, at which the spirit of a man is apt to revolt, except at our devotions. The action should be appropriate to the Creator. Methinks it argues a meanness even in the Prince that suffers such homage to himself. It is politic in despots. Slaves cannot be rendered too abject. *Translator.*

notwithstanding the grandeur of this feat, the expence of eighteen millions, the accounts of which are still subsisting *, proved that he had been served with as little economy, as he had himself served his master.

It is certain that St. Germain's and Fontainebleau, the only country-palaces the King was in possession of, were much inferior in beauty to Vaux. Louis XIV. was sensible of this, and it piqued him. In every part of the house were seen the arms and the motto of Fouquet, which were a squirrel, with these words, *Quò non ascendam?* "To what height may I not ascend?" The King asked for an explanation of it; and the ambition hinted in the device, did not serve to moderate his resentment. The Courtiers observed, that the squirrel was every where painted as pursued by a snake, which was the arms of Colbert †. The entertainment was superior to any of those that Cardinal Mazarin had ever given, not only in magnificence, but taste. *Les Fâcheux* ‡ of Molière was here exhibited, for the first time. Pellisson wrote the Prologue, which was much applauded ||.

The public diversions cover or prepare so often at Court the ruin of particular persons, that only in respect of the Queen-mother, the Superintendent and Pellisson would have been arrested at Vaux, the very day of the

* The accounts of this vast expence were at Vaux, now called Villars, in 1718, and probably may be preserved there still. The Duke of Villars, son of the Marshal, confirms the fact. Nor is it so extraordinary, as appears at first. We see, in the Memoirs of the Abbé Choisy, that the Marquis de Louvois, speaking of Meudon, then building, told him, that it had then cost him fourteen millions. *Voltaire*.

† This passage requires a note, and I cannot supply it. By the adverb *partout*, *every where*, is it meant that a squirrel pursued by a snake is a general emblem? I never heard that it was. And then those Courtiers must have been in the secret, by their allusion. If the *partout* be restrained to the Palace of Vaux, it must there be a prophetic device; as Fouquet did not know of the enmity of Colbert, so long before, nor would he have braved it. *Translator*.

‡ *The Impertinents*. The hint of this piece is taken from the ninth satire of the first book of Horace.

Ibam forte viâ sacrâ, sicut meus est mos, &c. Ibid.

§ The whole subject of which was, the praise of the King. *Ibid. least.*

feast*. What had increased the resentment of the King was, that Mademoiselle la Valière†, for whom he had begun to be sensible of a lively passion, was become one of the objects of the Superintendent's transient attachments, who spared no expence to gratify his inclinations. He had made an offer to her of two hundred thousand livres; but the proposal was received with indignation, even before she had formed any design upon the affections of the King. The Superintendent, soon afterwards, on perceiving what a powerful rival he had, endeavoured to become the confidant of her whom he had not been able to possess; and this served but to add new provocations.

The King, who, in the first emotion of his resentment, had been tempted to have Fouquet arrested in the very midst of the entertainment he was then receiving from him, afterwards made use of a dissimulation which was not necessary. It might be said that the Monarch, though then in possession of full power, was yet afraid of the strength of party, which Fouquet had established for himself.

He was Attorney-General to the Parliament, and this office intitled him to the privilege of being tried by an Assembly of the Chambers. But after so many Princes, Marshals, and Dukes, had been tried by Commissioners, a simple Magistrate might have been treated in the same manner, since it was resolved to make use of such extraordinary methods, which, though not unjust, afforded, however, always a suspicion of being so.

Colbert induced him, by an artifice not very honourable, to sell his post. He was offered eighteen hundred thousand livres for it, which were worth about three millions and a half of the present times; but by a mistake he only disposed of it for fourteen hundred thousand franks. The excessive price of places in the Parliament,

* This affords us no very favourable idea of Louis le Grand. *Tranf.*

† Louise Frances de la Baume-le-Blanc de la Valière, was made Maid of Honour to Henrietta of England, Dutches of Orleans. She fell in love with the person of Louis XIV. who was equally struck. *Smollet.*

so greatly diminished since, proves what consequence that body had still preserved, even in its decline. The Duke of Guise, Great Chamberlain to the King, had sold that office of the Crown to the Duke of Bouillon, for only eight hundred thousand livres.

It was the Fronde, it was the war of Paris, that had given such a value to seats in the Court of Judicature. If it was one of the great faults, and one of the great misfortunes of a Government a long while in debt, that France should be the only country in the world where the posts of Judges were to be bought, it was the consequence of the leaven of sedition; and it was a sort of insult to the Throne, that the place of Attorney to the King should cost more, than the first dignities of the Crown.

Fouquet, though he squandered the revenues of the State, using them as if they had been his own private property, possessed not, however, the less greatness of soul. His depredations were only spent in magnificence and liberality. He restored the money he sold his post for, into the public treasury; but this noble action availed him not. They made use of an artifice to inveigle a person to Nantes, who might have been seized at Paris by a common serjeant and a couple of soldiers. The King appeared to caress him just before his disgrace*.

I know not why most Princes affect to deceive by false shows of regard, those of their subjects whom they intend to ruin. Dissimulation, in such a case, is inconsistent with true greatness. This is never a virtue, and cannot be esteemed a valuable talent, but when it becomes absolutely necessary†. Here Louis XIV. appears

* The first instance of this kind of insincerity that occurs to me, on this passage, is in Sacred History, when Judas with a kiss betrayed his master. The second is in Profane History, when James I. embraced the Earl of Somerset, just before he surrendered him to the Warrant of Lord Chief Justice Coke. *Translator.*

† M. Voltaire is an indulgent casuist in morals. He might have trusted to the common frailty of poor Human Nature to have framed a latitude for itself, in difficult cases. Had such an accommodating maxim been always observed, we should never have heard of martyrs for loyalty or religion. *Ibid.*

to have acted out of character; but he had been informed that Fouquet had erected considerable fortifications at Belleisle, and that probably he might have too many partizans, both within and without the kingdom.

But it plainly appeared, when he was arrested, and carried first to the Bastille, and afterwards to Vincennes, that his party was only the self-interestedness of some dependants, and of some mistresses of his, who were his pensioners, and who forsook him when he had no longer any thing to bestow. But there remained friends of another character, still attached to him, and such as proved that he was worthy of them. The illustrious Madame de Sevigné, Pellisson, Gourville, Mademoiselle de Scuderi, and several persons of Letters, declared so loudly in his favour, and supported him with so much warmth, that they saved his life.

The verses of Hainault, the translator of Lucretius, against Colbert, the persecutor of Fouquet, are well known.

Ministre avare et lâche, esclave malheureux,
Qui gémit sous le poids des affaires publiques;
Victime dévouée aux chagrins politiques,
Fantôme révéré sous un titre onéreux;

Voi combien des grandeurs le comble est dangereux;
Contemple de Fouquet les funestes reliques,
Et tandis qu'à sa perte en secret tu t'appliques,
Crain qu'on ne te prépare un destin plus affreux.

Sa chute quelque jour te peut être commune.
Crain ton poste, ton rang, la cour et la fortune.
Nul ne tombe innocent d'où l'on te voit monter.

Cesse donc d'animer ton Prince à son supplice,
Et près d'avoir besoin de toute sa bonté,
Ne se fais pas user de toute sa justice.

Base, sordid Minister, a titled slave,
Whom public vigils of all rest bereave;
A victim sacrificed to State affairs,
An envied phantom still oppressed with cares;
Contemplate of Fouquet the sad remains,
And then compute of greatness what the gains!

Thus while in secret you his sentence plan,
 Thy equal, perhaps greater, danger scan.
 His ruin may thy own but antedate,
 Fear then thy post, thy rank, the Court, and fate.
 None from thy height can fall unhurt: then spare
 Thy Prince's vengeance to provoke too far;
 And while thy crimes may soon his mercy need,
 Urge not his justice in the present deed*.

Mr. Colbert, when this sarcastical Sonnet† was mentioned to him, asked if the King had taken offence at it; and being answered no; "Nor I neither," replied the Minister.

We should never be the dupe of such premeditated replies, of such public speeches, which belie the heart. Colbert appeared moderate, indeed, but he pursued the life‡ of Fouquet with perfect animosity. A person may be a good Minister, though vindictive. It was unhappy that he was not capable of as much generosity as vigilance.

The most active and implacable of all his persecutors, was the chief of his Judges, the Chancellor Michael le Tellier§. He treated him very harshly in the Bastille, where

* This Mr. Poet Hainault is but a sturdy beggar. A more prudent friend would have judged it a hazardous experiment to add a private pique to a public prosecution, in order to qualify it. Doctors, they say, sometimes raise a fever, to cure it; but the analogy will hardly hold good in politics. *Translator.*

† These lines, as they are printed above, form the compleat French Sonnet, according to the definition of it given by Richelet, in his Dictionary. "A Poem of fourteen lines, divided into four couplets, of which the two first are of four lines each, and the two last of three." It may here be observed, that *couplet*, in French, signifies stanza, though improperly. *Ibid.*

‡ The words in French are, *poursuivait la mort*. An odd phrase, which I have taken the liberty to alter, thinking that no privilege of idiom can warrant any expression false either in sense or grammar. *Ibid.*

§ He was an honest, but a rigid man. See his character before, in the List of Secretaries of State; where 'tis said, *Il fut plus estimé qu'aimé du Roi, de la Cour, et du Public*. "He was more esteemed than loved by the King, the Court, and the Public." Such unamiable characters often lose the merit of their virtue with the world,

where he interrogated him, and did every thing in his power to have him condemned to death. When one reads the funeral oration of this Chancellor, pronounced by Bossuet, and compares it with his conduct, what is one to think, except that a funeral sermon is but a declamation?

It is certain, that this process against the Superintendent was an accusation against Cardinal Mazarin; for the greatest depredations in the finances were imputable to him. He had appropriated to himself, as if he had been the Sovereign, many branches of the public revenue. He had acted as Commissary to the Armies, in his own name, and to his own emolument. "He had imposed (said Fouquet, in his defence), by *Lettres de Cachet*, large sums upon the Generalities*, which had never been done but by, and for himself, and which is liable to a capital punishment by the laws." It was by these means that the Cardinal had amassed immense treasures, of which he himself knew not the amount.

I have heard the late Mr. de Caumartin, Intendant of the Finances, say, that when he was a young man, some years after the death of the Cardinal, he had been at the Palais Mazarin, where the Duke, his heir, and the Duchess Hortensia then resided; that he there observed a large inlaid cabinet, very deep, and extending from the top to the bottom of the closet where it stood. The keys of it had been a long time lost, and they had therefore never examined its contents. Mr. Caumartin, surprised at this neglect, said to the Duchess of Maza-

world, which is too generally not very charitable, and apt to suspect that men sometimes but borrow the appearances of strictness and justice, in order to indulge their spleen and ill-nature with the less reproach. I have seen a Judge (a) sign a death-warrant as if he himself had been the victim, when the tears he shed, had they been blended with his ink, would have obliterated the sentence. Some men are accusing Angels, others but recording ones; according to that beautiful extravagance of Sterne, in his Chapter on *Le Fever. Transf.*

* The *Generalities* mean the different Provinces or Districts allotted to the several Collectors of the public revenue. *Translator.*

(a) Mr. Wainwright, a Judge in Ireland.

rin, that perhaps some curiosities might be discovered in this cabinet. It was accordingly opened, and was found filled with quadruples, gold counters, and medals of the same metal; of which Madame de Mazarin threw out handfuls to the populace, from the window, for about eight days successively *.

Cardinal Mazarin's abuse of his despotic rule could not justify the Superintendant; but the irregular course of the proceedings against him; the length of his trial; the odious virulence of the Chancellor Tellier, shewn in the prosecution; with time, which extinguishes the public resentment, and inspires a compassion for the unhappy; and finally, sollicitations, which are ever more actively urged in favour of the unfortunate, than adverse suits are prosecuted against them †; all these concurred to save his life.

Judgement was not given in the process till three years after the commencement of it, in 1664; when, of twenty-two Judges who voted on the question, only nine of them passed sentence of death; and the other thirteen, among whom there were some who had accepted presents from Gourville ‡, declared for perpetual banishment. But the King commuted this banishment for one more severe.

This severity was neither conformable to the ancient laws of the kingdom, nor to those of humanity. But what offended the minds of the nation most, was the Chancellor having banished one of the Judges, named Roquesante, who had been the most active in determining the Chamber of Justice to indulgence §.

All.

* I have since met with the same story in St. Evremond, *Voltaire*.

† We are obliged to M. Voltaire for this reflection to the honour of human nature. *Translator*.

‡ See his *Memoirs*.

|| By confining him in the Castle of Pignerol, where he employed himself in composing works of piety. *Smollet*.

§ Racine affirms, in his historical fragments, that the King said, in Mademoiselle Valiere's apartments, "if he had been condemned

All the Historians say, that he died in confinement, in 1680; but Gourville says, in his Memoirs, that he was discharged from prison some time before his death. The Countess of Vaux, his daughter-in-law, had before confirmed this fact to me; though the contrary is still believed in his own family. Thus 'tis uncertain where died an unfortunate man, whose slightest actions were observed when he was in power.

The Secretary of State, Guenegaud, who had sold his post to Colbert, was no less pursued on that account, by the Chamber of Justice, which deprived him of the greatest part of his fortune. What was the most singular in the Arrêts of this Chamber, is, that a Bishop of Avranche was condemned in a fine of twelve thousand franks. His name was Boleve, and he was the brother of a contractor, and had taken share in his extortions*.

St. Evremond, who was attached to the Superintendent, was involved in his disgrace. Colbert, who searched every where for proofs against the man whom he wished to ruin, had some papers seized that were intrusted to the care of Madame du Plessis-Bellièvre; and among them was found a letter written by St. Evremond, on the peace of the Pyrenées†. This piece of pleantry, then deemed a crime against the State, was shewn to the King. Colbert, who scorned to revenge himself upon so obscure a person as Hainault, persecuted in the person of St. Evremond the friend of Fouquet whom he hated, and the man of wit whom he feared.

“to death, I would have let him suffer.” If he did make use of such an expression, it cannot be excused. It appears to be both too severe and too absurd. *Voltaire.*

The making so intemperate and heedless a declaration, in the presence of La Vallière, betrayed the leaven of a mean spirit of jealousy and envy in Louis, which the magnificence and galantries shewn to that Lady by Fouquet, had formerly excited in his breast, and which even then that unhappy man's sufferings and misfortunes had not been yet able to qualify. *Translator.*

* See Gay Patin, and the memoirs of those times. *Voltaire.*

† It was a humorous ridicule composed against Cardinal Mazarin, on his conduct and behaviour during that treaty. *Translator.*

The King was so extremely severe as to punish a harmless piece of raillery, composed a long time before, upon Cardinal Mazarin, whom he regretted not, and whom the whole Court had abused, reprobated, and banished, for many years, without the least censure *. Of a thousand pieces written against that Minister, the least severe was the only one which was punished, and that after his death †.

St. Evremond, who had retired into England, lived and died there a free man and a philosopher. The Marquis de Miremont, his friend, told me formerly in London, that there was some other cause of his disgrace, but which St. Evremond would never reveal. When Louis XIV. afterwards permitted St. Evremond to return to his country, towards the latter end of his life, this philosopher scorned to accept the permission as a favour; and proved that a man's country is the place where he lives happy; and he did so at London.

The new Minister of the Finances, under the simple title of Comptroller-General, justified the severity of his conduct in re-establishing that order which his predecessors had confused, and in labouring without relaxation towards the greatness of the State.

The Court became the center of pleasures, and the model of all other Courts. The King piqued himself upon giving feasts which should obliterate the remembrance of those of Vaux ‡.

It seemed as if Nature had taken a pleasure then in giving to France the greatest men in all the Arts, and in assembling at Court the most beautiful and most perfectly-formed persons, of both sexes. The King surpassed all his Courtiers, in the dignity of his person, and the majestic beauty of his features. The very sound of his voice, which was noble and engaging, gained those

* An order was issued for carrying him to the Bastille, but he had the good fortune to receive a hint of it time enough to effect his escape out of the kingdom. *Translator.*

† This was by Louis le Grand. *Ibid.*

‡ A worthy emulation, truly! His jealousy of Fouquet, it seems, had not yet subsided. *Ibid.*

hearts which his presence awed. His air was such, as became only himself and his rank, and would have been ridiculous in any other person. The embarrassment which people were subject to when they spoke to him, secretly flattered the complacency with which he was sensible of his superiority. The old Officer who was confounded, and hesitated in his speech, on soliciting some favour, and who not being able to finish his address, said, "Sir, I do not tremble thus before your enemies," obtained his request without any further difficulty.

The polish of Society had not yet received all its perfection at Court. The Queen-mother, Anne of Austria, began to affect retirement. The Queen Consort scarcely understood the language, and mere goodness constituted her sole merit. The Princess of England, sister-in-law to the King, brought to Court the charms of a soft and lively conversation, soon after improved by the reading of good Authors, and by a just and refined taste. She also perfected herself in the knowledge of the language, which she wrote but incorrectly at the time of her marriage. She inspired a new emulation of wit, and introduced at Court such graces and politeness as the rest of Europe had scarcely any notion of. Madame had all the wit of Charles II. her brother, embellished with the beauty of her sex, and by the gift and the desire of pleasing. The Court of Louis XIV. breathed a gallantry, the zest of which was heightened by decorum; while that which reigned at the Court of Charles II. was less reserved, and too much indecency debased its pleasures.

There passed at first between Madame and the King some of those gallantries of wit, and that private intimacy, which little feasts, often repeated, are apt to produce. The King sent her verses, which she replied to. It happened that the very same person was at the same time confidant both to the King and Madame, in this gay intercourse. This was the Marquis of Dangeau. The King employed him to write for him, and Madame engaged him to frame her answers. He thus served

them both, without suffering either to suspect that he was secretary to the other; and this was one of the causes of his fortune.

This connection having alarmed the Royal Family, the King changed this suspicious commerce into a foundation of friendship and esteem, which ever continued. When Madame afterwards employed Racine and Corneille to compose the Tragedy of *Berenice*, she had in view not only the rupture between the King and the Constable Colonne, but the restraint which she had imposed upon her own inclinations, lest they should become dangerous. Louis XIV. is sufficiently pointed out in these two lines of Racine's *Bérenice* :

Qu'en quelque obscurité que le ciel l'eût fait naître,
Le monde en le voyant eût reconnu son maître.

In whatsoever state he had been shewn,
Mankind on seeing him their King would own.

These amusements gave place to a passion more serious and more constant, which he had conceived for Mademoiselle de la Valière, Maid of Honour to Madame. He tasted with her the uncommon happiness of being beloved, for his own sake alone. She had been for two years the concealed object of all the entertainments and of all the feasts the King had given. A young valet-de chambre of the King's, named Belloc, composed several recitatives, which were intermixed with their dances, and performed sometimes at the Queen's, and sometimes at Madame's apartments; and these recitatives mysteriously expressed the secret of their hearts, which soon became no longer a secret.

All the public diversions that the King had exhibited, were so many homages to his Mistress. In 1662 a Tournament was held over-against the Tuilleries*, in a large enclosure, which from thence has retained the name of *La Place du Carrouse*, or the *Tournament-Ground*.

* Not in the Royal Square, as the History of la Hode says, under the name of La Martinière. *Voltaire*,

There

There were five *Quadrilles* *, representing so many different nations, appointed to enter the lists. The King was at the head of the Roman troop; his brother, of the Persian; the Prince of Condé, of the Turks; the Duke of Enghien, his son, of the Indian; and the Duke of Guise, of the American one.

This Duke of Guise was grandson to Balafre †. He had made himself famous in the world, by the unfortunate temerity with which he attempted to become master of Naples. His imprisonment, his duels, his romantic amours, his prodigality, and his adventures, had rendered him a singular character in every thing. He seemed to be a person of another age. It was said of him, on seeing him run at the ring against the Great Condé, "Behold the Heroes both of History and Fable."

The Queen-Mother, the Queen-Consort, and the Queen of England, widow of Charles I. who upon this occasion suspended her afflictions, sat under a canopy at this exhibition. The Count de Sault, son to the Duke de Leidschuijres, won the prize, and received it from the hands of the Queen-Mother. These sports revived more than ever the taste for emblems and devices which Tournaments had formerly brought into fashion, and which continued after them.

An Antiquarian, named D'Ouvrier, framed then for Louis XIV. the emblem of a Sun, darting its rays on a Globe, with these words: *Nec pluribus impar*. The thought was taken from a Spanish device made for Philip II. and more suitable to that Monarch, who possessed

* *Quadril*, from *Quadrilla*, Spanish. Small troops of cavaliers, properly mounted, armed and prepared to enter the lists, at tilts, jousts, tournaments, running at the ring, &c. *Translator*.

† Henry, Duke of Guise, who is here surnamed *Balafre*, was a man equally distinguished for great and bad qualities; which unhappy composition of character was the cause of many evils and calamities to his country, in the reign of Henry III. and occasioned his being put to death, with a factious Cardinal, a brother of his, at the Castle of Blois.

The word *Balafre* in French signifies a scar in the face; and this Duke of Guise was so cognomen'd. from a wound he had received there, upon an attempt made to assassinate him. *Ibid*.

the finest part of the New World, and so many dominions in the Old, than to a young King of France, who had yet afforded nothing but hopes. This device had prodigious success. The achievements of the King, the furniture of the Crown, the tapestry and sculptures were all adorned with it. The King, however, never wore it in his Tournaments.

Louis XIV. has been unjustly censured for the vanity of this device, as if he had chosen it himself; and a criticism might more properly be made upon the conceit itself. The emblem does not represent what the motto signifies; nor has the latter a meaning sufficiently clear and explicit. What may be explained in different senses, deserves no interpretation at all. Devices, that remain of antient chivalry, may be proper in festivals, and are agreeable enough when the allusions are just, new, and pointed. It is better to have none, than admit those which are mean or incongruous; like that of Louis XII. who bore a Hedge-Hog, with this motto: *Qui s'y frotte s'y pique*—"He that touches me pricks himself." Devices are to inscriptions, what masquerades are to more formal assemblies.

The feast of Versailles, in 1664, exceeded that of the Tournament, in its singularity, its magnificence, and its rational pleasures; which being blended with the splendour of the entertainment, superadded such a relish and an elegance to it, as no exhibition of the kind had ever before been embellished with. Versailles began to be a charming spot, even before it had reached that grandeur to which it has since arrived.

On the 5th of May the King went there with a Court composed of six hundred persons, who, with their attendants, were all entertained at his expence, as
 1664. were also those employed in conducting these bewitching scenes. There was nothing ever wanting at these feasts, except such lasting monuments, erected purposely for their exhibition, as the Greeks and Romans used to raise. But the dispatch with which the theatres, amphitheatres, and porticoes, ornamented with as much magnificence as taste, were constructed, was a surprise

surprize which encreased the illusion, and which, varied in a thousand ways, augmented still more the charm of these shows.

There was at first a sort of carousal, in which those who were to run, appeared the first day as in a review. These were preceded by Heralds at Arms, Pages, and Squires, who carried their devices and bucklers; on which latter were inscribed, in letters of gold, verses composed by Périgni* and Benferade†; the last of whom, especially, possessed a singular talent for such galant pieces, in which he always introduced delicate and lively allusions to the characters of the persons present, to the personages of antiquity or of the fable that was represented, and to the reigning taste or passions of the Court. The King personated *Roger*‡. All the jewels of the Crown were displayed on his dress, and on the horse he rode. The Queens, accompanied by three

* He was an Abbé, born at Lyons, and the first who established an Opera at Paris, similar to the one at Venice, by a Royal Patent. In 1672, he exhibited the Pastoral of Pomona, the words by himself, the music by Lambert. He afterwards, on some disgust at his partners, disposed of his Patent to Lulli. He was author of several other Pastorals, with many Odes, Sonnets, and Elegies. He translated the *Æneid* into verse, but indifferently. It might not have been so much his fault, as the weakness of the French language, which Epic Poetry revolts at. Indeed all kind of rhyme is a restraint upon it. A jingling epopée resembles a hero in chains. *Translator.*

† There is too short and disparaging an account given of this Writer, in the Catalogue prefixed to this Work. He was a man of wit, spirit and talents, was well received at Court, and had a pension settled on him by Anne of Austria, the Queen-Mother. He wrote several Plays, both Tragedies and Comedies, besides composing some Ballets, which had great reputation in that time.

He was author of a *Sonnet upon Job*, which divided the Critics in the Belles-Lettres between it and Voiture's Sonnet called *Urania*. M. Voltaire should have given him the merit of such a competition, at least. Not only the Men of Letters, but the whole Court took part so warmly in this contest, that it became a party-matter at last, in which the different sides were denominated *Jobists* and *Uranists*. *Ibid.*

‡ We are at a loss here to know what character this is, or in what representation introduced; but this we know, that the name and the finery are by no means consoled. * *Ibid.*

hundred Ladies, seated under triumphal arches, were present at this entry.

The King, amidst all the eyes that were fixed on him, distinguished only those of Mademoiselle de la Valière. The festival was given for her alone, which she seemingly enjoyed but as a common spectator.

The cavalcade was followed by a gilded car eighteen feet high, fifteen broad, and twenty-four long, representing the Chariot of the Sun. The four Ages, of Gold, Silver, Brass, and Iron, the Cœlestial Signs, the Seasons, and the Hours, followed the car, on foot. Every thing was characteristic. Shepherds carried the rails of the palisadoes, and joined them together to the sound of trumpets; to which succeeded, by intervals, haut-boys and violins. Some persons who followed Apollo's car, came forward before the Queens, and recited some verses applicable to the place, the time, the King, and the Ladies.

The races finished, and the night come on, four thousand large flambeaus illuminated the area where the feast was given. The tables there were served by two hundred persons, representing the Seasons, the Fauns, the Sylvens, and the Dryads, with Shepherds, Vintagers, and Reapers of Corn. Pan and Diana advanced upon a moving mountain, from which they descended, in order to place upon the tables whatever the fields and the forests produced that was most delicious. Behind the tables, in a semicircle, sprang up suddenly an orchestra filled with musicians. The arcades which surrounded the tables and the orchestra, were decorated with five hundred girandoles, of green and silver, supplied with wax tapers; and a gilt balustrade inclosed this vast amphitheatre.

These feasts, so much superior to those which are imagined in romances, were continued for seven days. The King four times carried the prizes of the games, and then resigned them to be again contended for by the other champions.

The Comedy of *La Printesse d'Elide**, though not one of the best of Moliere's Pieces, was one of the most

* The Princess of Elis.

agreeable articles of these sports, from the number of fine allegories on the manners of the times, and the temporary allusions, which add a relish to such entertainments, but which are lost to posterity.

Judicial astrology still maintained its credit at Court: many of the Princes, from a vain superstition, thought that Nature had distinguished them so far as to write their destiny in the stars. The Duke of Savoy, Victor-Amadeus, father to the Dutchess of Burgundy, kept an astrologer in his train, even after his abdication. Moliere was bold enough to attack this delusion, in his Comedy of *Les Amans Magnifiques* *.

There was also a Court Fool introduced in that piece. This wretched species of buffoons was still much in fashion, and was a relick of barbarism which continued much longer in Germany than elsewhere. The want of amusements, and the inability of procuring such as were agreeable and chaste, in the times of ignorance and bad taste, had given rise to this miserable supplement, which is a degradation to the human understanding †. The Fool that was then in the Royal family, had formerly belonged to the Prince of Condé: his name was *Angeli*. The Count de Grammont said, that of all the *fools* who had followed Monsieur the Prince ‡, there was only *Angeli*.

* The Magnificent Lovers:

† La Bruyere, in my opinion, offers a more philosophic solution of this matter, in his Characters. "Princes, or persons otherwise happy in all their circumstances of life (says he), have a certain superfluousness of joy in their minds, which inclines them to laugh at a dwarf, a monkey, a fool, or any silly story. Those who are less happy, smile with more distinction."

But many of the persons recorded in History, under this denomination, were not the *jesters*, but the *jesters* of courts. Killigrew, in the reign of Charles II. was one. He was a man of wit and literature, and employed abroad on Embassies. They were a sort of *privileged persons*, who, from a certain peculiarity of character, were apt to speak home-truths, and allowed to say any thing short of treason, without offence to decorum.

What a pity that this usage has been abolished! Kings need such a member in the State, extremely. It would not be amiss if they would take a *fool's advice*, now and then. *Translator.*

‡ The appellation of the Prince of Condé. *Ibid.*

that

that made his fortune. This buffoon did not want wit. It was he who said, " he never went to hear Sermons, " because he did not love brawling, and did not understand argument."

The Farce of *Le Mariage forcé*, or, *The Forced Marriage*, was also performed at this feast. But ^{1664.} the most admirable circumstance here, was the first representation of the first three Acts of the *Tartuffe**. The King was impatient to see this chef-d'œuvre, even before it was finished. He afterwards protected it against those false bigots who would have moved heaven and earth for its suppression; and it will subsist, as has been already said elsewhere, while taste and hypocrisy shall continue in France.

The generality of these gay spectacles are only calculated for the eyes and ears. What is merely show and magnificence, is but the amusement of a day; but when the master-piece of art, such as the *Tartuffe*, are added to these festivals, they render the memory of them perpetual.

Several passages of those allegories of Benserade, which enriched the Ballets of that time, are still remembered. I shall only quote these verses, applied to the King, representing the Sun.

Je doute qu'on le prenne avec vous sur le ton
De Daphné ni de Phaeton.
Lui trop ambitieux, elle trop inhumaine :
Il n'est point là de piège où vous puissiez donner ;
Le moyen de s'imaginer,
Qu'une femme vous suive, & qu'un homme vous mène ?

With thee we ne'er can fear the tale,
Of Daphne, or of Phaeton ;
Her shyness, or his bold assault,
Thy sense and merits still must shun ;
For, while such talents you employ,
Nor man can baffle, maids be coy.

The principal glory of these amusements, which perfected taste, politeness, and talents, in France, arose

* The Hypocrite; from whence our play of the Nonjuror is taken. *Translation.*

from

from this, that they occasioned not the least relaxation in the assiduous labours of the Monarch. Without these attentions, he would only have known how to keep a Court, but not have known how to reign; and if these magnificent pleasures of the Court had insulted the misery of the people, they would only have been detestable.

But the same person who gave these feasts, gave bread also to the people, in the famine of 1662. He caused corn to be brought forth, which the rich had purchased at a low price, and had it distributed to poor families, at the gate of the Louvre. He remitted to the people three millions of taxes. No part of the interior administration was neglected; and his Government was respected abroad. The King of Spain was obliged to yield him precedence; the Pope forced to make him satisfaction; Dunkirk added to France, by a purchase glorious to the acquirer, and shameful to the seller; finally, all these transactions since he took the reins of government into his own hands, were either noble or useful. After this, the indulgence of these revellings appeared with the better grace.

Chigi, the Legate-à-latere, nephew to Pope Alexander VII. coming in the midst of all these sports and spectacles at Versailles, to make satisfaction to the King, for the insult offered him by the Pope's guards, afforded a new exhibition to the Court. Such grand ceremonies are a sort of festivals to the Public. The honours that were paid him, rendered the satisfaction the more conspicuous. He received under a canopy the compliments of the superior Courts, of the corporation of the City, and the body of the Clergy. He entered Paris under a discharge of cannon, having the Great Condé on his right hand, and the son of that Prince on his left; and appeared with all this pomp to humble himself, Rome, and the Pope, before a King who had not yet drawn his sword. He dined with the King after the audience, and the Court exerted itself to treat him with magnificence, and afford him every kind of entertainment. The Doge of Genoa, since then, was treated with less ceremony, indeed,

deed, but with the same earnestness to please, that the King ever blended with his most important actions.

All these things gave to the Court of Louis XIV. an air of grandeur which eclipsed all the other Courts of Europe. He was desirous that this lustre annexed to his person, should be reflected on all around him; that all the great should be honoured, but none of them powerful, beginning with his brother, and with Monsieur the Prince. It was with this view that he decided in favour of the Peers their ancient dispute with the Presidents of the Parliament. These contended for the right of voting before the Peers, and had been in possession of this claim. He determined, in an extraordinary Council, that the Peers should vote in the *Beds of Justice* *, the King being then present, before the Presidents; as if they owed this privilege merely to his person, and suffered the ancient usage still to subsist in their common assemblies, where he did not personally preside.

In order to distinguish his principal Courtiers, he directed a uniform of large blue coats, embroidered with gold and silver †. The permission to wear this garb was deemed a great favour, by those who were under the dominion of vanity. This honour was as much solicited as the Collar of an Order. It may be observed, since we have here entered into minute details, that they wore these coats over a doublet ornamented with ribbons, and over the coat was slung a belt, to which hung the sword. They wore also a kind of laced cravat, and a hat mounted with two rows of feathers. This dress, which continued till the year 1684, became the fashion of all Europe, except of Spain and Poland; for they already almost universally piqued themselves on imitating the Court of Louis XIV.

He established in his household an œconomy which still subsists; regulated the ranks and offices belonging to it; and created new posts about his person, such as that of the Grand-master of his Wardrobe, &c. He re-established the

* Where the King presides in person, sitting enthroned. *Transl.*

† A sort of roquelaure, or great-coat. *Ibid.*

tables appointed by Francis I. and augmented them. There were twelve of these for the Commensal Officers†, served with as much elegance and profusion as those of many Sovereigns. He directed that all strangers should be invited to them; and this attention was continued during his whole reign.

There was another provision of a still more refined and polite nature. When he had built the Pavillions of Marly, in 1679, the Ladies found themselves accommodated in their apartments with a compleat toilette; nothing that was requisite to a convenient luxury was wanting. Whoever was of any of his excursionary parties, might give an entertainment in his own apartment, where he was served with the same accommodations as the master. Such trivial things have their value only, when they are supported by great ones. In all his actions splendor and liberality were manifested. He made presents of two hundred thousand franks to the daughters of his Ministers, on their marriage.

But what distinguished him the most, in Europe, was a liberality which had before no example. The hint arose from a conversation which he happened to hold with the Duke de St. Aignan, who told him that Cardinal Richelieu had sent presents to some learned foreigners who had written eulogies on him. The King did not wait till he was praised; but, sure of deserving to be so, recommended it to his Ministers, Lionne and Colbert, to select a number both of Frenchmen and strangers distinguished for literature, on whom he might bestow tokens of his munificence. Lionne having written into foreign countries, and having informed himself as fully as he could, in a matter of so delicate a nature, where a preference was to be given between cotemporaries, a list was then made out of sixty persons; some of whom had presents, and others pensions given them, according to their rank, wants, or merits.

* The Officers of the Household who were privileged to dine at Court. *Translator.*

Alazzi, Librarian of the Vatican*; Count Graziani† Secretary of State to the Duke of Modena; the celebrated Viviani‡, Mathematician to the Grand Duke of Florence; Vossius§, Historiographer to the United-Provinces; the illustrious Mathematician Huygens||; a Dutch

* Leo Allatius, or Alazzi, as the Italians name him, was a celebrated writer of the 17th century. He assisted the Members of Port-Royal, in the controversy they held with M. Claude, on the belief of the Greeks with regard to the Eucharist. He supported the doctrine of the Latin against the Greek Church. He neither married nor went into orders. Alexander VII. asked him, one day, why "he did not do one or the other?" To which he replied, "that he would not do either, because it would prevent his doing the other." Upon which story M. Bayle sarcastically observes, "Thus he passed his whole life wavering between a parish and a wife; sorry, perhaps, at his death, for having chosen neither; when, if he had fixed upon one, he might have repented his choice, for thirty or forty years." He died at Rome in 1669, aged 83.—*Encyc. Diet.*

† Jerome Graziani distinguished himself by his poetical talents, and wrote a number of works. He was thought to possess more erudition, than either taste or judgment. He was author of an epic poem intitled Cleopatra, and of another on the conquest of Granada. He wrote also a great many odes and sonnets. He was created Count of Salazena by Francis Duke of Modena. *Ibid.*

‡ Vincentio Viviani was of a noble family in Florence, where he was born in 1621. He was a great Mathematician, and had been a disciple of Galileo. He restored the fifth book of Apollonius's Conic Sections, which he published in 1659, with the title of *De Maximis et Minimis Geometrica Divinatio*, &c. He was employed along with Cassini to prevent the inundations of the Tyber. He died in 1701. *Ibid.*

§ Isaac Vossius was the person here meant, but he was no historian. It was his father, John Gerard Vossius, that had been Professor of History, at Leyden. He was a man of great study and learning, held a correspondence with Christina, Queen of Sweden, and taught her Greek. In 1670, he came over to England, where he was appointed a Canon of Windsor by Charles II. though he knew his character well enough to say, "there was nothing that Vossius did not believe, except the Bible." He exposed both his credulity and his want of faith in most of his writings; for though he had great learning, he was but a weak man. He died in Windsor Castle, in 1688. *Ibid.*

|| Christian Huygens, born at the Hague, and one of the greatest Mathematicians of the 17th Century. He first discovered Saturn's ring, and invented or improved several scientific instruments. He loved a studious and sequestered life, yet never contracted the least that

a Dutch Resident in Sweden ; in fine, even the Professors at Altorf and at Helmstadt, towns almost unknown to the French, were astonished to receive letters from Monsieur Colbert, in which he informed them, that though the King was not their Sovereign, he hoped they would permit him to be their Patron. The stile of these letters was adapted to the rank of the persons ; and they were all accompanied either with considerable benefactions, or pensions.

Among the French, Racine, Quinault *, and Fléchier, since Bishop of Nîmes, though then very young, were distinguished, and received presents. It is true, that Chapelain † and Cotin had pensions ; but it was principally Chapelain that the Minister Colbert consulted upon this occasion. These two men, otherwise so decried for their poetry, were not without merit. Chapelain was

that severity or sourness of manners or disposition which is generally the effect of solitude and study. *Bieg. Dict.*

* Boileau was severe on Quinault, in the following verse :

Si je pense exprimer un auteur sans défaut.
La Raison dit Virgile, et la Rime Quinault.

'Mongst authors I ask which is freeſt from fault ;
'Tis Virgil, ſays Reaſon : ſays Rhyme, 'Tis Quinault.

However, this author acquired conſiderable reputation, by his Comedies and his Operas. See the articles of Quinault and of Lulli, in the Catalogue of Writers and of Muſicians, prefixed to the Age of Louis XIV. *Translator.*

† His poem, *De la Puſſelle*, was ſo dull and tedious a performance, that it gave occaſion to the following ſarcaſm :

Ille Capellani dudum expectata puella,
Poſt tanta in lucem tempora prodiſt anus.

The maiden of Orleans, which Chapelain begun,
Became an old woman, before he had done.

This thought is not new : it was borrowed from a Latin epigram upon an ancient prolix poem, written on the ſubject of Cupid. The words I have forgot, but the verſion of it runs thus :

Bavius in praiſe of Cupid's youth began,
But ere 'twas finiſh'd, Cupid grows a man. *Ibid.*

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a person of great erudition; and, what is more surprising, had taste, and was a judicious critic. But this differs widely from genius. Sense and science serve to direct an artist, but do not form one in any branch. Nobody in France had greater reputation in their time, than Ronfard and Chapelain. The reason was, that barbarism still subsisted in the days of Ronfard, and the nation was hardly purged from it in those of Chapelain. Collar, fellow-student of Balzac and Voiture, called Chapelain the first of epic poets.

Boileau had no share in these liberalities; he had yet only written satires; and we know that in these he had attacked those very men of letters whom the Minister had distinguished. The King, however, distinguished him, some years after, without consulting any one.

The presents sent into foreign countries were so considerable, that Viviani built a house at Florence, out of the bounty of Louis XIV. and had this inscription placed, in gilt letters, on the front: *Ædes à Deo datæ*, "This house is the gift of God;" alluding to the surname of *Dieu donné* the *Given of God*, which the public voice had bestowed upon this Prince at his birth.

One may easily imagine the effect which so extraordinary a munificence must have produced in Europe; and if we reflect upon all the memorable actions of the King soon after performed, the most difficult and severe minds ought to make allowances for the excessive eulogiums so prodigally lavished upon him. It was not the French alone who praised him. There were twelve panegyrics on Louis XIV. pronounced in so many different towns of Italy; an homage paid him neither thro' fear or hope, and which were sent him by the Marquis Zampieri.

He always continued to lavish his benefactions upon the arts and sciences. Particular gratifications, to the amount of four thousand louis-d'ors, to Racine; the fortune of Despréaux, of Quinault, and especially that of Lulli, and of all the artists who devoted their labour to him, are sufficient proofs of it. He even gave a thousand louis to Benferade, for engraving the copper-

plates of his Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, translated in *rondeaux**; a liberality ill placed, and proving only the generosity of the Sovereign. He seemed by this to recompense in Benferade the small merit he had in his Ballets.

Several writers have attributed solely to Colbert this protection given to the arts, and this magnificence of Louis XIV.; but he had no other merit in this matter, than that of seconding the spirit of his master. This Minister, who had a great genius for finances, commerce, navigation, and the general police, possessed not in his soul that taste or that elevation of mind which the King was endowed with. He actively promoted, indeed, but was incapable of inspiring him with what nature had already bestowed upon him†.

One cannot imagine, after this, upon what foundation some authors have imputed avarice to this Prince. A King who possesses an income distinct from the revenues of the state, may be covetous, as well as any other individual; but a King of France, who in reality only distributes the money of the subject, can be scarcely accused of such a vice. He may be deficient in the attention or the will to recompense; but this is not what can be objected to Louis XIV.

Even at the time when he began to encourage talents by so many bounties, the use that the Count de Buffi‡ made of his, was severely punished. He was sent to the Bastille, in 1665. *The Amours of the Gauls*§ was the

* A species of poetry, called also Roundelay, peculiar to the French, so named because of its construction, as each stanza repeats the first lines. The stanza or couplet, as it is called, consists of thirteen lines, eight in one rhyme, and five in another. This work of Benferade was by much the worst of his compositions. *Translator.*

† This seems to contradict some former passages in M. Voltaire. Where he is spoken of among the Secretaries of State, this is the character there given of him: "He may be considered as the founder of commerce and architecture, and the protector of all the arts." And in the article of Herbelot, in the Catalogue of the Writers, are these words: "He was invited back, (from Tuscany) and encouraged by Colbert, who was, indeed, an universal patron." *Ibid.*

‡ Buffi Rabutin.

§. A book of his so called; from which the hint of our English Atalantis was taken. *Translator.*

pretence for his imprisonment; but the real cause was this song, in which the King had been made too free with, and which was then revived to ruin Buffi, to whom it was imputed :

Que Déodatus est heureux,
De baiser ce bec amoureux,
Qui d'une oreille à l'autre va ! &c.

What nectar Deodatus sips,
Allow'd to taste those amorous lips,
Whose charms extend from ear to ear ! &c.— *

His works were not good enough to compensate the evil they brought upon him. He spoke his own language in its purity, and had some merit, but still greater self-sufficiency ; and he seldom exerted the former, but to create himself enemies.

Louis XIV. would have acted generously, had he forgiven him : but he indulged his personal resentment, while he appeared only to satisfy the public one. The Count de Buffi was, however, set at liberty, in about eighteen months ; but continued in disgrace the remainder of his life, ever protesting in vain an affection for Louis XIV. which neither the King nor any body else believed to be sincere.

* M. Voltaire has not mentioned upon what occasion these lines were written. *Translator.*

C H A P. XXVI.

Continuation of the private Memoirs and Anecdotes.

TO the glory, the pleasures, the grandeur, and the galantry, which occupied the first years of his government, Louis XIV. was willing to join the sweets of friendship. But it is difficult for a King to make a proper choice. Of two men, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, one basely deceived him, and the other abused his favour. The first was the Marquis de Vardes, confidant of the King's passion for Madame de la Valière. It is well known that some Court-intrigues made him attempt the ruin of Madame de la Valière, who from her situation might perhaps have been an object of envy, but from her character could not deserve enemies. It is also known that he had the hardi-ness, in concert with the Count de Guiche, and the Countess of Soissons, to write to the Queen-Consort a forged letter, in the name of the King of Spain, her father. This letter acquainted the Queen with what she ought to have remained ignorant of, and which must certainly disturb the peace of the Royal-family. To this perfidy he added the vile artifice of making the suspicions fall upon the most worthy persons of the Court, the Duke and Dutchess of Navailles. These two innocent persons were sacrificed to the re- 1665.
sentment of the deluded monarch. The villainous proceeding of de Vardes was discovered too late; and Vardes, criminal as he had been, was, however, scarcely more punished than the innocent persons he had accused, who had been deprived of their posts, and obliged to retire from Court.

The other favourite was the Count, afterwards Duke, of Lauzun; sometimes the King's rival in his slighter amours, sometimes his confidant; and so well known since by the marriage which he would have contracted,

too publickly, with Mademoiselle *, and which he afterwards concluded privately, notwithstanding the promise he had given to his master.

The King, thus deceived in his choice, said, that he had sought for friends, and found only deceivers. This unhappy knowledge of mankind, which is generally acquired too late, made him say, also, “ Whenever I “ dispose of a vacant post, I make a hundred male-con- “ tents, and one ungrateful person.”

Neither the pleasures, nor the embellishments of the royal palaces and of Paris, nor the attention to the police of the kingdom, were discontinued during the war of 1666.

The King danced at his balls till the year 1670. He was then thirty-two years of age. The Tragedy of *Britannicus* was performed before him at St. Germain's, and he was struck with this passage in it:

Pour mérite premier, pour vertu singulière,
Il excelle à trainer un char dans la carrière,

* M. de Montpensier. M. Voltaire does not here explain what is meant by the expression of *too publickly*; but I shall supply the deficiency by a quotation from an ingenious work, and of undoubted authority, written by the niece of M. Maintenon, who lived within the verge of the Court, and was conversant with every person, character, and circumstance of the era here treated of. Her words translated are these:

“ Monsieur de Lauzun, not satisfied with merely espousing Mademoiselle, would have his marriage celebrated with all the magnificence and parade of two crowned heads; and by the long and vain preparations that were making for it, he afforded time to Monsieur to work his point, and prevail on the King to revoke his consent, which had been already given to the match.”

Les Souvenirs de Madame de Caylus.

The work here cited is one of the most entertaining and ingenious pieces that has been published upon the amusing subjects of those times. It is more authentic, shews more of the interior of the Court of Louis XIV. contains a greater number and variety of characters, most admirably distinguished and described, is fuller of incidents, and has more the air of the *nouvellette*, than any of them. The whole of these Recollections, as Madame de Caylus terms them, is told in so lively and picturesque a style and manner, that things are not related, but represented. A just and spirited translation of this work may be had at the Publishers of the present work. *Translator.*

A disputer des prix indignes de ses mains,
A se donner lui-même en spectacle aux Romains.

His chiefest excellence, his merit rare,
Is but to drive and guide th' Olympic car;
To win a prize unworthy of his hands,
A spectacle to public view he stands.

From that moment he never danced any more in public ; and thus the Poet reformed the Prince.

His connection with the Dutchesse de la Valière still subsisted, notwithstanding his frequent infidelities to her. These amours cost him but little pains. He seldom met with any women who refused him, and returned always again to her, who by the mildness and the goodness of her character, by a sincere passion, and even from the attachment of habit, had captivated his affections without the aid of artifice.

But from the year 1669, she perceived that Madame de Montespan was gaining the ascendant. She suffered under this discovery with her usual mildness; she supported the mortification of being a long time witness of the triumph of her rival; and without scarce uttering a complaint, thought herself even yet happy in her misfortune, in being still respected by the King, whom she ever loved, and in seeing him, even without being beloved.

At length, in 1675, she embraced the resource of tender souls, which are only to be subdued by strong sentiments. She thought that God alone should succeed in her heart to her lover; and her penitence was soon as celebrated as her passion. She became a Carmelite at Paris, and persevered in that Order. To cover herself with a hair-shift, to walk barefoot, to fast rigidly, and to sing among the choirs at night, in a tongue unknown; all this deterred not the delicacy of a woman accustomed to so much splendor, luxury, and pleasure. She lived under these austerities from 1675 to 1710, by the simple name of *Sister Louisa of the Order of Mercy*.

A King who should have punished even a guilty woman thus, would be a tyrant; and yet thus have many women punished themselves, for having loved. There

are scarcely any examples of Statesmen who have condemned themselves to so much rigour. Yet the guilt of Ministers seems to require greater expiation, than the frailty of lovers. But spiritual directors have seldom a dominion over any but the weak.

It is known, that when Sister Louisa of the Order of Mercy was made acquainted with the death of the Duke of Vermandois, her son by the King, she said, "I ought to lament his birth still more than his death*." She had one daughter remaining, who, of all the children of the King, bore him the greatest resemblance. She was married to the Prince Armand de Conti, cousin to the Great Condé†.

In the mean time, the Marchioness de Montespan enjoyed her situation, with a splendor and a sway which could only be equalled by the modesty of La Valière.

* This unhappy *Sister of the Order of Mercy*, deserved surely to be the daughter of it, also. La Valière was one of the most amiable characters of human frailty. Her motive was love, not ambition; her object not the monarch, but the man. When the King quitted her, she did not, like other forsaken mistresses, throw out lures for a successor. *Her world was dead*, and she became dead to the world herself. To esteem and pity her as much as her merits and sufferings deserved, one must read the character and account given of her in *Les Souvenirs*, quoted in my last note. It will be there seen how much greater mortifications she sustained, for some years before she took the veil, than she did even under the discipline of it.

Monasteries are comfortable asylums to contrite sinners, who have a faith in such purgations; it removes them from the paths of temptation, and gives peace to their minds, by amusing their hopes; and though the doctrine of corporal atonements be a blasphemy, in the priests who preach it, the folly of the belief is no crime, in the penitent that practises it.

La Valière bore her austerities for five-and-thirty years! What pity she survived her sequestration so long! *Translator.*

† Madame de Caylus gives the following description of her. "She was as handsome as Madame de Fontanges, as agreeable as her mother, with the height almost, and princely air of her father, and in whose presence the most beautiful and accomplished persons might have passed unnoticed. It is not surprising, then, that the same of her beauty should have reached even to the ears of the Great Mogul, to whom her portrait was actually carried."

It is a wonder that Louis did not send him the original, in order to make so superb an alliance; especially as it was before Kouli-Khan had plundered him of all his treasures. This would have been a better connection than the King of Siam. *Ibid.*

While

While Madame de la Valière and Madame de Montespan were yet disputing the first place in the King's affections, all the Court was engaged in amours. Even Louvois himself became sensible. Among the many mistresses of this Minister, whose harsh character seemed so little formed for love, was Madame du Fresnoy, wife to one of his clerks, in whose favour he afterwards by his interest had a new post created about the Queen's person: she was made Lady of the Bedchamber, and had the *grand entrées* *. The King, by thus indulging the inclinations of his Ministers, thought to justify his own.

It is a great instance of the power of prejudice and of custom, that it was permitted to all married women to have galants, while it was not allowed to the granddaughter of Henry IV. to have even a husband. Mademoiselle, after having refused so many Sovereigns, and after having conceived hopes of marrying Louis XIV. was, at the age of forty-three, resolved to make the fortune of a private gentleman. She obtained permission † to espouse Péguilin, of the Caumont family, Count de Lausun, the last who was Captain of the Company of the Hundred Gentlemen-pensioners, which subsisted no longer, and the first for whom the King had created the Post of Colonel-General of Dragoons. There were a hundred examples of Princesses who had married private gentlemen: the Roman Emperors gave their daughters to Senators: the daughters of the potentates of Asia, more powerful and more despotic than a King of France, never marry any but the slaves of their fathers ‡.

* Free admission, at all times, to the presence, in public or private, is so called, *Transactor*.

† No heiress in France can marry without licence from the King. It was formerly so in England. *Ibid.*

‡ I do not see the force of this argument. In Rome there were no titles, except the temporary ones derived from the offices of the State, as Consul, Tribune, Prætor, &c. The highest of the rest of the Commonwealth were but private gentlemen, whether Patricians or Plebeians; and as to the Asiatic Princesses, I know of no authority to establish the fact. *Ibid.*

Mademoiselle settled all her fortune, estimated at twenty millions, upon the Count de Lauzun ; four Dutchies, the sovereignty of Dombes, the County of Eu, 1669. and the palace of Orleans, which was called the Luxemburg. She reserved nothing to herself, sacrificing every thing to the fond idea of rendering the person she loved, richer than any King had ever made a subject. The contract was prepared. Lauzun was Duke of Montpensier for a day. Nothing was wanting but the signature. Every thing was ready, when the King, assailed by the representations of the Princes, the Ministry, and the enemies of a man thought too happy, retracted his promise, and forbade the union.

He had written to the foreign Courts, announcing this marriage ; he now wrote again to advertise its being broken off. He had been blamed for having consented to it, and was censured for having forbidden it.

He was grieved at rendering Mademoiselle unhappy ; but this very Prince, who was so afflicted at breaking his word to her, caused Lauzun, in the year 1670, to be shut up in the Castle of Pignerol, for having privately married that Princess, whom he had, some months before, consented he should publicly espouse. He was confined there exactly ten years.

There are many nations where the Sovereigns do not possess such a power ; and those who have, are most esteemed if they use it not. The subject who offends not against the laws of equity, should he be punished so severely by the Representative of the State ? Is there not a great difference between displeasing and betraying one's Sovereign ? Ought a King to treat a person more severely than the laws would do ?

Those who have written that Madame de Montespan, after having put a stop to this marriage, irritated against the Count de Lauzun for the warm reproaches he threw out against her, exacted this revenge of Louis XIV. have done much more injustice to that Monarch *. It would

* This imputation, which we meet with in so many historians, derives its origin from the *Segraisiana* ; or a posthumous collection of some

would have been both a tyranny and a meanness of soul, to have sacrificed to the resentment of a woman, a brave man, and a favourite, who, though deprived by him of an immense fortune, had committed no other fault than the complaining too freely of Madame de Montespan.

These reflections should be excused. The rights of humanity force them from me. But, at the same time, equity requires, that as Louis XIV. had not in all his reign committed any action of that nature, he should not be accused of so cruel an act of injustice. It was full enough to have punished with such severity a clandestine marriage, an innocent union, which he would have done better to have taken no notice of. To withdraw his favour was but just; a prison was too severe.

Those who doubt the certainty of this private marriage, need only attentively peruse the memoirs of Mademoiselle. These memoirs let us into a secret that she does not tell. We there see that this very Princess, who complains so bitterly to the King when her marriage was forbidden, dared not complain of her husband's imprisonment. She confesses that she was thought to have been married; but does not say that she was not.—In fine, if only this expression be attended to, “I neither can, nor *ought* to change my affections for him,” this alone would be decisive.

Lautun and Fouquet were astonished at meeting together in the same prison; but particularly Fouquet, who in his glory and power had seen Péguilin at a distance, in the croud, like a private person of no fortune from one of the Provinces, thought him mad when he related to him that he had been a favourite with the King, and that he had obtained leave to marry the grand-daughter of Henry IV. with all the wealth and titles of the House of Montpensier.

After having languished ten years in prison, he was at length set at liberty; but not till after Madame de

some conversations of M. Segrais, most of which are forged. It is full of contradiction; and every one knows how little these *anals* are worthy of credit. *Voltaire.*

Montespan had prevailed upon Mademoiselle to bestow the sovereignty of Dombes and the Country of Eu upon the Duke of Maine*, then an infant, who possessed them after the death of that Princess. She did not make this settlement, but in the hope that Monsieur de Lauzun would be acknowledged as her husband: but she deceived herself; the King only permitted her to bestow on her concealed and unfortunate consort the estates of St. Fargeau and of Thiers, with some other considerable revenues, which however Lauzun did not find sufficient. She was reduced to the necessity of being secretly his wife, and of being therefore the worse used in public. Unhappy at Court, unhappy at home, the common effect of strong passions, she died in 1693 †.

As

* Her son by the King. M. Voltaire, a few paragraphs before, enters into a justification of the King, upon the imprisonment of M. Lauzun. He there talks highly of "the rights of humanity," of "equity," &c. But he is here quite silent upon the conditions of his release. *The rights of humanity, or of equity*, would have sounded but ill, in this place. *Translator.*

† There is printed at the end of her Memoirs, a history of the loves of Mademoiselle and Monsieur Lauzun. It was written by some Valet-de-Chambre. It contains also some verses which are of a piece with the history, and with all those impertinences which the Holland Booksellers seem to have a prescriptive right to impose upon the world.

We should place in the same class the greatest part of the stories which are to be found in the Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon, written by the before-mentioned La Beaumelle. It is there said, that in the year 1681, one of the Ministers of the Duke of Lorraine came disguised like a mendicant, and presented himself in a Church to Mademoiselle, and shewed her a prayer-book, upon which was written, *From the Duke of Lorraine*, and that afterwards he prevailed on her to declare the Duke her heir. Vol. II. page 204.

This fable is taken from the story of Queen Clotilda, whether true or false. Mademoiselle does not mention it in her Memoirs, where she does not omit more trifling circumstances. The Duke of Lorraine had no sort of pretensions to the succession of Mademoiselle; and besides she had, in the year 1679, made the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse (a), her heirs.

The author of these miserable Memoirs says, page 207, that the Duke de Lauzun, at his return, found in Mademoiselle *a woman inflamed*

(a) Behold another illustrious illegitimate imposed upon this poor unhappy and absurd woman's adoption! Was this agreeable to the rights of humanity, or of equity, pray! *Translator.*

As for the Count de Lauzun, he afterwards went to England, in 1619; and being destined to extraordinary events, conducted to France the Queen of James II. with her son, then in the cradle. He was created a Duke; commanded in Ireland, with but little success; and returned more distinguished on account of his adventures, than from any personal merit. We have seen him die very old, and forgotten; which is common to all those to whom only great incidents have happened, without their having performed any thing great, themselves.

In the mean time, Madame de Montespan had attained the summit of power from the commencement of the transactions just mentioned.

Athenais de Mortemar, wife to the Marquis de Montespan, her elder sister the Marchioness de Triange, and her younger one, for whom she obtained the Abbey of Fontevault, were the most beautiful women of their time; and all three added to this advantage a certain agreeable peculiarity of wit. Their brother, the Duke of Vivonne, and Marshal of France, was also one of the most distinguished men at Court, for taste and learning. It was to him that the King said, once, "What is the benefit of reading*?" The Duke of Vivonne, who was plump, and fresh-coloured, replied, "Reading, Sir, has a like effect upon the mind, with what your Majesty's partridges have upon my cheeks."

These four persons charmed universally, from a singular turn of conversation, blended with humour, *naïveté* †, and refinement, which was called the style of the Mortemars. They all wrote, likewise, with remarkable ease and grace. One may judge from this how ridiculous the story is which I have heard again revived, that Madame de Montespan was obliged to get Madame

flamed with an impure passion. She was his wife, and he avowed it. It is difficult to write greater falsehoods, in a more indecent style, than this work contains. *Voltaire.*

* A strange question for a King—for any body—to ask! *Translator.*

† I have left this word in its own language, because Mr. Hume says it is one much wanted in English, which has no synonyma equally expressive. *Ibid.*

Scarron to write her letters to the King; and that from thence she became her rival, and a successful one.

Madame Scarron, afterwards Madame de Maintenon, possessed, indeed, more knowledge acquired by reading; her conversation also was softer, and more insinuating. There are some letters of her's, in which art embellishes nature, and the style of which is perfectly elegant. But Madame de Montespan had no occasion to borrow any other person's talents; and she had been a long time a favourite, before Madame Scarron had been presented to her.

The triumph of Madame de Montespan shone forth on the journey which the King made into Flanders, in 1670. The ruin of the Dutch was concerted on this progress, in the midst of pleasures. It was one continued feast, attended with the most magnificent accommodations.

The King, who made all his warlike expeditions on horse-back, performed this, for the first time, in a glass coach. Post-chaifes were not yet invented. The Queen, Madame her sister-in-law, and the Marchioness de Montespan, rode in this magnificent equipage, which was followed by many others; and when Madame de Montespan went alone, she had four of the King's life-guards to attend her carriage. The Dauphin followed after, with his suite, and Mademoiselle with her's. This was before the fatal affair of her marriage; when she partook in peace of all these processions, and saw with complacency her lover a favourite with the King, riding at the head of his company of guards.

The finest furniture of the Crown was carried into the villages where the Court lay. In every town they passed through, there was a masked, or a dressed ball, or fire-works. All the household-troops attended the King, and all his domestics preceded or followed him. The tables were served as at St. Germain's. The Court visited in this splendor all the conquered towns. The principal ladies of Brussels, and Ghent came to view this magnificence. The King invited them to his table, and made them presents in the most galant manner. All the

the Officers of the troops in garrison received gratuities. It frequently cost him fifteen hundred louis d'ors a-day in liberalities.

All the honours, all the homages, were designed for Madame de Montespan, except what duty paid to the Queen. However, this lady was not let into the secret of the expedition. The King knew how to distinguish between the business of his State, and the solace of his pleasures.

Madame, solely entrusted with the union of the two Kings * and the destruction of Holland, embarked at Dunkirk on board the fleet of the King of England, Charles II. her brother, with a party from the Court of France. She carried with her Mademoiselle de Keroual, afterwards Dutches of Portsmouth, whose beauty equalled that of Madame de Montespan. She was afterwards in England, what Madame de Montespan was in France, but with more power. King Charles was governed by her to the last moment of his life; and though often unfaithful to her, she still preserved her sway. No woman ever retained her beauty longer. I have seen her, at the age of near seventy, with a figure noble and engaging, which years had not been able to efface.

Madame went to meet her brother at Canterbury, and returned with the glory of success. She was rejoicing in it, when a sudden and painful disorder carried her off, at the age of twenty-six. The Court was struck with a grief and consternation which was ^{June 30.} 1670. augmented by the manner of her death. This Princess was thought to have been poisoned. Montague, the English Ambassador, was convinced of it; the Court made no doubt of it, and all Europe believed it. One of the ancient domestics of her husband's household, told me the name of the person who, according to his opinion, had administered the poison.* "This man," said he, whose circumstances were but mean, retired, "immediately after, into Normandy, where he purchased an estate, upon which he lived a long time in

* Louis XIV. and Charles II.

"opulence.

“opulence. This poison, added he, was the powder of a diamond strewed, instead of sugar, over some strawberries.” The Court and the City had conceived an opinion that Madame had been poisoned in a glass of succory-water, after which she sustained horrible pains, and soon felt the convulsions of death*.

But the malignity of human nature and a fondness for the marvellous, were the sole causes of this general persuasion. There could have been no poison in the glass of water, since Madame la Fayette and another person drank off the rest of it, without being sensible of the least ill effect; and the powder of diamonds has no more venom in it than the powder of coral†. The Princess had been a long time affected with an abscess formed in her liver. She was in a bad state of health, and had lately been brought-to-bed of a child quite putrified. Her husband, though much suspected all over Europe, was never, either before or since this event, accused of any action that could injure his character; and there are few culpables who have been guilty but of one crime. Human nature would be too unhappy, if it were as common to commit atrocious actions, as it is to suspect them.

It was imagined that the Chevalier de Lorrain, a favourite of Monsieur's, in order to revenge himself for an exile and imprisonment which his blameable conduct towards Madame had brought upon him, had perpetrated this horrible action‡. But it was not considered that the Chevalier de Lorrain was at that time in Rome, and that it had been a difficult thing for a Knight of

* See the history of Henrietta of England, by the Countess de la Fayette, page 171. Edition of 1742. *Voltaire*.

† Fragments of diamonds and of glass might, by their points, pierce the coats of the intestines, and tear them; but then it would be difficult to swallow them, and one would soon be aware of the danger, from the excoriation of the palate and the throat. The impalpable powder cannot do any hurt, but would be rather a medicine, like the filings of steel. The physicians who have added the diamond to the class of poisons, should have distinguished the impalpable powder from the grosser particles of it. *Ibid.*

‡ This will be soon explained.

Malta, twenty years old, who was at Rome, to compass the death of a great Princess at Paris.

It is but too true, that a weakness and indiscretion of the Viscount Turenne, was what gave rise to all those odious rumours, which people are still fond of reviving. At the age of sixty he became the lover and the dupe of Madame de Coatquen, as he had been formerly of Madame de Longueville. He revealed to that Lady the secret of state * which had been concealed from the King's brother. Madame de Coatquen, who had an amour with the Chevalier de Lorraine, told it to him, and he informed Monsieur of it. This involved the domestic peace of the Prince in the horrid discord of reproaches and jealousies. These troubles commenced before the journey of Madame. The bitterness was augmented at her return. The resentments of Monsieur, and the quarrels of his favourites with the friends of Madame, filled the family with trouble and confusion.

The Princess, a little time before her death, in a tender and plaintive manner, reproached the Marchioness de Coatquen, for the misfortunes she had brought upon her. That lady, on her knees, by the bed-side, and bathing her hands with tears, answered only by these lines from *Wenceslaus* :

J'allais—j'étais—l'amour a sur moi tant d'empire.
Je m'égare, Madame, et ne puis que vous dire !

I went—I was—Love's empire is too strong.
My wand'ring mind cannot direct my tongue !

The Chevalier de Lorraine, author of those dissensions, was at first sent by the King to Pierre-en-Cise ; the Count de Marfan of the House of Lorraine, and the Marquis, afterwards Marshal, Villeroy, were sent into exile. In fine, the natural death of this unhappy Princess was supposed to have been the guilty consequence of these disturbances.

The purpose of Madame's visit to England.

What strengthened the public opinion about the poison, was, that just at that time this crime had become known in France. This revenge of cowards was not practised amidst all the horrors of the civil war. This crime, by a singular fatality, infected France in the era of her glory, and of pleasures which naturally soften the manners of mankind; just as it obtained in ancient Rome, during the most shining period of that Republic.

Two Italians, one of whom was named Exili, laboured a long time with a German apothecary, whose name was Glaser, in discovering what is called *the Philosopher's Stone*. The two Italians having wasted their substance in this pursuit, resolved by a crime to repair the mischief of their folly; and accordingly sold poisons clandestinely. Confession, the greatest restraint upon human depravity, but which is often abused by men's venturing to commit crimes in the belief of expiating them: confession, I say, discovered to the Great Penitentiary of Paris, that some persons had died of poison. He informed Government of this; and the two Italians being suspected, were sent to the Bastille, where one of them died. Exili remained there without being convicted; and from the midst of a prison, spread through Paris those fatal secrets which cost the Lieutenant of the Police d'Aubray, and his family, their lives; and which at length gave occasion to the erecting the Court of Poisons, which was called *La Chambre Ardente*, the *Burning-Court*.

Love was the original source of these horrible events. The Marquis de Brinvilliers, son-in-law to the Civil Lieutenant d'Aubray, took St. Croix *, a Captain in his regiment, a handsome man, to live in his house. His wife was candid enough to warn him of the consequences; but the husband was obstinate in keeping this young man still to associate with her, who was young, beautiful, and sensible. What might have been expected happened accordingly: They had an amour.

* The history of Louis XIV. under the name of La Martinière, calls him the Abbé de la Croix. This work, which is faulty throughout, confounds names, dates, and events. *Voltaire*.

The Lieutenant of the Police, father of the Marchioness, was severe and imprudent enough to solicit a *lettre-de-cachet* to send the Captain to the Bastille, whom he need only have got ordered to join his regiment. St. Croix was unhappily confined in the same apartment with Exili. This Italian taught him how to take revenge. The consequences, which are enough to make one shudder, are sufficiently known.

The Marchioness made no attempt on the life of her husband, who shewed some indulgence to a frailty of which he had been himself the cause; but in the fury of her vengeance she poisoned her father, her sister, and two brothers. In the midst of such great crimes, she had still preserved a sense of religion. She went frequently to confession; and even when she was arrested at Liege, a general confession, written with her own hand, was found about her; which, however, was not made use of as a proof, but only as a presumption, against her.

It is not true, that she had tried the efficacy of her powders in the hospitals, as was commonly said, and as has been inserted in *Les Causes Celebres, The Celebrated Causes*, the work of a lawyer without business, and written to captivate the ignorant. But it is true that she had, as well as St. Croix, private connections with persons accused since of the same crimes. She was burnt in 1679, having first her head cut off.

But from 1670, when Exili had begun to compose his poisons, to 1680, Paris was infected with this crime. It cannot be denied that Penautier, the Receiver-General for the Clergy, and a friend of this woman, was accused, some time after, of having made use of these secrets, and that it cost him half his fortune to have the prosecution suppressed.

La Voisin, La Vigoureux, a priest named Le Sage, and others, dealt in the secrets of Exili, on pretence of amusing curious and weak minds with the sight of apparitions. The crime was supposed to be more general, than it really was. The *Burning-Court* was established at the arsenal near the Bastille, in 1680. Persons of the first rank were cited before it: among others, two

nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, the Dutchess of Bouillon*, and the Countess of Soissons, mother to Prince Eugene.

The Dutchess of Bouillon was only summoned to appear, and had no charge brought against her, except that of a ridiculous piece of curiosity, very common in those times, but which the laws take no cognizance of. The ancient custom of consulting fortune-tellers, getting one's horoscope drawn, and the procuring philtres to cause one's self to be beloved, subsisted still among the common people, and even among those of the highest ranks in the Kingdom.

We have already taken notice, that at the birth of Louis XIV. an Astrologer, named Morin, had been introduced into the very chamber of the Queen-Mother, in order to cast the nativity of the heir to the crown. We have known even the Duke of Orleans, Regent of the Kingdom, credulous of this superstition which had seduced all antiquity; and all the philosophy of the famous Count of Boulainvilliers could never rid him of this chimera.

It was excusable enough in the Dutchess of Bouillon, and in all women who had the same weaknesses. The priest Le Sage, La Voisin, and La Vigoureux, had made a revenue of the curiosity of the ignorant, who were very numerous. They foretold the future, and raised the Devil. If they had stopped there, it had been only a ridiculous piece of business, both in them and in the *Burning Court*.

La Reynie, one of the Presidents of this Court, was so absurd as to ask the Dutchess of Bouillon if she had seen the Devil? "I see him, this moment," she replied: "he is very ugly and very deformed, and sits under the disguise of a Counsellor of State." The interrogatory was pressed no further.

* The history of Reboulet says, that "the Dutchess of Bouillon was ordered into custody, and that she appeared before her Judges attended by so many friends, that she could have nothing to fear, even though she had been guilty."

All this is false; there was no arrest ordered against her, and at that time no friends could have screened her from justice. *Voltaire.*

The affair of the Countess of Soissons and of Marshal Luxemburg was a more serious matter. Le Sage, La Voisin, La Vigoureux, and other accomplices, were thrown into prison, being accused of having vended a certain poison, which they denominated the *powder of succession*; and they informed against all those who had been to consult them. The Countess of Soissons was one of the number. The King had the condescension to say to this Princess, that if she knew herself guilty, he would advise her to retire. She replied that she was perfectly innocent, but should not chuse to be examined before a Court of Justice. She then went off to Brussels, where she died, towards the end of the year 1708; while Prince Eugene, her son, revenged her by so many victories, and triumphed over Louis XIV*.

Francis-Henry de Bouteville, Duke and Peer and Marshal of France, who united the great name of Montmorency to that of the Imperial House of Luxemburg, already celebrated in Europe by the actions of a great General, was arraigned in the *Burning-Court*. One of his secretaries, named Bonard, wanting to recover some papers of consequence which he had lost, applied to the priest Le Sage to help him to retrieve them. Le Sage began first by requiring him to confess himself, and then desired that he would go, nine days successively, to three different churches, and there repeat three psalms.

But, notwithstanding this confession and these psalms, the papers were not found. They were in the possession of a young woman whose name was Dupin. Bonard, under the inspection of Le Sage, made, in the name of Marshal Luxemburg, a kind of incantation, by which La Dupin was to be rendered impotent, if she did not deliver up the papers. We are left quite in the dark here with regard to what is meant by the *impotence* of a

* This surely is a most invidious and unjust reflection. What was there in this circumstance to prompt revenge? The hint given to the Countess of Soissons was certainly friendly, and should have been considered as an extraordinary and favourable condescension in the executive power. The King could not relax the sinews of the laws, but he did better, by cautioning her to elude their grasp. *Tranſlator.*

woman. Dupin returned no papers, and had as many galants as before.

Bonard in despair got another plenary power from the Marshal; and between the writing and the signature he found two lines in a different hand, in which the Marshal devoted himself to the Devil.

Le Sage, Bonard, La Voisin, La Vigoureux, and above forty accented persons were shut up in the Bastille. Le Sage deposed, that the Marshal had applied to the Devil and to him, to have Dupin put to death for not having surrendered the papers; and his accomplices added, that they had assassinated Dupin by his order, that they had cut her into quarters, and thrown them into the river.

These charges were full as improbable as abominable. The Marshal should have made his appeal to the Court of Peers, and the Parliament and the Peers should have challenged the right of trying him; but they did not move in it, and the Marshal surrendered himself voluntarily to the Bastille; an action which proved his innocence of this pretended assassination.

The Secretary of State, Louvois, who loved him not, had him shut up in a sort of dungeon, only six feet and a half long, where he fell very ill. He was interrogated the second day, and was then left five intire weeks without any further process; a cruel injustice against any private person, but still more unpardonable against a Peer of the realm. He wanted to write to the Marquis de Louvois to complain of the treatment, but he was not permitted to do so. He was at length interrogated again, and was asked, whether he had not given some bottles of poisoned wine in order to destroy the brother of La Dupin, and a girl he kept?

It must have appeared extremely absurd to suppose that a Marshal of France, who had been at the head of armies, should compass the poisoning of an unhappy citizen and his mistress, without being able to gain any manner of advantage to himself from so enormous a crime*.

At

* Nothing, indeed, could be so absurd as the charge, except
M. Vol-

At length they confronted him with Le Sage, and another priest named D'Avaux, with whom he was accused for having combined to destroy several other persons.

His whole misfortune had arisen from his having once only conferred with Le Sage, and asked him for some horoscopes.

Among the horrible charges upon which this prosecution was founded, Le Sage affirmed, that the Duke of Luxemburg had entered into a compact with the Devil, to bring about a marriage between his son and the daughter of the Marquis de Louvois. The accused replied, "When Matthew de Montmorency shall marry a Queen of France, he will not address himself to the Devil, but to the General States, which will determine that, in order to acquire the minor King the support of the House of Montmorency, the marriage should be contracted."

This answer was haughty*, and had not the air of a guilty person. The process was depending for fourteen months, and no judgment was given, either for or against him. La Voisin, La Vigoureux, and his brother, a priest called also Vigoureux, were burnt with Le Sage, at the Grève†. Marshal Luxemburg retired for a few days into the country, and then returned to Court, to attend his duty as Captain of the Guards, without seeing Louvois, or the King's speaking a word to him about all that had passed‡.

M. Voltaire's so gravely controverting it, if we were to suppose him serious; but there is a vein of irony and ridicule running throughout the whole of this extraordinary detail. *Translator.*

* But absurd. *Ibid.*

† The public place of executions in Paris. *Ibid.*

‡ France must have been far from being purged of its ancient barbarism, when charges for sorcery, and compacts with the Devil, were suffered to be formally and judicially litigated. The *Burning-Court*, if the warmth of the sentiment may excuse the equivocal expression, was a *burning shame au siècle de Louis quatorze*. They had left off burning and drowning of witches and wizards in England, long before that era. *Ibid.*

We know how he had since the command of armies given him which he did not solicit, and by how many victories he had imposed silence on his enemies.

'Tis easy to conceive what shocking reports these accusations must have given rise to in Paris. The execution of La Voisin and her accomplices, who were burnt at the stake, put an end to these crimes and persecutions. This abominable vice, however, was confined to a few individuals only, and did not corrupt the civilized manners of the nation; but it left in the minds of the people an unhappy propensity thenceforward to suspect natural deaths to be violent ones.

What was believed to be the unhappy fate of Madame, Henrietta of England, was afterwards thought to be her daughter's, Maria-Louisa, who was married in 1679 to Charles II. King of Spain. This young Princess set out with regret for Madrid. Mademoiselle* had often said to Monsieur, the King's brother, "Do not bring your daughter so often to Court; she will be too unhappy elsewhere." This young Princess was desirous of marrying the Dauphin. "I make you Queen of Spain," said the King to her; "what could I do more for my daughter?" "Ah!" she replied, "but you might do more for your *nièce*."

She was snatched from the world in 1689, at the same age as her mother. It passed for certain, that the Austrian Ministers of Charles II. were resolved to get rid of her, because she loved her own country, and might prevent the King her husband from declaring for the Allies, against France. They had even sent her from Versailles what was thought a counter-poison; a very uncertain precaution, because what may cure one distemper might aggravate another, there being no such medicine as an universal antidote. This imaginary counter-poison, however, did not arrive till after her death.

Those who read the Memoirs compiled by the Marquis de Dangeau, will there find that the King said at supper, "The Queen of Spain is dead, poisoned by

* M. Moutpensier.

"eating

“ eating of an eel-pye; and the Countess of Pernitz, with two women of the bed-chamber, who had tasted it after her, are also dead of the same poison.”

Although I met with this extraordinary anecdote in these manuscript memoirs, said to be written with great exactness by a person of the Court, who had scarcely ever been separated from Louis XIV. for the space of forty years, I could not divest myself of my doubts about the truth of it. I then made enquiry from some old domestics of the King, if it was a fact that this Monarch, always reserved in his conversation, had ever made use of such an imprudent expression; and they all assured me that the whole story was false. I afterwards asked the Dutchesse de St. Pierre, who had come from Spain, if it was true that the three persons above-mentioned had died with the Queen; and she gave me proofs that they all three had survived her a considerable time.

To conclude: I have been since assured, that these Memoirs of Dangeau, which are considered as a precious monument, were nothing more than the flying reports of the day, written down by one of his domestics: and this, I think, may be sufficiently apparent from the stile of the writing, with the trifles and fallhoods of which that collection is composed. After all these melancholy reflections, to which the death of Henrietta of England has led us, we shall now return to the events at Court which followed her loss.

The Princess Palatine succeeded her, a year after, and was mother of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of the Kingdom. In order to marry Monsieur, it was necessary that she should renounce Calvinism; but she ever retained for her former religion a secret attachment, of which it is difficult to divest one's self, when early prejudices have impressed it on the heart.

The unfortunate adventure of one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, in the year 1673, was the cause of a new establishment at Court. This misfortune is known by the Sonnet called *The Abortive**, the verses of which have been often repeated.

Toi que l'amour fit par un crime,
 Et que l'honneur défait par un crime à son tour,
 Funeste ouvrage de l'amour,
 De l'honneur funeste victime, &c.

O thou the fruit of guilt and love,
 Blasted by honour with a sin,
 While love and honour adverse strove,
 One ends what t'other did begin, &c.

The dangers inseparable from the station of a young woman in a galant and voluptuous Court, occasioned the appointment of twelve Ladies of the Bedchamber, in the room of the twelve Maids of Honour which had before embellished the Queen's Court; and ever since the household of the Queens of France has been so composed. This alteration rendered the Court more numerous and more magnificent, by adding to it the husbands and relations of these Ladies, which augmented the society, and diffused more opulence there.

The Princess of Bavaria, wife to the Dauphin, on her first appearance, added a new lustre and vivacity to the Court; though the Marchioness de Montespan continued still to attract the principal attention. But at last she ceased to please; and the haughty emotions of her grief, upon that discovery, could not reclaim an alienated heart. However, she still remained connected with the Court, from her high employment there, being Superintendant of the Queen's household; and with the King, by her children, by habit, and by her ascendancy over his mind.

All the exterior shew of respect and friendship were still preserved towards her: but this consoled her not; and the King, afflicted at being the cause of her unhappy regrets, and attracted by other affections, began to find in the conversation of Madame Maintenon, a gentleness which he no longer enjoyed with his former Mistress*.

He

* In *Les Souvenirs* of M. de Caylus is the following passage relative to this very crisis: "Notwithstanding these inidelities of the King, I have often heard it said, that Madame Montespan might
 " have

He found himself at once divided between Madame de Montespan, whom he could not forsake, Mademoiselle Fontanges, whom he loved, and Madame de Maintenon, whose conversation was become necessary to his fatigued mind. These three rivals kept the whole Court in suspense. It reflects great honour upon Louis XIV. that none of these intrigues had any influence upon public affairs; and that love, which disturbed the Court, never caused the least disturbance in the State. There cannot, in my opinion, be a better proof that the soul of Louis was as great as it was tender.

I should be of opinion that these court-intrigues, which have no sort of connexion with the State, ought not to have a place in this History, if the great æra of Louis XIV. did not render every thing interesting; and if the veil had not been removed from those mysteries by several Historians, who have for the most part misrepresented them.

C H A P. XXVII.

Continuation of the Private Memoirs and Anecdotes.

THE youth and beauty of Mademoiselle de Fontanges, the birth of a son, whom she bore to the King in 1680, and the title of Dutchess, with which she was honoured, all conspired to prevent Madame de

“ have ever preserved her influence over him, if she had not been so very ill-tempered, and depended too much on the ascendant she thought she had so firmly established. That turn of mind which does not serve to conquer an untoward disposition, is as little able to lure back again those affections it has once suffered to take wing; and if mild dispositions bear longer, their flight is irrecoverable.

“ The King found a remarkable difference in the temper and manners of Madame Maintenon. In her he met with a woman always gentle and modest; ever mistress of her words, looks, and actions; reasonable in all things; and who to such rare qualities, joined the charms of wit and conversation.” *Translator.*

Maintenon

Maintenon from obtaining the first place; to which, as yet, she durst not aspire, and which she afterwards possessed: but the Dutcheß of Fontanges and her son died in 1681.

The Marchioness de Montespan, though now without a declared rival, was not, however, the nearer regaining a heart wearied of her and her complaining. When men are past their youth, they almost all require the company of a woman of complacency: the weight of business, especially, renders such a relaxation extremely necessary. The new favourite, Madame de Maintenon, who perceived the secret power she was daily acquiring, conducted herself with that artful address which is so natural to women, and is by no means displeasing to men. She one day wrote to Madame de Frontenac, her cousin, in whom she reposed the most perfect confidence: "I always send him away in discontent, but never in despair*." While her interest was thus encreasing, and that of Madame de Montespan drawing towards an end, these two rivals saw each other every day, sometimes with a secret uneasiness, and sometimes with a transient familiarity, which the necessity of conversing together, and the fatigue of constraint, obliged them sometimes to assume. They both agreed to write Memoirs, separately, of all that passed at Court†. This work was never brought to any degree of perfection. Madame de Montespan, in the latter years of her life,

* This letter is, in other places, quoted as having been written to her Confessor. *Translator.*

† The Memoirs published under the name of Mad. de Maintenon, relate, that she said to Madame de Montespan, in speaking of her dreams; "I dreamed that we were on the grand stair-case of Versailles: I was ascending, you was descending; I mounted to the clouds, you went to Pontevraut." This story is borrowed from the famous Duke d'Épernon, who met the Cardinal de Richelieu on the stair-case of the Louvre in 1624. The Cardinal asked him, "What news?" "None (said he), except that you are going up, and I am coming down." But the beauty of the allusion is destroyed, by adding, that from a stair-case one could mount to the clouds. It is to be remarked, that in most books of anecdotes, in the *anals.* the authors always ascribe to their speakers things that have been said a century, or even several centuries, before. *Smollet.*

used

used to divert herself with reading some of these memoirs to her friends.

Devotion, which mingled itself in all these secret intrigues, contributed still more to strengthen the influence of Madame de Maintenon, and to weaken that of Madame de Montespan. The King began to reproach himself for his attachment to a married woman, and felt this scruple the more sensibly when he no longer felt the power of love. This embarrassing situation continued till 1685, a year rendered memorable by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Scenes of a very different nature were then presented to the public view: on the one hand, the despair and flight of a part of the nation; on the other, new feasts at Versailles; Trianon and Marli built; Nature forced in all these beautiful spots, and gardens formed in which all art was exhausted. The marriage of the grandson of the Great Condé with Mademoiselle de Nantes, the King's daughter by Madame de Montespan, was the last triumph of that mistress, who now began to retire from Court.

The King afterwards disposed in marriage of the other two children which he had by her; Mademoiselle de Blois to the Duke de Chartres, whom we have since seen Regent of the Kingdom; and the Duke de Maine to Louisa Benedicta de Bourbon, grand-daughter of the Great Condé, and sister to Monsieur the Duke, a Princess distinguished by her wit, and her taste for the polite arts. Those who have ever approached the Royal Palace, or the Palace de Sceaux, know that all the popular reports relating to these marriages, and retailed in so many histories, are absolutely false and groundless*.

* You will find it reported in more than twenty different volumes, that the House of Orleans and the House of Condé rejected the proposals with indignation: you will find it written, that the Princess, the Duke de Chartres's mother, threatened her son; nay, that she even beat him. The Anecdotes of the Constitution relate, with a very serious air, that the King having employed the Abbe du Bois, sub-preceptor to the Duke de Chartres, to negotiate the match, the Abbe found great difficulty in succeeding; and that he asked the Cardinal's hat, as a reward for his labour. Whatever relates to the Court is written with as little regard to truth, in several of our modern histories. *Voltaire.*

Before

Before the marriage between the Duke and Mademoiselle de Nantes was celebrated, the Marquis de Seignelai gave the King an entertainment upon that occasion, worthy of that Monarch, in the Gardens of Sceaux, laid out by Le Notre with as much taste and elegance as those of Versailles. *L'Idylle de la Paix*, composed by Racine, was there represented. There was another carrousal at Versailles; and, after the marriage, the King displayed a scene of uncommon magnificence, of which Cardinal Mazarin had given the first specimen in 1656. There were placed in the Hall of Marli four shops, filled with all the richest and most exquisite curiosities that the industry of the Parisian artists could produce. These four shops were so many superb decorations, representing the four seasons of the year. Madame de Montespan kept one of them with the Dauphin: her rival kept another with the Duke de Maine. The two new-married persons had each their shop; the Duke with Madame de Thiangé; and the Dutchess, who, on account of her youth, could not decently keep a shop with a man, took the Dutchess of Chevreux into partnership. The Ladies and Gentlemen who were invited of this party, drew by lot the jewels with which these shops were furnished. Thus the King made presents to all his Court, in a manner worthy of a Prince. The lottery of Cardinal Mazarin was neither so ingenious nor so brilliant. These lotteries had formerly been used by the Roman Emperors; but none of them ever heightened the magnificence of them by such an air of gallantry.

After the marriage of her daughter, Madame de Montespan appeared no more at Court. She continued to live at Paris with great dignity. She had a large income appointed her, but it was only a life-annuity; the King ordered a pension of a thousand louis-d'ors to be paid her every month. She went yearly to drink the waters at Bourbon; and married the young women in the neighbourhood, to whom she gave portions. She was now past the age when the imagination, struck with lively impressions, sends people to a nunnery. She died at Bourbon in 1707*.

* Her Biographer says 1717. *Translator.*

About a year after the marriage of *Mademoiselle de Nantes* with *Monsieur the Duke*, the *Prince of Condé* died at *Fontainebleau*, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. His death was occasioned by a disease which was rendered worse by a journey he took to visit the *Dutchess*, who was seized with the small-pox. From this anxiety, which cost him his life, one may easily judge whether he had any aversion to the marriage of his grandson with the daughter of the King and of *Madame de Montespan*, as has been reported by all those lying *Gazettes* with which *Holland* was then over-run. We find also in a history of the *Prince of Condé*, proceeding from the same repositories of ignorance and imposture, that the King took a pleasure in mortifying that Prince upon all occasions; and that, at the marriage of the *Princess of Conti*, daughter to *Madame de la Valière*, the *Secretary of State* refused him the title of *High and Mighty Lord*; as if that were a title used to *Princes of the Blood*. How could the author who composed the history of *Louis XIV.* in *Avignon*, partly from these wretched memoirs, be so ignorant of the world, and of the customs of our Court, as to relate such falsehoods?

Mean while, after the marriage of the *Dutchess*, and the total eclipse of the mother, *Madame de Maintenon*, now victorious, gained such an ascendant, and inspired *Louis XIV.* with so much love, and so many scruples of conscience, that, by the advice of *Father La Chaise*, he married her privately, in the month of *January*, 1686, in a little chapel, which stood at the end of the apartment that was afterwards possessed by the *Duke of Burgundy*. There was no contract, nor any articles of marriage. *Harlay de Chanvalon*, *Archbishop of Paris*, assisted by the *Confessor*, gave them the nuptial benediction. *Montchevreuil* *, and *Bontems*, first valet-de-chambre,

* And not the *Chevalier de Fourbin*, as the *Memoirs of Choisy* assert. None are intrusted with such a secret but faithful domestics, and people attached by their places to the person of their master. There was no formal act of celebration: that is only necessary to ascertain an estate; but this was only a marriage of conscience. How could

chambre, were present as witnesses. It is no longer possible to suppress this fact, which has been mentioned by so many authors, who have been mistaken, however, with regard to the names, the place, and the dates. Louis XIV. was then in his forty-eighth year, and the person he married in her fifty-second.

The King, already crowned with glory, was desirous of mingling the innocent pleasures of a private life with the cares of state. This marriage did not involve him in any thing unworthy of his rank; it was always a doubtful point at Court, whether Madame de Maintenon was married or not: she was respected as the King's choice, but never treated as Queen.

We are apt to consider the fate of this woman as something very extraordinary, though history supplies us with many instances of greater and more distinguished fortunes from smaller beginnings. The Marchioness de St. Sebastian, married to Victor-Amadeus, King of Sardinia, was not superior to Madame de Maintenon; Catherine, Empress of Russia, was greatly inferior; and the first wife * of James II. King of England, was far beneath her, according to the prejudices of Europe, unknown in other parts of the world †.

She was of an ancient family, and grand-daughter to Theodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné, Gentleman in ordinary of the Bed-chamber to Henry IV. Her father Constantius d'Aubigné, having formed a design of settling in Carolina, and having applied to the English for that could any one have the impudence to report, that after the death of Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, which happened in 1695, almost ten years after the marriage, his lacqueys found the marriage-certificate in his old breeches? The story, which is even too mean for lacqueys, is only to be found in the Memoirs of Maintenon. *Voltaire.*

* What! was the daughter of the great Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, and Prime Minister to King Charles II. inferior in rank to the widow of poor Scarron the bulesque poet? Sure! our author has forgot himself on this occasion. *Smollet.*

† Genealogy is here meant; but why call the respect that is paid to it in Europe, a *prejudice*? Pedigree has its uses and its merits, both in a moral and political view. Is the sentiment of enlightened and civilized nations to be deemed a *prejudice*, because those parts of the world which remain in a state of barbarism regard it not? *Translator.*

pur-

purpose, was thrown into prison in the castle Trompette; from whence he was delivered by the daughter of the Governor, whose name was de Cardillac, a gentleman of Bourdelois. Constantius d'Aubigné married his benefactress in 1627, and carried her along with him to Carolina: but returning to France in a few years after, they were both committed to custody, at Niort in Poitou, by order of the Court.

It was in this prison of Niort that Frances d'Aubigné was born, in 1635; destined by Heaven to suffer all the hardships, and to enjoy all the favours, of Fortune. Carried to America, at three years of age; left on the shore by the negligence of a servant, where she was near being devoured by a serpent; brought back an orphan, at ten years of age; educated with great severity in the house of Madame de Neuillant her relation, mother to the Dutchess de Nayaillles; she was so happy as to marry, in 1651, Paul Scarron, who lived near her in Hell-Street.

Scarron was of an ancient family belonging to the Parliament, and illustrious by its great alliances; but the burlesque which he professed, demeaned, though it recommended him. It was, however, an instance of good fortune * for Mademoiselle d'Aubigné to get this person for a husband, deformed and impotent as he was, and possessed of but a small fortune. Before her marriage, she abjured the Calvinistical religion, which was her own, as well as that of her ancestors. Her beauty and her wit soon made her be distinguished. Her acquaintance was eagerly courted by the best company in Paris; and this part of her youth was doubtless the happiest time of her life †. After her husband's death, which

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* M. Voltaire had surely a strange notion of good fortune! *Translator.*

† It is said, in the pretended Memoirs of Maintenon, Vol. I. p. 216, that for a long time she lay in the same bed with the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, according to the hearsay-reports of the Abbé de Chateaufneuf, and of the author of the Age of Louis XIV. But there is not a syllable of such an anecdote to be found in the author of the Age of Louis XIV. nor in the remaining works of the Abbé de Cha-

happened in 1660, she continued long to solicit the King for a small pension of fifteen hundred livres, which Scarron had enjoyed. At last, after some years had elapsed, the King gave her a pension of two thousand; addressing her at the same time in the following strain: "Madam, I have made you wait long; but you have so many friends, that I was determined to have the sole merit myself."

This anecdote I had from the Cardinal de Fleury, who took a pleasure in frequently repeating it, because he said that Louis XIV. paid him the same compliment, when he gave him the Bishopric of Fréjus.

And yet it appears, from the letters of Madame de Maintenon herself, that she was indebted to Madame de Montespan for this small supply, which extricated her from extreme poverty. She was taken farther notice of, some years after, when there was a necessity for educating privately the Duke de Maine, whom the King had in 1670 by the Marchioness de Montespan. It was not certainly until the year 1672, that she was chosen to superintend this private education. She says, in one of her letters, "If the children are the King's, I will cheerfully undertake the task; but I could not without scruple take the charge of Madame de Montespan's: the King therefore must give me orders: this is my last resolve."

Madame de Montespan had not two children until 1672, the Duke de Maine and the Count de Vexin. Hence it is evident, that the dates of Madame de Maintenon's letters, in 1670, in which she speaks of those two children, one of whom was not yet born, must ne-

cessarily

Chateauf. The author of Maintenon's Memoirs quotes only at random. This circumstance is mentioned nowhere, except in the Memoirs of the Marquis de la Fare, p. 190, Amsterdam edition. It was a custom, it is true, for people to share their beds with their friends; and this custom, which is now extinct, was very ancient, even at Court. We find, in the History of France, that Charles IX. in order to save the Count de Brissac from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, advised him to sleep at the Louvre in his bed, and that the Duke of Guise and the Prince of Condé lay together for a long time. *French Note.*

cessarily be false. Almost all the dates of these printed letters are erroneous. This inaccuracy would give one reason to suspect the authenticity of these letters, did we not discover in them such strong marks of truth and ingenuousness as it was almost impossible to counterfeit.

It is a matter of no great consequence to know in what particular year this person undertook the care of the natural children of Louis XIV. but the attention given to these minute circumstances may serve to shew with what scrupulous exactness we have related the principal events in this history.

The Duke de Maine was born with a deformed foot. The first Physician, d'Aquin, who was in the secret, advised to send him to the waters of Barege. An enquiry was made for a person of integrity who might be intrusted with this charge. The King mentioned Madame Scarron*. M. de Louvois went privately to Paris, to make the proposal to her. From that time she had the care of the Duke de Maine's education, being appointed to that employment by the King, and not by Madame de Montelpan, as has been reported. She wrote personally to the King, who was greatly charmed with her letters. Such was the origin of her good-fortune: her merit completed the rest.

The King, who at first could not endure her company, passed by degrees from aversion to confidence, and from confidence to love. The letters we have of hers are a much more precious treasure than is generally imagined: they discover that mixture of religion and galantry, of dignity and weakness, which is so frequently to be found in the human heart, and which filled the soul of Louis XIV. The mind of Madame de Maintenon seems at once inspired with an ambition and a devotion, which accord perfectly well together. Her confessor Gobelin approves equally of both: he is alike a Director and a Courtier. His penitent, though

* The author of the romance intituled the Memoirs of Mad. de Maintenon, makes her say, upon seeing the Castle of Tromptie, "There is the place where I was educated, &c." This is evidently false: she was educated at Niort. *Voltaire.*

guilty of ingratitude to Madame de Montespan, still continues to dissemble her crime. The confessor encourages the illusion; and she artfully calls in religion to the assistance of her superannuated charms, in order to supplant her benefactress, when she became her rival.

This strange mixture of love and scruples on the part of the King, and of ambition and devotion on the part of the new mistress, seems to have continued from 1681 to 1686, which was the æra of their marriage.

Her elevation was to her only a retreat. Shut up in her apartment, which was on the same floor with that of the King, she confined herself to the company of two or three ladies, as retired as herself; and even these she saw but seldom. The King went to her apartment every day after dinner, and before and after supper, and remained with her till midnight. He there deliberated with his Ministers, while Madame de Maintenon employed herself in reading, or in needle-work; never discovering the least forwardness to talk of State-affairs; frequently seeming to be ignorant of them; carefully avoiding every thing that might have the least appearance of cabal or intrigue; more desirous of pleasing him who governed, than of governing herself; and preserving her credit, by never employing it without extreme circumspection.

She did not avail herself of her situation, to engross all the dignities and great employments in her own family. Her brother the Count d'Aubigné, though an old Lieutenant-general, was not even a Marshal of France. A blue ribband * and some appropriation in the farms of the public revenues were his only fortune: hence it was that he said to the Marshal de Vivonne, brother to Madame de Montespan, "that he had received his Marshal's staff in ready money †."

The Marquis de Villette, her nephew, or her cousin ‡,

* The badge of a Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost.

† See his Letters to his brother: "I desire you, says he, to live comfortably, and to spend freely the eighteen thousand livres we have made of this business; we shall get more when that is gone."
L'oltaine.

‡ He was her cousin-german; *Translator.*

was only a Commodore. Madame de Caylus, daughter to the same Marquis de Villette, had but a small pension given her in marriage by Louis XIV. Madame de Maintenon, when she married her niece d'Aubigné to the son of the first Marshal de Noailles *, gave her but two hundred thousand livres: the King made up the rest. She possessed nothing herself except the lands of Maintenon, which she purchased with the presents made her by the King. She endeavoured to make the public excuse her elevation, in favour of her disinterestedness. The second wife of the Marquis de Villette, who was afterwards Lady Bolingbroke, could obtain nothing from her. I have frequently heard her say, that she upbraided her cousin with the little service she did her family; and that she told her in a passion, "You are so fond of your moderation, that you render your family the victims of it."

Madame de Maintenon forgot every thing, when she was in the least apprehensive of offending Louis XIV. She had not even the courage to support Cardinal de Noailles against Father Le Tellier. She had a great friendship for Racine; but that friendship was not strong enough to protect him against a slight resentment of the King. One day, being deeply affected with the eloquence with which he represented the calamities of the people, in 1698; calamities which were always exaggerated, but which have since been carried to a deplorable extremity; she prevailed upon her friend to draw up a memorial, pointing out the evil and the remedy. The King having read it, and shewn himself dissatisfied with the contents, she had the weakness to name the author, and that also of not defending him.

* The compiler of Maintenon's Memoirs says, vol. IV. p. 280. "Rousséau, a venomous viper towards his benefactors, composed some lampoons upon the Marshal de Noailles." This is false: we ought not to calumniate any one. Rousséau, who was then very young, did not know the first Marshal de Noailles. The lampoon was written by a gentleman of the name of Cabanac, who openly acknowledged himself to be the author. *Voltaire*.

Racine, still weaker, if possible, was seized with excessive grief, which brought him to the grave*.

The same disposition which rendered her incapable of doing a service, made her likewise incapable of doing an injury. The Abbé de Choisy relates, that the Minister Louvois fell on his knees before Louis XIV. in order to dissuade him from marrying the widow Scarron. If the Abbé de Choisy knew this fact, Madame de Maintenon was not ignorant of it; and yet she not only forgave that Minister, but even appeased the first transport of passion into which the blunt behaviour of the Marquis de Louvois used sometimes to provoke his master †.

Hence

* This fact is related by the son of the illustrious Racine, in his Life of his father. *French Note.*

There is a like story told of Sarrasin, in a note upon that article, in the preceding Catalogue of Writers. How could M. Voltaire call so amiable and tender a sentiment a *weakness*? Whoever can read either of these stories unmoved, is only fit to be Crier at the Old Bailey. *Translator.*

† Who would imagine, that, in the Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon, vol. III. p. 273, it should be said that this Minister was afraid of being poisoned by the King? Strange! that at Paris they should publish such horrid falsehoods at the end of so many ridiculous fables.

This stupid and shocking story is founded on a common report which was current at the death of the Marquis de Louvois. This Minister was using the waters which Seron, his Physician, had prescribed to him, and which La Ligerie his Surgeon made him drink. This is the same Ligerie who gave the Public the remedy which is now called *le Poudre des Chortieux*. This La Ligerie hath frequently told me, that he apprized M. de Louvois of the great risk he ran by attending business while he drank the waters. The Minister, however, continued his wonted assiduity. He died suddenly on the 16th of July, 1691: and not in 1692, as the author of these false Memoirs asserts. La Ligerie opened his body, and found no other cause of his death, than what he had foretold. Some people took it into their heads to suspect that the Physician Seron had poisoned a bottle of these waters. We have seen now common these injurious suspicions then were. It was pretended, that a neighbouring Prince, whom Louvois had greatly provoked and abused, had bribed the Physician Seron. Some of these anecdotes are to be found in the Memoirs of the Marquis de la Fare, p. 249. The family of the Marquis de Louvois did even impute a Savoyard, who was a menial servant in the house; but this poor man, who was perfectly innocent, was soon released. But if people suspected, though very unreasonably, that a Prince, who was

Hence it appears, that Louis XIV. in marrying Madame de Maintenon, only gave himself an agreeable and humble companion. The sole public distinction that discovered her private elevation was, that at chapel she occupied one of those small pews, or gilded closets, which seemed to be made for the King and Queen; but there was not the least exterior of grandeur in any thing else. The devotion with which she had inspired the King, and which had contributed to her marriage, became by degrees a real and deep sense of religion, which was strengthened by age and weariness.

She had already acquired, both with the King and the Court, the character of a foundress, by assembling at Noisi a number of young ladies of quality; and the King had appropriated the revenues of the Abbey of St. Denis to this rising community. St. Cyr was built at the end of the park of Versailles, in 1686. She gave this settlement a complete form, composed the regulations of it with Godet Desmarêts, Bishop of Chartres, and was herself the Superior of the convent. She frequently went thither to pass a few hours; and when I say that weariness determined her to follow these amusements, I only

an enemy to France, endeavoured to take away the life of a Minister of Louis XIV. this surely could never be a reason for suspecting Louis himself of the same crime.

The same author, who, in the Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon, has collected such a heap of falsehoods, says in the same place, that the King said, "he had got rid, in one year, of three men whom he could not endure; the Marshal de la Feuillade, the Marquis de Seignelai, and the Marquis de Louvois." In the first place, M. de Seignelai did not die the same year 1691, but in 1690. In the second place, to whom did Louis XIV. who always spoke with great circumspection, and like a gentleman, address these imprudent and spiteful words? To whom did he discover such a hard and ungrateful heart? To whom could he say, that he was glad he had got rid of three men who had served him with so much zeal and fidelity? Is it lawful thus to blacken, without the least proof, without the least appearance of probability, the memory of a King, who was always known to speak with great prudence? Every sensible reader beholds with contempt and indignation these collections of lies, with which the Public is encumbered; and the author of the Memoirs of Maintenon deserves chastisement, if the contempt which he is fallen into, did not screen him from punishment.

Voltaire.

repeat her own words. Read what she wrote to Madame de la Maisonfort, of whom mention is made in the chapter of Quietism :

“ Why cannot I give you my experience ? Why cannot I make you sensible of the weariness that devours the Great, and of the difficulty they have to dispose of their time ? Do you not see that I die of lowness of spirits, though possessed of a more splendid fortune than ever I could have hoped to obtain ? I have been young and handsome ; I have tasted pleasures ; I have been universally beloved ; in a more advanced age, I have passed some years in the participation of intellectual pleasures ; I am now arrived at the summit of fortune ; and I assure you, my dear friend, that every condition leaves a wretched vacuity in the mind *.”

Could any thing shew men the vanity of ambition, this letter surely would do it. Madame de Maintenon, who had no other cause of uneasiness than the uniformity of her life in the company of a great King, said one day to the Count d'Aubigné her brother, “ I can bear it no longer ; I wish I were dead.” The answer which her brother gave her is well known : “ You have then got a promise, said he, of being married to God the Father.”

Upon the King's death, she retired wholly to St. Cyr. What is surprising is, that the King left her no certain stipend. He recommended her to the Duke of Orleans. She only demanded a pension of eighty thousand livres. This annuity was regularly paid her till her death, which happened on the fifteenth of April 1719. The author of her epitaph has affected too much to forget the name of Scarron : this name was no disgrace, and the omission of it serves only to make one suspect it was so.

The Court became less gay and more serious, from the time that the King began to lead a retired life with

* This letter is authentic ; and the author saw it in MS. before the son of the great Racine had it printed. *French Note.*

Madame de Maintenon ; and the severe fit of sickness he had in 1686, contributed still more to destroy his taste for those splendid feasts which he had hitherto celebrated almost every year. He was seized with a fistula in ano *. The art of surgery, which under this reign had made greater progress in France than in all the rest of Europe, was not yet sufficiently practised in this distemper. The Cardinal de Richelieu had died of it, for want of proper treatment. The King's danger alarmed the whole nation. The churches were filled with crowds of people, who, with tears in their eyes, implored the recovery of their sovereign. This expression of universal concern and lamentation was somewhat a-kin to that which happened in the present age, when his successor's life was in danger at Metz, in 1744. These two epochas will serve as perpetual monuments to remind Kings of what they owe to a people who love them with such a warmth of affection.

As soon as Louis XIV. felt the first attacks of his disease, his chief surgeon, Felix, went to the hospitals to search for such patients as were in the same condition. He consulted the best surgeons ; and, in conjunction with them, he invented some new instruments which abridged the operation, and rendered it less painful. The King suffered the operation without complaining. He caused his Ministers to hold a Council at his bed-side, the very same day ; and that the news of his danger might occasion no change of measures in the Courts of Europe, he gave audience to the Foreign Ambassadors next day. To this fortitude of mind may be added the generosity with which he rewarded Felix, to whom he gave an estate which was then worth fifty thousand crowns.

* This disorder, to shew how far the politeness of the French was carried, was dignified by the title of *regius morbus*, and added, in the books of surgery, to a certain class of distempers which had been before registered under the same denomination by Court Physicians, in compliment to the several princes, *who, in spite of O King, live for ever !* had died of those respective maladies ; as the Jaundice, the Epilepsy, the King's-evil, &c. *Translator.*

After this the King went no more to the public shows. The Dauphiness of Bavaria, being seized with a deep melancholy, and oppressed with a lowness of spirits, which brought her to the grave in 1690, refused to join in any party of pleasure, and obstinately persisted to immure herself in her chamber. She was fond of learning; she had written some poetry; but in her melancholy moods she affected nothing but solitude.

It was the convent of St. Cyr which revived the taste for works of genius. Madame de Maintenon desired Racine, who had renounced the theatre for the Court and Jansenism, to write a Tragedy that might be acted by her pupils; and she desired the subject might be taken from the Bible. Racine composed *Esther*. This piece, having been first represented in the convent of St. Cyr, was afterwards acted several times at Versailles, before the King, in the winter 1689. The prelates and Jesuits were eager to obtain a permission of seeing this singular representation.

It is somewhat remarkable, that this piece was at this time universally approved; and that, two years after, *Athalie*, which was acted by the same persons, was as universally condemned. The case was quite the reverse when these pieces were played at Paris, long after the author's death, and when all party-distinctions were over. *Athalie* was represented in 1717, and received, as it deserved, with great applause: and *Esther*, which was acted in 1721, met with a cold reception, and never appeared more. But there were now no Courtiers so flattering as to recognize *Ester* in Madame de Maintenon, and so malicious as to discover *Vashti* in Madame de Montespan*, *Haman* in M. de Louvois, and especially the Huguenots, who were persecuted by that Minister,

* The whole account of these matters is extremely well told in *Les Souvenirs*; and upon this article the Translator of those anecdotes has thrown in a judicious observation, which is proper to be quoted here.

“ The personage of Vashti was said to have alluded to Madame de Montespan; but I cannot see any resemblance between them, except in her being supplanted by Madame de Maintenon. The late Queen

Minister, in the proscription of the Jews. The impartial Public could discover nothing in that piece, but a plot without probability or interest; a stupid King, who had lived six months with his wife without knowing her, or even informing himself who she was; a Minister so ridiculously barbarous as to require his King to exterminate a whole nation, old men, women and children, because they had not made him a bow; this same Minister so silly as to issue an order to put all the Jews to death in eleven months, which plainly gave them time for flight or defence; a weak King who without any pretext signed so absurd an order, and who with as little reason suddenly hanged up his favourite; all this, without plot, without action, without interest, extremely disgusted all persons who had either sense or taste *. But, not-

"Queen appears a fitter parallel, as they were both forsaken consorts, and equally shy of appearing before their husbands."

This last circumstance, relative to the Queen of Louis XIV. alludes to a passage that went before, in *Les Souvenirs*. "But this poor good Princess had contracted such an awe of the King, as, joined to her natural timidity, prevented her from being able to speak before him, even among other company; and much more to expose herself to a tête-à-tête conversation with him." *Translator*.

* It is said, in the Memoirs of Maintenon, that Racine seeing the ill success of Esther in public, cried out, "Why have I exposed myself! Why did they prevent me from becoming a Carthusian! But a thousand louis d'ors consoled him."

In the first place it is not true that Esther was then ill received.

Secondly, it is false and impossible that Racine should have said, that they had prevented him at that time from becoming a Carthusian friar, because his wife was then living. That author, who has written every thing at hazard, and has confounded every thing, should have consulted the Memoirs of the Life of John Racine, by Louis Racine, his son. He would there have seen that John Racine had thoughts of becoming a Carthusian, before he was married. Thirdly, it is false that the King gave him a thousand louis d'ors, at that time. This falsity is apparent from the same memoirs. The King presented him with the post of Gentleman in ordinary of his Bed-chamber, in 1690, after the exhibition of *Athaliah*, at Versailles.

Such minutiae acquire some importance when they relate to so great a man as Racine. The false anecdotes of those who displayed the Age of Louis XIV. are repeated in so many silly books, those books are so numerous, and there are so many indolent and ignorant readers who receive those tales for facts, that too much caution cannot be given

notwithstanding the imperfection of the subject, thirty lines of *Esther* are of more value than many Tragedies which have met with great success. These ingenious amusements were revived for the education of Adelaide of Savoy, Dutchess of Burgundy, who was brought to France at eleven years of age.

It is one of the many contradictions in our manners, that on one hand theatrical exhibitions should be branded with a mark of infamy, and on the other that such representations should be considered as an amusement the most noble and most worthy of persons of royal birth. A little theatre was built in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, on which the Dutchess of Burgundy and the Duke of Orleans played, with such persons of the Court as were most remarkable for their talents. The famous actor Baron gave them lessons, and performed with them. Most of the Tragedies of Duché, valet-de-chambre to the King, were composed for this theatre; and the Abbe Genêt, Almoner to the Dutchess of Orleans, wrote some plays for the Dutchess of Maine, which that Princess and her Court represented. These amusements formed the taste, and enlivened society*.

None of those who have censured Louis XIV. with so much severity, can deny that, till the battle of Hochstet, he was the most magnificent, and the greatest man, almost in every thing: for tho' there have been heroes,

given against all those impositions. And if we have frequently contradicted the author of Maintenon's Memoirs, it is because no writer ever published more falsehoods than he. *Voltaire.*

* How could the Marquis de la Fare say in his Memoirs, that, "after the death of Madame, all was play, confusion, and impotency?" They frequently played in their excursions to Marli and Fontainebleau, but never in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon; and the Court was ever the standard of the most perfect politeness. The Dutchess of Orleans, then Dutchess of Chartres, the Dutchess of Maine, the Princess of Conti, and Madame the Dutchess, disproved by their conduct what the Marquis de la Fare asserts. This man, who in the commerce of life was of the most accommodating temper, wrote hardly any thing but satire. He was dissatisfied with the Government; he passed his time in a society which made a merit of condemning the Court; and this society converted a man of a most amiable disposition into an historian who is sometimes unjust. *Ibid.*

such

such as John Sobieski and the Kings of Sweden, who have excelled him as a warrior, no one has ever been able to eclipse him as a monarch. It must likewise be acknowledged, that he supported and repaired his losses. He had some failings; he committed great faults; but would those who condemn him, have been able to equal him, had they been in his place *?

The Dutchess of Burgundy improved daily in beauty and in merit. The praises bestowed upon her sister in Spain, inspired her with an emulation which redoubled her talent of pleasing. She was not a perfect beauty; but she had a countenance like that of her son, with an air of grandeur, and a majestic stature. These advantages were greatly embellished by her wit, and still more by her extreme desire of meriting the praises of all the world. She was, like Henrietta of England, the idol and the model of the Court, and possessed of a still higher rank, as standing next the throne. France expected from the Duke of Burgundy such a government as the sages of antiquity had conceived, but whose austerity would be softened by the virtues and accomplishments of this Princess, which were of a nature to be more sensibly felt than the philosophy of her husband. Every body knows how these hopes were frustrated. It was the fate of Louis XIV. to see all his family perish in France, by premature deaths; his wife, in the forty-fifth year of her age; his only son in the fiftieth †; and in a year after

* If greatness of soul consists in a love of pageantry, an ostentation of fastidious pomp, a prodigality of expence, an affectation of munificence, an insolence of ambition, and a haughty reserve of deportment, Louis certainly deserved the appellation of Great. Qualities which are truly heroic, we shall not find in the composition of his character. *Smollet.*

† The author of the *Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon*, vol. IV, in a chapter intitled, *Mademoiselle Chouin*, says, that the Dauphin was in love with one of his own sisters, and that he afterwards married Mademoiselle Chouin. These popular rumours are known to be false, by every sensible person. One should not only be a cotemporary, but ought likewise to be furnished with proofs, before he venture to advance such anecdotes as these. There never was the least evidence of the Dauphin's having married Mademoiselle Chouin. To revive, after

ter

after he had lost his son, he saw his grandson the Dauphin Duke of Burgundy, the Dauphiness his wife, and their eldest son the Duke of Brittany, carried to St. Denis, and deposited in the same tomb, in the month of April 1712; while the youngest of their children, who afterwards mounted the throne, was in his cradle at the point of death. The Duke of Berry, brother to the Duke of Burgundy, followed them two years after; and his daughter, at the same time, was carried from her cradle to her grave.

These lamentable losses made such a deep impression on the minds of men, that I have seen several persons in the minority of Louis XV. who could not mention them without tears: but amidst so many untimely deaths, the situation of him † who seemed likely to fill the throne in a short time, was most to be lamented.

The same suspicion which prevailed at the death of Madame, and at that of Maria-Louisa, Queen of Spain, was now revived with a singular virulence. The excess of the public grief might almost have excused the calumny, could any thing have done so. It was a folly to suppose that any one would have taken off, by a violent death, so many royal persons, and yet have left alive the only one that could avenge them. The disease of which the Dauphin of Burgundy and his wife and son died, was an epidemical purple-fever. This distemper destroyed more than five hundred persons in Paris, in the space of a month. The Duke of Bourbon, grandson to

ter the expiration of sixty years, these common reports, so vague, so improbable, and so generally discredited, is not to write history; it is to compile at random the most scandalous falsehoods, in order to get money. Upon what foundation has this writer the impudence to advance, in page 214, that the Dutchess of Burgundy said to the Prince her husband, "If I were dead, would you fill the third tomb of your 'family'?" He makes Louis XIV. and all the Princes and Ministers talk as if he had heard them. There is hardly a page in the memoirs that is not filled with such barefaced lies, as justly excite the indignation of every honest man. *Voltaire.*

* The Duke of Orleans, nephew to Louis XIV. and afterwards Regent. *Translator.*

† That is, would you die, for grief? *Ibid.*

the Prince of Condé, the Duke de la Trimouille, Madame de la Vrillière, and Madame de Liffenai, were seized with it at Court. The Marquis de Gondrin, son to the Duke of Antin, died of it in two days. His wife, afterwards Countess of Thoulouse, was at the point of death. This disease over-ran all France. It carried off in Lorrain the eldest brothers of that Francis, Duke of Lorrain, who was destined to be, one day, Emperor, and to retrieve the House of Austria.

Mean while it was sufficient that a Physician called Boudin, a debauched, forward, and ignorant fellow, used the following expression: "We do not understand such diseases:" This, I say, was sufficient to take off all restraint from calumny.

The Prince had a laboratory, and studied chemistry, as well as several other arts: this was an unanswerable proof. The clamour of the Public was so violent, that one must have been a witness, in order to believe it. Several pamphlets and some wretched histories of Louis XIV. would eternize these suspicions, did not persons who have had better opportunities of information, take pains to destroy them. I will venture to say, that as I have long been sensible of the injustice of mankind, I have made several inquiries to come at the truth; and the following account has been frequently repeated to me by the Marquis de Canillac, one of the most worthy men in the nation, and intimately connected with the suspected Prince, of whom he had afterwards just reason to complain. The Marquis de Canillac, amidst all this public clamour, went to visit him in his palace. He found him stretched at full length on the ground, bathed in tears, and frantic with despair. His chemist Homberg ran to the Bastille, to surrender himself a prisoner; but no orders had been given to receive him, and accordingly he was not admitted. The Prince himself (who would believe it!) in the excess of his grief, desired to be taken into custody, and to have an opportunity of clearing his innocence by a formal trial; and his mother joined him in demanding this cruel justification. The *lettre-de-cachet* was made out, but was
not

not signed; and the Marquis de Canillac alone, amidst this general fermentation, preserved so much presence of mind as to perceive the dangerous consequences of such a desperate measure. He prevailed upon the Prince's mother to oppose this ignominious *lettre-de-cachet*. The Monarch who granted it, and the Prince who demanded it, were equally unhappy*.

* The author of the *Life of the Duke of Orleans* was the first who mentioned these shocking suspicions. He was a Jesuit of the name of La Motte, the same that preached at Rouen against this Prince, during his Regency, and who afterwards took refuge in Holland, under the name of La Hode. He was acquainted with some public facts. He says, vol. I. page 112, that the Prince, who was so unjustly suspected, offered to surrender himself a prisoner; and this is very true. La Motte had no opportunity of knowing how M. de Canillac opposed this step, which was so injurious to the Prince's innocence. All the other anecdotes he relates are false. Reboulet, who copied him, says, page 143, vol. VIII. that the youngest child of the Duke and Dutchess of Burgundy "was saved by the counterpoison of Venice." There is no counter-poison of Venice that is thus given at random. Physic knows no general antidotes that cure a disease the cause of which is unknown. All the stories which were spread abroad in the world at that unhappy time, are no more than a collection of popular errors.

It is a falshood of little consequence in the compiler of the *Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon* to say, that the Duke of Maine was then at the point of death. It is a childish calumny to say, that the author of the *Age of Louis XIV.* rather confirms than destroys the credit of these stories.

Never was history disgraced with more absurd falshoods than there are in these forged memoirs. The author pretends to have wrote them in 1753. He takes it into his head to suppose that the Duke and Dutchess of Burgundy, and their eldest son, died of the small-pox. He advances this falshood to give himself an opportunity to speak of inoculation: an experiment that was not tried till the month of May 1756. Thus in the same page we find him speaking in 1753, of what happened in 1756.

Learning hath been infected with so many kinds of defamatory libels, and the Dutch have published so many false memoirs and injurious aspersions on the Government and people, that it is the duty of every faithful historian to caution the reader against the imposture. *Voltaire.*

C H A P. XXVIII.

Conclusion of the Private Memoirs and Anecdotes.

L OUIS XIV. concealed his grief from the world, and appeared in public as usual: but in private the sensibility of so many misfortunes pierced him to the heart, and threw him into convulsions*. He met with all these domestic losses towards the conclusion of an unsuccessful war, before he was sure of obtaining a peace, and at a time when famine had laid the Kingdom waste; and yet he was never seen to sink under his afflictions.

The remaining part of his life was unhappy. The disordered state of the finances, which he was unable to remedy, alienated the minds of the people. The unbounded confidence he placed in Father Le Tellier, a man of too violent passions, completed the disgust. It is very remarkable, that the Public, who freely forgave him all his Mistresses, could never forgive him his Confessor. He lost, during the last three years of his life, in the minds of most of his subjects, all the respect and esteem he had gained by his great and memorable actions.

Deprived of almost all his children, his love, which was now redoubled to the Duke of Maine and the Count of Thoulouse, his legitimated sons, carried him to declare them heirs to the Crown, them and their descendants, in default of Princes of the Blood, by an Edict that was registered without opposition in 1714. He thus tempered, by the law of nature, the severity of the laws of convention†, which deprive children born out of marriage of all right of succeeding to their father's estate: but Kings dispense with this law. He

* We most cordially forgive him his foibles, here, on account of his feelings. *Translator.*

† Statute Laws.

thought he might safely do for his own blood, what he had done in favour of several of his subjects. He imagined, particularly, that he might make the same establishment for two of his children, which he had caused to be made in Parliament, without opposition, for the Princes of the House of Lorraine. He afterwards raised them to the same rank with Princes of the Blood, in 1715. The suit commenced since by the Princes of the Blood against the legitimated Princes, is well known. The latter preserved for themselves and their children, the honours conferred upon them by Louis XIV.; but the fate of their posterity must depend on time, on merit, and on fortune.

Louis XIV. was seized, about the middle of August, in 1715, on his return from Marli, with the disease that brought him to the grave. His legs were swelled; a mortification began to appear. The Earl of Stair, the English Ambassador, laid a wager, according to the custom of his country, that the King would not outlive the month of September. The Duke of Orleans, who in his journey to Marli had no attendants, had now the whole Court about him. An empiric, in the last days of the King's illness, gave him an elixir which recruited his strength. He eat, and the empiric affirmed he would recover. The crowds which surrounded the Duke of Orleans began to diminish apace. "If the King eats a second time," said the Duke of Orleans, "I shall not have a single person left in my liver." But the disease was mortal. Measures were taken for giving the Regency, with an absolute authority, to the Duke of Orleans. The King, by his will, which was deposited with the Parliament, had left it to him, under great limitations; or rather, had only appointed him the head of a Council of Regency, in which he would only have had the casting voice; and yet he said to him, "I have preserved to you all the rights to which you are intitled by your birth*." The
reason

* In the Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon, vol. V. page 194, it is said, that Louis XIV. intended to make the Duke of Maine Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. A man should be furnished with
authentic

reason was, that he did not believe there was a fundamental law in the Kingdom which gives, during a Minority, an absolute power to the presumptive heir of the Crown. This supreme authority, which may be abused, is no doubt dangerous; but a divided one is still more so. He imagined, that having been so faithfully obeyed during his life, he would be equally so after his death, not remembering that the will of his father had been violated.

Every body knows with what greatness of soul he beheld the approach of death. He said to Madame de Maintenon, "I imagined it was more difficult to die;" and to his domestics, "Why do you weep? Did you think me immortal?" He gave orders about several things, and even about his funeral solemnity. Whoever has many witnesses of his death, always dies with courage*. Louis XIII. in his last illness, set to music the Psalm *De Profundis*, which was to be sung at his funeral. The fortitude of mind with which Louis XIV. beheld his end, was divested of that glare of ostentation which tinctured the rest of his life. He had the courage even to acknowledge his errors. His successor has always kept under his pillow the remarkable words which that Monarch spoke to him, as he sat up in his bed and held him in his arms. These words are not such as have been represented in all former histories. The following is a faithful copy:

"You are soon going to be the King of a great Kingdom. What I would chiefly recommend to you, is never to forget the obligations you owe to God. Remember that you are indebted to him for every thing you are. Endeavour to preserve peace with your

authentic proofs, before he ventures to advance a thing of so extraordinary and important a nature. The Duke of Maine would, in that case, have been above the Duke of Orleans, which would have inverted the order of things; and hence we may infer the assertion to be false. *Voltaire*.

* This is an illiberal and invidious reflection, and the more so, as 'tis out of its place here; for in the very next sentence but one, our Author acquits Louis of any manner of ostentation in this article. This stroke was a true *Rochejaquequin*. *Transton*.

“ neighbours. I have been too fond of war: in this
 “ do not follow my example, any more than in my too
 “ expensive manner of living. Take counsel in every
 “ thing, and endeavour to distinguish the best, that
 “ you may ever pursue it. Relieve your subjects as
 “ soon as you can, and do what I have been so unhap-
 “ py as not to be able to do myself, &c.”

This speech contains nothing of that meanness of spirit which is ascribed to him in some memoirs. He has been reproached for carrying some relics about him, during the latter years of his life. His sentiments of religion were noble and elevated; but his Confessor, who was of a different character, had subjected him to some practices little consistent with these sentiments, and now refused, in order to subject him the more absolutely to his direction: and besides, those relicks which he had the weakness to bear about him, had been given him by Madame Maintenon.

Though the life and death of Louis XIV. were glorious, yet was he less lamented than he deserved. The love of novelty; the approach of a Minority, in which every one hoped to make his fortune; the dispute about the *Constitution**, which then exasperated the minds of the people; all conspired to make the news of his death be received with something more than indifference. We beheld the same people, who in 1686 had importuned Heaven with sighs and tears for the recovery of their sick Monarch, follow his funeral procession with demonstrations of a very different nature†. It is related, that the Queen, his mother, said to him once, when he was very young, “ My son, imitate

* A Pope's Bull so called, obtained by Louis XIV. a little before his death, to condemn 101 propositions of Jansenism, extracted from Father Queſnel's writings. The same Bull is also called *Unigenitus*, from the first word of it. Crebillon the Son is said to have written *l'Ecumotre, The Skimmer*, in ridicule of this Decretal. *Translator.*

† I have seen little tents fitted up on the road to St. Denis, where they drank, and sung, and laughed, as the procession marched by. The sentiments of the Citizens of Paris extended themselves to the people at large. The Jesuit Le Tellier was the cause of this general joy. I heard some of the spectators say, that they ought to set fire to the Jesuit Colleges with the flambeaux which attended the funeral. *Voltaire.*

“ your

“ your grandfather, and not your father.” The King having asked the reason ; “ Because (said she) the people wept at the death of Henry IV. and laughed at that of Louis XIII.”

Notwithstanding he has been reproached with little-nesses ; with rigour in his zeal against the Jansenists ; with too much haughtiness to foreign powers in his prosperity ; with too great weakness to several women, and too great severity in personal concerns ; with wars undertaken without sufficient reason ; with the burning of the Palatinate, and the persecution of the Protestants ; yet his great qualities and his actions being placed in the scale, have over balanced his faults. Time, which ripens the opinions of mankind, has affixed its seal to his reputation ; and in spite of all that has been written against him, his name will never be mentioned without respect, or without reviving the idea of an age for ever memorable.

If we consider him in his private character, we shall find him, indeed, too full of his own greatness, but affable ; refusing his mother a share in the Administration, but performing to her all the duties of a son ; and observing the strictest rules of decency and decorum in his behaviour to his wife ; a good father, a good master, always decent in public, assiduous in the Cabinet, exact in the management of his affairs, thinking justly, speaking well, and amiable with dignity.

I have elsewhere * remarked, that he never spoke the words which have been ascribed to him, when the first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber and the Grand-master of the Wardrobe were disputing about the honour of serving him : “ What does it signify which of my Valets serve me ?” Such a coarse expression could never be used by a man so polite and so considerate as he was, and agreed but ill with what he said one day to the Duke de la Rochefoucault, when talking of his debts : “ Why do you not speak to your friends ?” words of a

* All this is extracted from Anecdotes printed among the Miscellanies of the same Author, and founded upon this history. *Voltaire.*

very different meaning, and of great importance too, being accompanied with a present of fifty thousand crowns.

Nor is it true, that he wrote to the Duke de la Rochefoucault: "I make you my compliments as your *Friend*, with regard to the post of Grand-master of "the Wardrobe, which I give you as your *King*." The Historians have done him the honour of this letter, not remembering how very indelicate, and even illbred it is to tell a man whose master you are, that you are so. This would be very proper, were a sovereign writing to a rebellious subject; and Henry IV. might justly enough have said it to the Duke of Mayenne, before their perfect reconciliation.

Rois, Secretary of the Cabinet, wrote the letter, but the King had too much sentiment to send it. It was the same refinement that made him suppress the pompous inscriptions which Charpentier of the French Academy affixed to the paintings of Le Brun, in the Gallery of Versailles: "The *incredible* passage of the "Rhine; the *marvellous* taking of Valenciennes, &c." The King thought that the taking of Valenciennes, and the passage of the Rhine, were more expressive. Charpentier was in the right to adorn with inscriptions in our own language the monuments of our country*: flattery alone spoiled the execution.

Some answers and sayings of this Prince have been collected, which are reducible to a very small number. It is pretended that when he formed the design of abolishing Calvinism in France, he said, "My grandfather "loved the Huguenots, and did not fear them; my father loved them not, but feared them; for my part, I "neither love nor fear them."

Having given in 1658, the place of First President of the Parliament of Paris to M. de la Lamoignon, then Master of Requests, he said to him, "Had I "known a better man, or a more worthy subject, I "would have chosen him." He used much the same

* See the note in page 62, Vol. I. *Translator*.

expression to the Cardinal de Noailles, when he gave him the Archbishoprick of Paris. What constitutes the merit of this compliment is, that it was true, and inspired a principle of virtue.

It is said, that a foolish Preacher having one day pointed him out at Versailles (a rashness that is not allowable towards a private man, and far less towards a King), Louis XIV. contented himself with saying to him, "Father, I like well enough to take my share of a sermon, but do not chuse to be made the subject of it." Whether he used this expression or not, it may serve as a lesson.

He always expressed himself nobly, and with precision; studying in public to speak, as well as to act, like a Sovereign. When the Duke of Anjou was setting out on his journey to ascend the Throne of Spain, he said to him, in order to mark the union which was for the future to unite the two nations, "Remember there are now no Pyrenees*."

Nothing surely can set his character in a clearer light than the following memorial, written entirely with his own hand†.

"Kings are frequently obliged to do many things against their inclinations, and which shock their natural humanity. They ought to take a pleasure in doing favours, and they are often forced to punish, and even to ruin those to whom they naturally wish well. The interest of the State should be the first motive. They must force their inclinations: they must act, in every matter of importance, so as to have no cause to reproach themselves that they might have done better. But some private interests prevented me from following this course, and engrossed that attention which I ought to have employed in promoting the grandeur, the happiness, and the power of the State. There are many circumstances that create uneasiness; there are some so intricate, that it is difficult to unra-

* The mountains which divide France from Spain, *Translator.*

† It was deposited in the King's Library some years ago. *Voltaire.*

“ vel them. We have confused ideas; and while that
 “ is the case, we may remain long without coming to
 “ any determination; but the moment we have formed
 “ our resolution, and are convinced that it is the best,
 “ we ought to carry it into execution. It is this which
 “ has often given me success in several of my under-
 “ takings. The errors I have committed, and which
 “ have caused me infinite pain, have been owing to
 “ complaisance, and to a too ready compliance with
 “ the advice of others. Nothing is so dangerous as
 “ a weakness of this kind. To be able to command
 “ others, we must raise ourselves above them; and af-
 “ ter having heard the opinions of all parties, we must
 “ fix upon that which we judge to be best, without
 “ prejudice or partiality; always careful not to order or
 “ execute any thing unworthy of ourselves, of the cha-
 “ racter we bear, or of the grandeur of the State.
 “ Princes who have good intentions, and some know-
 “ ledge of their own affairs, whether by experience,
 “ study, or intense application to render themselves
 “ capable, find so many ways of discovering their na-
 “ tural disposition, that they ought to have a particular
 “ care, and give a general application to every thing.
 “ We ought constantly to be on our guard against our-
 “ selves, our inclinations, and our natural propensities.
 “ The province of a King is great, noble, and flattering;
 “ when he finds himself well able to perform all those
 “ duties which it obliges; but it is not exempted from
 “ pain, fatigue, and inquietude. Uncertainty some-
 “ times creates despair; when, therefore, he has em-
 “ ployed a reasonable time in examining an affair, he
 “ ought to come to some determination, and to pursue
 “ the course which he thinks most advisable*.

“ When

* The Abbé Castel de St. Pierre, author of several strange per-
 formances, in which there are many things of a philosophical, but
 very few of a practical, nature, has left behind him some *Political An-*
nals, from 1658 to 1739. He, in several places, condemns the Ad-
 ministration of Louis XIV. with great severity, and will not, by any
 means, allow him the title of Louis the Great. If by Great he
 means perfect, this title, to be sure, does not belong to him; but
 from

“ When he labours for the State, he labours for himself; the welfare of the one constituting the glory of the other. When the former is great, happy, and powerful, he who is the cause of all these advantages is glorious, and of consequence ought to enjoy more than his subjects, both on his account and theirs, a greater share of all that is most agreeable in life. When he has committed an error, he ought to repair it as soon as possible, and should allow no consideration to hinder him, not even benevolence itself.

“ In 1671 there died a man who had the post of Secretary of State, being charged with the department of foreign affairs. He was a man of capacity, but not without faults. He filled that important post, however, with great ability.

“ I was some time in considering on whom I should confer this charge; and, after mature deliberation, I supposed that a man who had long served in the character of an Ambassador*, was most likely to fill it with success.

“ I remanded him home: the whole Kingdom approved my choice, which is not always the case. On his return, I put him in possession of the post. I knew him only by report, and by the commissions with which I had charged him, and which he had well executed. But the employment I had now given him, was too great and too extensive for his capacity. I have not availed myself of all the advantages I might have obtained, and this has always been owing to my complaisance and good-nature. At last I was obliged to dismiss him, because all that passed through his hands, lost that air of grandeur and importance which ought ever to attend the execution of the orders of a

from these memoirs, written with the hand of that Monarch, it appears that he had as good political principles, at least, as the Abbé de St. Pierre.

These memoirs of the Abbé de St. Pierre have nothing curious in them, except the absurd persuasion which had got possession of his mind, that he was formed for governing States. *Voltaire.*

* Mr. de Pomponne.

“ King of France *. Had I removed him sooner, I should
 “ have prevented many of the inconveniencies which
 “ afterwards befel me, and should have had no cause to
 “ reproach myself with allowing my indulgence to him,
 “ to hurt the State. These particulars I have thought
 “ proper to mention, in order to confirm the truth of
 “ what I have advanced above.”

This precious and hitherto unknown monument will serve to convince posterity of the integrity of his heart, and the greatness of his soul. We may even say, that he judges himself with too much severity, and that he has no cause to reproach himself with regard to Mr. de Pomponne, since the services and reputation of that Minister had determined the Prince's choice, confirmed by the general approbation of the Public; and if he condemns himself for his choice of Mr. de Pomponne, who at least had the happiness to serve during a glorious period, what ought he not to object to himself, with regard to Mr. de Chamillard, whose ministry was so unfortunate, and so universally condemned?

He had written several memoirs of this kind, either with a view of keeping an account of his own conduct, or for the instruction of the Dauphin Duke of Burgundy. These reflections succeeded the events. He would have attained nearer to perfection, to which he had the merit to aspire, had he been able to have formed to himself a philosophy superior to common politics and prejudices; a philosophy which, in the course of so many centuries, we have seen practised by so few sovereigns, and which Kings are very excusable for not knowing, since so many private persons are ignorant of it†.

The following are a few of the instructions which he gave to his grandson Philip V. when he was setting out for Spain. He wrote them in haste, and with a negli-

* And why not of other Kings, pray? *Translator.*

† What a strange sentiment is this! *A philosophy superior to common politics and prejudices*, being more necessary to Princes than to private persons, are they not, therefore, more inexcusable for being deficient in it? In them 'tis a *practical* knowledge; in others, but a *speculative* one. *Ibid.*

gence

gence which discovers the soul much better than a studied discourse. We here see the Father and the King.

- “ Love the Spaniards, and all your subjects who are
- “ attached to your crown and person. Don’t prefer
- “ those that flatter you most; esteem such as, for the
- “ public good, will run the risk of displeasing you.
- “ These are your true friends.

“ Promote the happiness of your subjects; and with
 “ this view never undertake a war until you are forced
 “ to it, and until you have fully weighed and examined
 “ the reasons for and against it in your Council.

“ Endeavour to reduce your taxes; take care of the
 “ Indies, and of your fleets; give great attention to
 “ commerce, and live in a perfect union with France,
 “ nothing being so advantageous for both kingdoms as
 “ this alliance, which no power can resist*.

“ If you are obliged to make war, put yourself at the
 “ head of your army.

“ Endeavour to re-establish your troops every where,
 “ and begin with those of Flanders.

“ Never neglect business for pleasure; but frame to
 “ yourself a sort of œconomy of time, which will allow
 “ you proper intervals both for pleasure and diversion.

“ Of these, there are hardly any more innocent than
 “ hunting, and the pleasures of a country-house, pro-
 “ vided you are not too expensive in your decorations.

“ Give great attention to business, when any one
 “ talks to you on that subject; hear much at first, with-
 “ out making any decision.

“ When once you have acquired more knowledge,
 “ remember that it is your province to decide; but
 “ whatever experience you may have, be always sure to
 “ hear the opinions and reasonings of your Council, be-
 “ fore you come to a determination.

* He was greatly mistaken in this conjecture. *Voltaire.*
 The true policy of Spain is to keep itself detached from any *confe-*
derate connection with France. Every strength it gives to that Mo-
 narchy weakens its own Empire. *Translator.*

“ Exert

“ Exert your utmost sagacity and penetration, in order to find men of the greatest abilities, that so you may properly employ them.

“ Take care that your Viceroy and Governors be always Spaniards.

“ Treat every body well; never say a disagreeable thing to any one; but distinguish people of quality and merit.

“ Shew the grateful sense you have of the kindness of the late King, and of all those who have concurred in chusing you for his successor.

“ Place great confidence in Cardinal Porto-Carreto, and let him know how much you are pleased with the conduct he has pursued.

“ I think you ought to do something considerable for the Ambassador who had the happiness to invite you into the Kingdom, and to salute you first in the quality of a subject.

“ Do not forget Bedmar, who is a man of merit, and is capable of serving you.

“ Place an unreserved confidence in the Duke of Harcourt: he is a man of capacity and of honour, and will never give you any advice but what is for your interest.

“ Keep all the French in order*.

“ Use your domestics well, but never admit them into too great a degree of familiarity, and far less of confidence. Employ them as long as they behave well; but send them back on the least fault they commit; and never support them against the Spaniards.

“ Have no intercourse with the Queen-Dowager, but such as you cannot dispense with. See that she quit Madrid; but let her not go out of Spain. Wherever she is, observe her conduct, and never allow her to interfere in any affairs of state. Suspect the fidelity of those who have too much intercourse with her.

“ Always love your relations: remember the pain it cost them to part with you: preserve a constant inter-

* His household was composed of French, which he had carried with him, when he went to take possession of the kingdom. *Transi-*
confe

“ course with them, as well in small as in great things.
 “ Ask from us freely whatever you either want or desire
 “ to have, that is not to be had in your own country,
 “ and we will use the same freedom with you.

• “ Never forget that you are a Frenchman, nor what
 “ may possibly befall you. When you have secured the
 “ succession of Spain by children, visit your Kingdoms,
 “ go to Naples and Sicily, pass over to Milan, and come
 “ to Flanders *. This will give you an opportunity of
 “ paying us a visit. Mean while visit Catalonia, Arra-
 “ gon, and other places. See what improvements may
 “ be made at Ceuta †.

“ Throw some money to the people when you are in
 “ Spain, and especially when you enter Madrid.

“ Don’t seem to be shocked at the strange figures you
 “ may see. Ridicule nothing: every country has its
 “ particular manners; and you will be soon familia-
 “ rized to what at first may appear most surprising.

“ Avoid, as much as possible, the granting of favours
 “ to those who give money in order to obtain them.
 “ Give with discretion and liberality; and never receive
 “ any presents, unless they be trifles. If it should some-
 “ times happen that you are obliged to receive them,
 “ be always sure, in a few days after, to return more
 “ considerable presents to those who gave them.

“ Have a strong box, in which you may deposit any
 “ thing particular, and keep the key of it yourself.

“ I shall conclude with one of the most important advices
 “ I can give you. Do not suffer yourself to be governed.
 “ Be master yourself. Have no favourite, nor Prime
 “ Minister. Hear and consult your Council; but de-
 “ cide yourself. And God, who hath made you a King,
 “ will give you such degrees of light and knowledge as

* This circumstance alone may serve to confound the many historians, who, on the faith of spurious memoirs written in Holland, have mentioned the pretended treaty, (signed by Philip V. before his departure) by which he ceded to his grandfather Flanders and the Milanese. *Voltaire.*

† A sea-port town of Africa, on the Barbary Coast, with a good harbour, belonging to Spain. It is situated on the Straights, opposite Gibraltar. *Translator.*

“ are

"are necessary for you, in proportion to the rectitude of your intentions *."

Louis XIV. was more remarkable for a just and noble manner of thinking, than for brilliant sallies of wit. Besides, we do not expect that a King should *say* memorable things, but that he should *do* them. What is necessary for every man in power is, that he should never suffer any one to leave his presence discontented, but to render himself agreeable to all who approach him. We cannot always do kind things, but we can always say obliging ones. Louis had acquired this excellent habit. Between him and his Court there was a perpetual interchange of all the graces that majesty could shew without degrading itself; and all the arts which an eagerness to serve, and a solicitude to please, could manifest without debasement. In the company of women, especially, he discovered a politeness and attention which increased that of his Courtiers; and with men he never missed an opportunity of saying such things as flattered their self-love, excited emulation, and left a deep impression on the mind.

One day the Dutchess of Burgundy, when she was very young, observing an Officer at supper, who was remarkably homely, began to jest on his ugliness with great freedom, and in a loud voice. "I think him," "Madam," said the king, in a still higher key, "one of the handsomest men in my Kingdom; for he is one of the bravest."

* The King of Spain profited by these wholesome advices: he was a virtuous Prince.

The author of the *Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon*, vol. V. p. 200, &c. accuses him of having partaken of "a scandalous supper, with the Princess of Ursino, the day after the death of his first wife," and of having intended to marry that lady, whom he loads with the most bitter invectives. It must be observed, that the princess of Ursino, who had been maid of honour to the deceased Queen, was then in the sixtieth year of her age. These popular reports, which ought to be buried in oblivion, become calumnies that deserve the most severe punishment, when people have the impudence to print them, and endeavour to sully the most respectable name, without the least proof. *Voltaire.*

A General Officer, a man of blunt address, and who had not polished his manners, even in the Court of Louis XIV. had lost an arm in an engagement, and was making his complaints to the King, who, however, had rewarded him as much as the loss of an arm could be recompensed. "I wish," said he, "I had lost my other arm likewise, that I might never serve your Majesty more." "I should have been extremely sorry for that," replied the King, "both on your account and my own;" which speech was followed by the grant of some favour. He was so far from saying disagreeable things, which in the mouth of a Prince are deadly arrows, that he never indulged himself even in the most innocent and harmless railleries, while private men daily use the most severe and cruel ones.

He took pleasure and knew how to bear his part in ingenious conversations, in impromptus, and agreeable songs; and he sometimes composed, extempore, little parodies on the *Airs* in vogue, such as the following:

Chez mon cadet de frère,
Le Chancelier Serrant
N'est pas trop nécessaire;
Et le sage Boifrant
Est celui qui sait plaire.

Observe my younger brother;
With Chancellor Serrant,
He's ever in a pother;
For 'tis the sage Boifrant
He still prefers to t'other.

And this other, which he made one day on dismissing the Council:

Le conseil à ses yeux à beau se présenter;
Si-tôt qu'il voit sa chienne, il quitte tout pour elle;
Rien ne peut l'arrêter;
Quand la chasse l'appelle.

His Ministers round him in judgement were sat,
At the cry of the hounds he adjourns the debate.
To the Council adieu,
When the chase is in view.

Thelc

These trifles serve at least to shew that the amusements of fancy composed one of the pleasures of his Court; that he partook in these avocations; and that he was as capable of living like a private man, as of acting the great monarch on the theatre of the world.

His letter to the Archbishop of Rheims, concerning the Marquis de Barbesieux, though wrote in a very careless stile, does more honour to his character, than the most ingenious thoughts could have done to his wit. He had given this young man the post of Secretary at War, which had been formerly possessed by his father, the Marquis de Louvois: but being soon dissatisfied with the conduct of his new Secretary, he resolved to correct him, without giving him too great a mortification. With this view he applied to his uncle, the Archbishop of Rheims, and desired him to advise his nephew; and shews himself a master informed of every thing, with the tenderness of a father.

“ I know, says he, what I owe to the memory of M. de Louvois *; but if your nephew does not alter his conduct, I shall be obliged to come to some resolution I should be sorry for; but there will be a necessity for it. He has talents; but does not make a good use of them. He spends too much time in giving entertainments to the Princes, instead of minding business; he neglects the public affairs for his pleasures; he makes the Officers wait too long in his antichamber; he speaks to them with haughtiness, and even sometimes with harshness.”

This is all that I remember of this letter, which I once saw in the original. It plainly shews, that Louis XIV. was not governed by his Ministers, as has been reported, but that he knew how to govern them.

He loved praises; and it were to be wished that Kings were more fond of them, that they might endeavour to

* These words contradict the infamous calumny of La Beaumelle, who dared to say that the Marquis de Louvois imagined Louis XIV. had poisoned him. This letter is probably to be found among the manuscripts left by M. Chauvelin, Keeper of the Seals. *Voltaire.*

deserve them. But Louis XIV. did not always swallow them, when they were too strong and excessive. When our Academy, which always gave him an account of the subject it proposed for prizes, shewed him the following, "Which of all the virtues of the King deserve the preference?" the King blushed, and would not allow the subject to be treated of. He suffered, it is true, the prologues of Quinault; but it was in the height of his glory, and at a time when the intoxication of the people was some apology for his own. Virgil and Horace, from gratitude, and Ovid, from a meanness of spirit, loaded Augustus with praises more extravagant, and, if we consider the proscriptions, much less deserved.

Had Corneille said to any of the Courtiers in Cardinal de Richelieu's chamber, "Tell the Cardinal that I understand poetry better than him," the Minister would never have forgiven him; and yet this is the very thing that Despreaux said openly to his Majesty, in a dispute that happened about some verses, which the King commended, and Despreaux condemned. "He is in the right," said the King; "he understands the subject better than I do."

The Duke de Vendôme had in his retinue a person called Villiers, one of those men of pleasure who make a merit of talking with a cynical freedom. He lodged at Versailles in the Duke's apartment: he was commonly called Villiers-Vendôme. This man openly condemned the taste of Louis XIV. in music, in painting, in architecture, in gardening, and in every thing else. If the King planted a grove, furnished an apartment, or constructed a fountain, Villiers found it to be ill-contrived, and expressed his disapprobation in very free terms. "It is strange," said the King, "that Villiers should have chosen my house to laugh at every thing I do." Having one day met him in the garden, "Well," said he to him, shewing him one of his new improvements, "has not this the good fortune to please you?" "No," said Villiers. "And yet," replied the King, "there are other people who are not so difficult." "That may be," returned Villiers; "every one to his fancy." The

King replied, with a smile, "It is impossible to please all the world *."

One day Louis XIV. playing at backgammon, had a doubtful throw. A dispute arose, and the Courtiers remained in the most profound silence. The Count de Grammont happened to come in. "Decide this question," said the King to him. "Sire," said the Count, "your Majesty is in the wrong." "How!" replied the King; "can you pronounce so peremptorily, before you know what the question is?" "Because," said the Count, "had the matter been in the least doubtful, all these gentlemen here would have given it for your Majesty."

The Duke of Antin distinguished himself in this age by a singular art, not of saying flattering things, but of doing them. The King went to pass a night at Petit-bourg †, when he found fault with a long alley of trees, which concealed the view of the river. The Duke caused them to be cut down in the night. Next morning the King was surprised at not seeing the trees which he had objected to. "It is," replied the Duke, "because your Majesty found fault with them, that you no longer behold them."

We have elsewhere remarked, that the same man observing that a pretty large wood at the end of the canal of Fontainebleau displeased the King, at the minute when his Majesty went to take a walk, every thing being ready for the purpose, he ordered the trees to be cut down, and in a moment they were levelled with the ground.

* The very becoming ease and carelessness of temper of Louis XIV. in such matters, must shew the inconsistency of an article told in some of the French Memoirs of these times, that Sir John Vanburgh was sent to the Bastille, and remained there five years, for publicly condemning the construction of Pont-neuf, which was one of the royal works.

It may be natural to suppose that the Knight studied architecture during his confinement there, for all his edifices bear a resemblance to that person—dull, massy, and heavy, according to the hint in Swift's epitaph upon him:

"Lie heavy on him, earth; for he
"Laid many a heavy load on thee." *Translator.*

† The Duke's country residence.

These

These are the strokes of an ingenious Courtier, and not of a flattering sycophant.

Louis XIV. has been accused of intolerable pride, for suffering the base of his statue in the Place des Victoires to be surrounded with slaves in fetters: but neither this statue, nor that in the Place Vendôme, were erected by him. The statue in the Place des Victoires is a monument of the greatness of soul and of the gratitude of the first Marshal de la Feuillade to his master. He expended on this statue five hundred thousand livres, amounting nearly to a million of our present money; and the City added as much more, to render the place regular. It seems equally unjust to impute to Louis XIV. the pride of this statue, and to find nothing but vanity and flattery in the magnanimity of the Marshal.

Nothing was taken notice of but the four slaves, tho' they represent vices subdued, as well as nations conquered; duelling abolished, heresy destroyed, &c. for so the inscription imports. They likewise celebrate the junction of the sea, and the peace of Nimeguen: they record benefits, rather than the exploits of war. Besides, it is an ancient practice among Sculptors, to place slaves at the feet of the statues of Kings. It would be better, indeed, to represent there free and happy subjects. But to conclude, we see slaves at the feet of the clement Henry IV. and of Louis XIII. at Paris: we see them at Leghorn under the statue of Ferdinand de Medicis, who never, sure, enslaved any nation; and we see them at Berlin, under the statue of an Elector who repulsed the Swedes, but made no conquests.

The neighbouring States of France, and even the French themselves, have with great injustice made Louis XIV. answerable for this usage. The inscription, *Viro immortalis*, "To the immortal man," has been accused of idolatry; as if that motto meant any thing more than the immortality of his glory. The inscription of Viviani, on his house at Florence, *Aedes à Deo datae*, "the house given by God," might appear still more idolatrous. It is no more, however, than an allusion to the

the surname, *Dieu-donné*, or *Deo-datus*, and to the verse of Virgil, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*.

With regard to the statue in the Place de Vendôme, it was erected by the City. The Latin inscriptions, on the four sides of its base, contain a more gross kind of flattery than the statue in the Place des Victoires. We there read, that Louis XIV. never took arms but with reluctance. To this adulation he solemnly gave the lie on his death-bed, by words which will be remembered longer than these inscriptions, which were unknown to him, and produced by the mean adulation of some men of letters.

The King had set apart the houses of this square for a public library. The place was too large: it had at first three sides, which were those of an immense palace, of which the walls were already built, when the calamities that happened in 1701, obliged the City to build private houses on the ruins of the palace which was already begun. Thus the Louvre was never finished, and the fountain and the obelisk, which Colbert intended to raise opposite to the portico of Perrault, never appeared, but in embryo; the beautiful portico of St. Gervais remained in obscurity; and most of the monuments of Paris fill us only with regret.

The nation wished that Louis XIV. had preferred his Louvre and his capital to the Palace of Versailles, which the Duke de Crequi called a *favourite without merit*. Posterity admires with the most grateful remembrance, the great and noble things he did for the public welfare; but our admiration is mixed with censure, when we behold all the magnificence and defects that Louis XIV. has introduced into his country palace.

From all we have said it appears, that Louis XIV. loved grandeur and glory, in every thing. A Prince who should perform as great things as Louis XIV. and yet be modest and humble, would be the first of Kings, and Louis only the second.

If he repented, on his death-bed, of having undertaken war without just reason, it must be owned that he did not judge by events; for, of all his wars, the most
just

just, and the most indispensable, that in 1701,* was the only unfortunate one.

He had by his marriage, besides the Dauphin, two sons and three daughters, who died in their infancy. His amours were more fruitful. There were only two of his natural children that died in the cradle; eight of them lived, were legitimated, and five of them had posterity. He had likewise, by a lady who lived much with Madame de Montespan, a daughter, whom he never acknowledged, and whom he married to a gentleman near Versailles, of the name of La Queue.

Some people suspected, and not without reason, that a certain Nun, in the Abbey of Moret, was his daughter. She was very swarthy, and resembled him in other respects†. The King, when he placed her in the Convent, gave her a portion of twenty thousand crowns. The opinion she had of her birth, gave her an air of pride, of which the Superiors of the Convent complained. Madame de Maintenon, in a journey to Fontainebleau, went to the Convent of Moret; and, willing to inspire this Nun with more humility, endeavoured to banish the idea that nourished her pride. “Madam, (said the Nun to her) the trouble which a lady of your rank takes to come on purpose to tell me that I am not the King’s daughter, fully convinces me that I am.”

This anecdote the Nuns of Moret remember to this day.

Such a detail would be tedious to a philosopher; but curiosity, that weakness so incident to mankind, ceases almost to be one, when it has for its objects times and persons which attract the attention of posterity.

* It was so far from being just, that it derived its immediate source from an open violation of treaties, and his pursuing a measure which undoubtedly endangered the liberties of Europe: * *Smollet*.

† The author saw this lady in company with Mr. de Caumartin, Intendant of the Finances, who had a right of entering into the inner apartments of the Convent. *Voltaire*.

C H A P. XXIX.

Of the Interior Government, Justice, Commerce, Police, Laws, Military Discipline, Marine, &c.

THIS justice we owe to persons of a public character who have done good to the age they have lived in, that we should view the point from which they have set out, in order to form the better idea of the changes they have produced in their country: Posterity is for ever indebted to them for the examples they have given, even though they should be surpassed. This just tribute is their only recompence. It is certain that the love of this glory animated Louis XIV. when, beginning to govern by himself, he had resolved to reform his Kingdom, embellish his Court, and perfect the Arts.

He not only made it a rule to himself to confer regularly with each of his Ministers, but every man of character might obtain a private audience of him, and all citizens had a liberty of presenting their petitions and their projects. The petitions were received at first by a Master of Requests, who noted them in the margin, and they were afterwards sent to the offices of the Ministers. The projects were examined in Council, when they deserved it, and their authors were frequently admitted to discuss the points they contained with the Ministers, in presence of the King. Thus we see a correspondence subsisting between the Prince and the people, notwithstanding his absolute power*.

Louis XIV. formed and accustomed himself to business; and this labour was so much the more pain-

* And this is the only method to render absolute power permanent. It consists in the *will*, more than the *deed*. He must be a mere tyro in politics, who does not know that an armed force, capable of mastering the people, must be able also to master the Prince. Frequent instances of this were seen in the decadence of the Roman Empire; and the Spahis and Janizaries have afforded examples of it in the Ottoman one. *Translator.*

ful, as it was new to him, and as the seductions of pleasure might easily distract him. He wrote the first dispatches himself to his Ambassadors. The most important letters were often afterwards minuted with his own hand, and none were written in his name, which he did not cause to be read to him.

Scarcely had Colbert, after the fall of Fouquet, re-established order in the Finances, before the King remitted to his people all the arrears due on the imposts, from 1647 to 1656, and especially three millions of the *taille**. Some other enormous duties were abolished for five hundred thousand crowns a-year. Thus the Abbé de Choisy seems either to have been very ill-informed, or to be guilty of injustice, when he says that the public taxes were not diminished; for it is certain that the load was lessened by these remissions, though the income might have been increased by good order in the œconomy of them.

The care of the first President Bellievre, assisted by the liberalities of the Dutchess d'Aiguillon, and several citizens, had established the General Hospital. The King augmented it, and caused the like edifices to be erected in all the principal towns of the Kingdom.

The great roads, till that time impassable, were not neglected, and by degrees they have become what they are now, under the reign of Louis XV. the admiration of foreigners. On whatever side you come out of Paris, you travel at present from about fifty to sixty leagues, a few places excepted, through firm roads bordered with trees. The roads made by the ancient Romans were more durable, indeed, but not so spacious nor so beautiful.

Colbert's genius turned chiefly towards commerce, which was but weakly cultivated, and its grand principles were not yet sufficiently known. The English, and the Dutch still more, carried on in their own bot-

* *La Taille* is a term in the French Finances, which does not specify any particular kind of impost. But it is enough for the purpose, that he relieved a grievance upon the people, no matter of what nature or denomination it was. *Translator.*

toms almost the whole traffic of France. The Dutch especially loaded with our merchandises in our ports, and bartered them all over Europe. The King began, from the year 1662, to exempt his subjects from an impost called the *duty of freight*, which all the vessels of foreigners payed; and he otherwise enabled them to transport their commodities themselves, at less expence. It was then that maritime commerce had its birth. The Council of Commerce, which still subsists, was then established, and the King presided in it every fifteenth day.

Dunkirk and Marseilles were declared free ports; and soon afterwards this advantage drew the trade of the Levant to Marseilles, and that of the North to Dunkirk.

In 1664 was formed a West-India Company, and that of the East-Indies was established the same year. Before this time, the luxuries of France had been tributary to the industry of the Dutch. The partisans of the old œconomy*, who were timid, ignorant, and of narrow views, declaimed in vain against a commerce in which a continual exchange was made of permanent cash for perishable commodities. They did not reflect that these merchandises of India, now become necessary, would be more dearly purchased from foreign importers. We carry indeed to the East-Indies more specie than we bring home from thence; and by that means Europe is impoverished. But this money comes from Peru and Mexico; it is the price of our goods carried to Cadiz, and there remains more of this cash in France, than is exported to the East Indies.

The King gave more than six millions of our present currency to the Company. He invited rich people to embark in it. The Queens, the Princes, and all the Court, furnished two millions of the coin of that time. The superior Courts gave twelve hundred thousand livres; the Financiers, two millions; the Company of Merchants, six hundred and fifty thousand livres; so that the whole nation seconded their King.

This Company has always subsisted; for though the Dutch had taken Pondicherry, in 1694, and the commerce of the Indies has languished from thence, it re-

* Parsimony.

newed its vigour under the Regency of the Duke of Orleans. Pondicherry has become a rival to Batavia; and this India Company, founded with extreme difficulty by the great Colbert, and re-established in our days by singular revolutions, is now become one of the greatest resources of the Kingdom. The King likewise erected a Northern Company, in the year 1669: he lodged funds in it, as he did in that of the Indies. Hence it is very plain, that commerce was then thought no disgrace, when the greatest families interested themselves in these establishments, after the example of the Monarch.

The West-India Company was no less encouraged than the others. The King furnished the tenth part of all the funds.

He granted thirty francs per ton for exportation, and forty for importation. All those who had vessels built in the ports of the Kingdom, received five livres for each ton they contained.

One cannot forbear being very much surprised, that the Abbé Choisy has censured these establishments in his Memoirs, which must not be read without some diffidence*. We are now sensible of all that the Minister Colbert did for the benefit of the Kingdom; but at that time we were entirely ignorant of it: he laboured for an ungrateful people. They were much more disgusted with him at Paris for the suppression of certain rents on the Town-house, purchased at a cheap rate since the year 1656, and for the discredit into which the Exchequer Bills fell that were squandered under the preceding Minister, than they were sensible of the general good he did. There were then more evils than good ci-

* The Abbé Castel de St. Pierre expresses himself thus, p. 105, of his manuscripts intitled *Annales Politiques*. "Colbert, that laborious Minister, by neglecting the Companies of maritime commerce, that he might attend the more to the cultivation of the speculative sciences and fine arts, took the shadow for the substance." But Colbert was so far from neglecting maritime commerce, that it was he alone who established it. No Minister ever took less the shadow for the substance, than he did. This is to controvert a truth acknowledged in France, and in all Europe.

This Note was written in August 1756. *Voltaire*.

tizens. Few people had any regard to the public advantage. It is well known what a fascinating power self-interest has upon the views, and how it contracts the mind: I do not say only the interest of a merchant, but that of a Company, and even a City. The rude answer of a merchant named Hazon, (who, upon being consulted by this Minister, told him, "You have found the carriage upset on one side, and have overturned it on the other") was still told and credited when I was a young man; and this anecdote is to be met with in *Moréri*.

The philosophic spirit, introduced very late into France, reformed the prejudices of the people, so as to make them at length do entire justice to the memory of this great man. He had the same exactness as the Duke of Sully, but with views much more extensive. The one was acquainted only with œconomy, but the other knew how to form great establishments. Sully, from the peace of Vervins, had no other difficulty but to preserve an exact and strict measure of œconomy in the State; but Colbert was obliged to find prompt and immense resources for the war of 1667, and for that of 1672. Henry IV. seconded the œconomy of Sully; but the magnificence of Louis XIV. counteracted that of Colbert.

Almost every thing was either repaired, or created, in his time. The reduction of interest on the twentieth denier, on the loans given to the King and particular persons, was a sensible proof of an abundant circulation in the year 1665. He endeavoured both to enrich and people France. Marriages in the country were encouraged by an exemption from the *taille**, during the space of five years, for such as would settle themselves at the age of twenty; and every father of a family who had ten children, was exempted for the remainder of his life, because he gave more to the State by the labour of them, than he could possibly have done in paying the *taille*. This regulation ought to have continued for ever unrepealed.

* See the Note in page 231.

From 1663 till 1672, each year of this Ministry was distinguished by the establishment of some manufacture or other. The fine cloths, which before had been brought from England and Holland, were fabricated in Abbeville. The King advanced to the manufacturer, for each working loom, two thousand livres, besides considerable gratifications. In the year 1669, about forty-four thousand and two hundred woollen looms were reckoned to be in the Kingdom. The silk manufactures, then brought to perfection, produced a commerce of above fifty millions currency of that time: and the advantage drawn from it was not only very much above the prime cost of the silk necessary in their fabrication, but the cultivation of mulberry-trees soon put the manufacturers into a condition of dispensing with foreign silk for the warp* of their stuffs.

From the year 1666 they began to make as fine glasses as at Venice, which city had always before furnished the whole consumption throughout Europe; and they soon made pieces of this kind, which, for largeness and beauty, could never be imitated in any other place.

The carpets of Turkey and Persia were surpassed at the Savonnerie†. The tapestry of Flanders was inferior to that of the Gobelins; which vast enclosure so called, was filled at that time with above eight hundred workmen; and of these, three hundred were lodged in it. The best painters had the direction of the work, either from their own designs, or those of the ancient masters of Italy. Within this enclosure of the Gobelins, was also made a beautiful kind of Mosaic work; and the art of marquetry, or inlaying, was carried to its perfection.

Besides this fine manufactory of tapestry in the Gobelins, another was set up at Beauvais. The first manufacturer had six hundred workmen in that town; and the King made him a present of sixty thousand livres.

* Commonly called the chain. *Translator.*

† Savonnerie—a place in Paris so called, from the soap-works formerly carried on there. *Ibid.*

Sixteen hundred girls were employed in lace-works, and thirty principal workwomen were brought from Venice, and two hundred out of Flanders, who had thirty-six thousand livres given them for their encouragement.

The manufactory of the cloths of Sedan, and that of the tapestry-hangings of Abuffon, degenerated and fallen into decay, were re-established. The rich stuffs, in which silk is mixed with gold and silver, were fabricated at Lyons and Tours with a renewed industry.

It is a thing well known, that the Ministry purchased in England the secret of that ingenious machine by which stockings are made ten times faster than by knitting. Tin-plates, steel, fine Delft-ware, and Morocco leather, which were always brought from abroad, were made in France. But the Calvinists, who possessed the secret of making tin-plates and steel, carried it away with them, in the year 1686*, and imparted this advantage, with several others, to foreign nations.

The King every year expended about eight hundred thousand of our livres upon the different works of taste which were fabricated in his Kingdom, of which he made presents.

Paris was then very different from what it is at present; for it wanted light, security, and cleanliness. It was necessary to make provision for the continual cleansing of the streets; for lighting of them, which is done by means of 5000 lamps lighted up every night; for paving the city quite through, building two new gates, repairing the old ones, and causing a continual guard on foot and on horseback to keep watch for the security of the citizens. The King took the whole upon himself, allotting funds for these necessary expences. In 1667, he created a Magistrate solely for taking care of the Police. The greatest part of the large cities of Europe did not follow these examples, till a long time after; and none have equalled them: so that no city is paved like Paris; and Rome itself is not lighted at all.

* Upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which was in 1685.
Translator.

Every thing began to have so great a tendency to perfection, that the second Lieutenant of Police * that was made in Paris, acquired in that post a reputation which set him in the rank of those who have done honour to this age; and indeed he was a man who had a capacity for every thing. He was afterwards in the Ministry, and he would have made a good General. The place of Lieutenant of the Police was below his birth and merit, yet it gained him a much greater name than the inconsiderable post in the Ministry which he obtained near the end of his days.

Here we ought to observe, that M. d'Argenson was by no means the only person of the ancient Knighthood, who had been in the public magistracy. France is almost the only country of Europe, where the ancient Nobility have often assumed the long robe. All other nations, merely from the remains of Gothic barbarism, are still ignorant that there is a dignity in this profession.

The King still carried on the buildings at the Louvre, St. Germain's, and Versailles, from the year 1661. Particular persons, after his example, erected in Paris a thousand superb and commodious edifices. Of these the number was so increased, that adjacent to the environs of the Palais Royal, and those of St. Sulpice, there were formed in Paris two new towns, very much superior to the old one. It was at this time that they invented the magnificent conveniency of coaches adorned with glasses, and hung upon springs; so that a Citizen of Paris could convey himself through this large city with more pomp than the first Romans displayed in their triumphal processions to the Capitol. This custom was soon after received throughout Europe; and becoming now very common, is no longer a piece of luxury.

Louis XIV. had a taste for architecture, gardening, and sculpture; and this shewed itself in all those to be

* M. d'Argenson

great and noble*'. From the time that the Comptroller-General Colbert had, in the year 1664, the direction of the buildings, which is properly the department of the Arts, he applied himself to second the schemes of his master†. The first work undertaken was to finish the Louvre. Francis Mansard, one of the greatest architects France ever produced, was fixed upon to construct the vast edifices that were projected for it. He would not undertake this task, unless he had liberty given him to rebuild whatever should appear to him defective in the execution. This diffidence of himself, which might have been attended with too great an expence, was the reason for excluding him. The Chevalier Bernini was therefore sent for from Rome, an artist whose name was famous on account of the colonnade which surrounds the area of St. Peter's Church, the equestrian statue of Constantine, and the Navonne fountain. Equipages were furnished him for his journey. He was conducted to Paris as a man who came to do honour to France. He received, besides five louis-d'ors a-day, for the eight months that he staid there, a present of fifty thousand crowns, with a pension of two thousand more,

* Voltaire seems to set the opinions of M. Villiers-Vendome, and Sir John Vanburgh, at nought, here. See first Note in page 226. *Translator.*

† The Abbé St. Pierre, in his *Annales Politiques*, page 104 of his manuscript, says, "That these things plainly shew the number of 'luggards, as also their taste for laziness, which serves to maintain 'and cherish other kinds of drones; that this is the condition of the 'Italian nation, at present, where these arts are carried to an high 'degree of perfection; for they are a poor, lazy, indolent, vain 'people, occupied about fopperies, &c."

These rude reflections, wrote in language equally rude, are void of justice. The time in which the Italians succeeded best in these arts, was under the Medicis, while Venice was in its most warlike and opulent state: then it was that Italy produced great warriors and illustrious artists of all kinds. And it was also in the flourishing year of Louis XIV. that the Arts have been carried to the greatest perfection. The Abbé St. Pierre has mistaken a great number of things, and has given grounds for regretting that his judgment has not always seconded his good intentions. *Voltaire.*

and

and one of five hundred for his son*. This generosity of Louis XIV. to Bernini, was much greater than the munificence of Francis I. to Raphael. Bernini, by way of acknowledgment, made since at Rome the equestrian statue of the King which is to be seen at Versailles. But when he came to Paris with so much parade, as the only person worthy of being employed by Louis XIV. he was very much surprised to see the design of the front of the Louvre on the side of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, which soon after, when executed, became one of the most august monuments of architecture in the world. Claude Perrault had given this design, which was executed by Louis le Vau and d'Orbay. He invented the machines with which the stones of fifty-two feet in length were raised, that form the pediment of this majestic edifice. Sometimes there is fetched from afar what is to be met with at home. No palace of Rome has an entrance comparable to that of the Louvre, for which we are indebted to this Perrault†, whom Boileau has attempted to render ridiculous. Travellers allow that the most celebrated villas of Italy are much inferior to the single Castle of Maisons, which Francis Mansard had built at so little expence. Bernini was magnificently recompensed, but did not deserve it; he only gave designs, which were not executed.

The King, while the works at the Louvre were carrying on, the completion of which was so much desired; while he was making a town at Versailles, near this palace, which has cost so many millions; while building Trianon and Marli, and ordering so many other edifices to be embellished; caused the Observatory

* Mansard's reparations could scarcely have cost so much as these gratuities, besides keeping the money in the Kingdom. *Translator.*

† Claude Perrault was a Member of the Royal Academy at Paris, and bred a Physician, though he did not practise that art. He made some noble designs in architecture, and was allowed to be a man of genius by all the world but Boileau, who, from private pique, has satirized both him and his brother Charles; a want of candour in Boileau, which greatly detracts from the merit of his genius. *Smollet.*

to be erected, which was begun in 1666, after the time that he established the Academy of Sciences. But the most glorious monument, for its utility, grandeur, and the difficulties encountered in the execution, was the Canal of Languedoc, which joins the two seas, and falls into the port of Cette, constructed for the receiving of its waters. These works were begun in the year 1664, and continued without interruption till 1681.

The founding of the Hospital of Invalids, and the Chapel of that structure, the finest in Paris; the establishment of St. Cyr, the last of so great a number of works constructed by this Monarch; are alone sufficient to render his name revered. Four * thousand soldiers, and a great number of Officers, who find in one of these grand asylums comfort in their old age, and relief for their wounds and wants; two hundred and fifty daughters of Noblemen, who receive an education worthy of them, in the other; are so many voices that celebrate the praises of Louis XIV. The establishment of St. Cyr will be surpassed by that which Louis XV. has just formed for the education of five hundred Gentlemen; but so far from causing St. Cyr to be forgotten, it will cause it to be the more remembered. This will be but the art of doing good brought to perfection.

Louis XIV. was at the same time desirous to perform greater things, and those of more general utility, but more difficult in the execution; and that was to reform the laws. In this labour he employed the Chancellor Seguier, Lamoignon, Talon, Bignon, and more especially the Counsellor of State, Puffort. He himself sometimes assisted at their assemblies. The year 1667 was at the same time the epocha of his first laws, and first conquests. The civil ordonnance appeared first; next the code of the waters and forests; then the statutes for all the manufactures; the criminal ordonnance; the code of commerce, and that of the marine. All

* The Abbé de St. Pierre censures that establishment which almost every nation has imitated. *Voltaire.*

these followed nearly one year after another. There was likewise a new jurisprudence established in favour of the negroes of our Colonies; a race of men who had not yet enjoyed the common rights of humanity.

A profound knowledge in the law is not to be acquired by a Sovereign. But the King was acquainted with the principal statutes; he possessed the spirit of them, and knew how either to maintain or mitigate them, properly. He often decided the causes of his subjects, not only in the councils of the Secretaries of State, but in that called the *Conseil des Parties*. There are two celebrated determinations of his, in which he decided against himself.

In the first, which was given in 1680, the case was in a process between him and certain inhabitants of Paris, who had built upon his ground. He decided, that the houses should remain to them, with the land belonging to himself, which he ceded to them.

The other related to a Persian merchant, called Roupli, whose goods had been seized by the Commissaries of his Revenue in the year 1687. His decision was, that all should be restored to him, and the King added a present of three thousand crowns. Roupli carried his admiration and gratitude with him into his own country; and when Mehemet Rizabeg was afterwards at Paris, we found him acquainted with this fact by common report*.

The abolition of duels was one of the greatest services he did to his country. These combats had been formerly authorised even by the Parliament and by the Church; and though they had been prohibited, from the time of Henry IV. yet this fatal custom prevailed still more than ever. The famous combat of the La Frettes, four against four, in 1663, was that which determined Louis XIV. not to pardon it any longer. His happy severity corrected, by degrees, our own nation, and even

* Both of these instances are very imperfectly related; for in the first case, the King appears rather to have acted generously, than justly; and in the second, it is not said whether the Commissaries had a right to seize the Persian's goods, or not. *Translator.*

the neighbouring nations, who conformed themselves to our wise customs, after having adopted our bad ones. There are in Europe a hundred times fewer duels at this day, than in the time of Louis XIII.

He was the legislator both of his people and of his armies. It was strange, that, before his time, uniforms among the troops was a thing not known. It was he who in the first year of his administration ordered, that each regiment should be distinguished, either by the colour of their clothes, or by different marks; a regulation which was adopted soon after by all nations. It was he † also who instituted the Brigadiers, and put the corps of which the Household-troops of the King are formed, upon the footing they are on at present. He formed a company of Mousquetaers out of the guards of Cardinal Mazarin, and fixed at five hundred men the number of the two companies, to which he gave the clothing they still retain.

Under him were made no Constables, and, after the death of the Duke d'Epemon, no Colonel-Generals of the Infantry; those were become too much masters: this he would have himself to be; and so he ought. Marshal Grammont, who was only Colonel of Horse of the French Guards under the Duke d'Epemon, and took orders from that Colonel-General, for the future took them only from the King, and was the first who had the title of Colonel of the Guards. He himself installed those Colonels at the head of their regiments, by giving them, with his own hands, a gilt gorget and pike, and afterwards a spontoon, or a kind of half-pike, when the use of the former weapon was abolished. He instituted the grenadiers, at first to the number of four in each company of the King's regiment, which is of his own creation; afterwards he formed a company of grenadiers in each regiment of foot; he gave two companies of them to the French Guards, which at present have three. He very much augmented the corps of dragoons, and gave

† The Abbé de St. Pierre, in his *Annals*, speaks only of this institution of Brigadiers and forgets all that Louis XIV. did for the military discipline. *Voltaire*.

them a Colonel-General. We must not forget the establishment of studs for breeding horses, in the year 1667, which had been quite neglected before that time, and were afterwards a great resource for remounting the cavalry. This important resource has been since too much neglected.

The use of the bayonet at the end of the musket, is an institution of the King's. Before his time it was used occasionally, and some companies only had this weapon; there was no uniform usage nor exercise with it: all was left to the General's discretion. The pike was looked upon as the most formidable weapon. The first regiment which had bayonets, and was trained to this exercise, was that of the Fusileers, established in the year 1671.

The manner in which the artillery is now served, is entirely owing to him. He founded schools for this purpose at Douay, afterwards at Metz and Strasburg; and the regiment of artillery was at length filled with Officers, almost all of them capable of conducting a siege. All the magazines of the Kingdom were stored, and every year furnished with eight hundred thousand weight of powder. He formed a regiment of bombardiers, and one of hussars, which, before his time, were known only among our enemies.

In 1688, he established thirty regiments of militia, furnished and equipped by the Communities. These corps of militia exercised themselves in war, without neglecting the cultivation of the lands.

Companies of Cadets were entertained in most parts of the frontiers; there they learned the mathematics, designing, and all the exercises, and did also the duty of soldiers. This institution lasted ten years. At length they were tired of these youths, as it was too difficult a matter to discipline them; but the corps of Engineers which the King formed, and to which he gave the regulations still followed by them, is an establishment that will last for ever. Under him the art of fortification was

carried to perfection by Marshal Vauban * and his pupils, who surpassed Count Pagan †. He constructed or repaired an hundred and fifty fortified places.

In order to maintain military discipline, he created Inspectors General, and afterwards Directors, who gave an account of the state of the troops; and from their reports it was seen whether the Commissaries of War had done their duty.

He instituted the Order of St. Louis, an honourable recompence, often courted more than fortune. The Hotel of Invalids crowned the cares which he took for meriting to be well served.

It was owing to such cares as these, that from the year 1672 he had an hundred and fourscore thousand regular troops; and that by augmenting his forces in proportion as the number and power of his enemies increased, he had at length to the amount of four hundred and fifty thousand men in arms, including the troops of the marine.

Before his time, no such numerous armies had been ever seen. His enemies opposed him with armies of equal force, though there was not so close an union among them. He shewed what France alone could do; and he had always either great success, or great resources.

He was the first who, in time of peace, gave a perfect idea and complete lesson of war. In 1698 he assembled at Compeigne seventy thousand men, where he performed all the operations of a campaign; and this was in order to instruct his three grandsons. But luxury rendered this military school a sumptuous festival.

The same attention which he shewed in forming of

* Anthony le Prêtre, Chevalier Count de Vauban, is so well known as the greatest Engineer of his time (if Cohorn does not contest that pre-eminence) that we need not dwell upon the particulars of his character. *Smollet*.

See the note under the article Vauban, in the Catalogue of the French Writers. *Translator*.

† He was a distinguished Engineer, and wrote a celebrated treatise on fortification, from the mathematical principles of which all subsequent improvements have been deduced. He was cotemporary with Vauban, but greatly his senior. *Ibid*.

numerous and well-disciplined land-armies, even before he was engaged in any war, he likewise exerted in acquiring the empire of the sea. First, the few vessels which Cardinal Mazarin had suffered to rot in the harbours, were repaired; some others were bought in Holland and Sweden; and after the third year of his government, he sent his maritime forces to make an attempt at Gigeri, on the coast of Africa. The Duke of Beaufort cleared the sea of pirates, in the year 1665; and two years after, France had in its ports sixty ships of war.

This was only a beginning. But whilst new regulations and new efforts were making, he already feels all his force. He was unwilling to consent that his ships should strike their flag to that of England. The Council of King Charles II. in vain insisted upon this right, which force, industry, and time, had given to the English. Louis XIV. writes thus to the Count d'Estrade, his Ambassador: "The King of England and his Chancellor may see what my forces are; but they do not see my heart. I set every thing at nought in comparison with my honour."

He said no more than what he was resolved to maintain; and, in fact, the usurpation of the English gave way to natural right and the firmness of Louis XIV. Every thing was equal between these two nations at sea. But, while he would have an equality kept up with England, he maintains his superiority over Spain. He obliges the Spanish Admirals to strike to his flag, by virtue of the solemn precedency agreed upon in 1662*.

Pains, however, were used on all sides for the establishment of a marine capable of justifying such haughty sentiments. The town and port of Rochfort were built at the mouth of the Charente. Sailors were enrolled and ranked by classes, who were to serve at one time in merchant ships, and at another in the royal navy; and there were soon found to be sixty thousand of these, actually registered.

Councils of construction were established in the ports,

* See Chap. VII. page 95, Vol. I.

for giving vessels the most commodious form. Five marine arsenals were built at Brest, Rochfort, Toulon, Dunkirk, and Havre de Grace. In 1672, there were sixty ships of the line, and forty frigates. In the year 1681, an hundred and ninety-eight ships of war, including the tenders, and thirty galleys, were in the harbour of Toulon, either equipped, or ready to be so. Eleven thousand regular troops served on board the ships; and the galleys had three thousand. There were an hundred and sixty thousand men registered by classes, for all the different services of the marine. The following years there were reckoned to be in the service a thousand gentlemen, or young men of family, doing the duty of soldiers on board the ships, and learning in the ports whatever might qualify them for the art of navigation and the working of a ship: these were the Marine Guards: they were upon sea what the Cadets were upon land; and were instituted in the year 1672, but in small numbers. This corps has been the school which has produced the best Officers for the service of the navy.

There had not been yet any Marshals of France in the corps of the marine; and this evinces how this essential part of the forces of France had been neglected. John d'Estree was the first Marshal, in 1681. It appears, that one of the great objects of attention in Louis XIV. was to inspire all ranks with that emulation without which every thing languishes.

In all the naval fights in which the French fleets were engaged, the advantage was always on their side, till the battle of La Hogue, in 1692, when the Count de Tourville, following the orders of the Court, attacked with forty-four sail a fleet of ninety English and Dutch ships. There was no standing against numbers: fourteen capital ships of the first-rank were lost; which being run aground, ~~were~~ but, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. No withstanding this check, the maritime force was still preserved; but it declined in the war for the Succession*. Cardinal Fleury neglected it since,

* The succession to the Spanish Monarchy. *Translator.*

during

during the leisure of a happy peace, the only favourable opportunity of re-establishing it.

These naval forces were of use to protect commerce. The Colonies of Martinico, St. Domingo, and Canada, before in a languishing condition, now flourished; and with an advantage which till then had not been hoped for; for, from the year 1635 to 1665, these Colonies had been an expence to the State.

In 1664, the King sent a Colony to Cayenne, and soon after another to Madagascar. He tried all methods for repairing the loss and misfortune which France had laboured under for a long time by neglecting the sea, whilst her neighbours had erected empires for themselves at the extremities of the earth.

From this single retrospect, we see what changes Louis XIV. had introduced into the State; changes extremely advantageous, as they still subsist. His Ministers had an emulation among themselves who should second him best. The whole detail, the whole execution, was undoubtedly owing to them, but the general arrangement to himself. It is certain, that the Magistrates would not have reformed the laws; the finances would not have been restored again to order; discipline introduced into the armies; a general police into the kingdom; that there would have been no fleets; the arts would not have been encouraged; and all this in concert, and at the same time, with perseverance, and under different Ministers, if there had not been found a master who had in general all these grand views, with a will determined to accomplish them.

He did not separate his own glory from the advantage of France, nor look upon the Kingdom with the same eye as a Lord does upon his lands, from which he drains all he can, that he may live luxuriously. Every King who loves glory, loves the public good. ~~He~~ had no longer Colbert and Louvois, when, towards the year 1698, he ordered, with a view to the instruction of the Duke of Burgundy, that each Intendant should give a circumstantial description of his respective Province; by which means an exact account might be obtained of the

Kingdom, and the true number of its inhabitants ascertained. The work was useful, though all the Intendants had not the capacity and attention of M. de Laimognon de Blville. Had the views of the King been so fully answered, with regard to each Province, as they had been by this Magistrate in the enumeration of the people of Languedoc, this collection of memoirs would have been one of the noblest monuments of the age. Some of them are well done; but a plan was wanting, by which all the Intendants were to be subjected to the same order. It had been a thing much to be desired, that each had given, in columns, a state of the number of inhabitants in every Province, also that of the nobles, citizens, labourers, artificers, works of art, the beasts of every sort, the good, middling, and bad lands, the whole clergy, regular and secular, their revenues, with those of the towns and communities.

All these objects are confounded in the greatest part of the memoirs which have been given: the matters in them are not canvassed thoroughly, and are done with little exactness. One is often obliged to seek with labour for the proper lights he wants, and which a Minister ought to find ready at hand. and perceive by a single glance, that he may easily discover the forces, the wants, and the resources. The project was excellent, and an uniform execution of it would have been of the greatest utility.

This then in general is what Louis XIV. did and attempted, that he might render his own nation more flourishing. It seems to me, that one cannot behold all these labours and all these efforts without some acknowledgment, and being animated with the love of the public good, which inspired them. Let us but represent to ourselves what the state of the Kingdom was in the days of the Fronde, and what it is at present. Louis XIV. did more good to his nation, than twenty of his predecessors put together, and yet it falls infinitely short of what might have been done. The war, which was ended by the peace of Ryfwick, began the ruin of that commerce
which

which his Minister Colbert had established, and the War of the Succession completed it.

Had he employed for the embellishment of Paris and finishing the Louvre, those immense sums expended on the aqueducts and the works of Maintenon for conveying of water to Versailles—works left unfinished and become useless; had he laid out at Paris the fifth part of what it cost to force Nature at Versailles; Paris would be, throughout its whole extent, as beautiful as it is on the side of the Tuilleries and the Pont-Royal, and would have been the most magnificent city in the world.

It was a great work to have reformed the laws; but chicane could not be crushed by justice. The Government once thought of making jurisprudence uniform: it is so already in criminal matters, in those of commerce, and in the forms of process; it might be so likewise in the laws which regulate the property of the subject. It is a great inconvenience, that the same tribunal has more than an hundred different customs to give decisions upon. The rights of lands, either equivocal or burthensome, or which clog society, still continue, as the remains of the feudal government, which itself subsists no longer. These are the rubbish of a Gothic building fallen to ruins.

Not that it is pretended the different orders of the State ought to be subjected to the same law; for we are very sensible, that the usages of the noblesse, the clergy, the magistrates, and those who till the soil, should be different. But it is undoubtedly to be wished for, that each order should have its uniform law throughout the Kingdom, that what is just and true in Champagne, may not be looked upon as unjust and false in Normandy. Uniformity in all sorts of Administrations is a perfection; but the difficulties of this great work have deterred from the attempt.

Louis XIV. might have more easily dispensed with the dangerous resource of the Farmers of the revenues, to which he was compelled by the constant anticipation of his revenues, as may be seen in the Chapter of the Finances.

Had

Had he not believed that he was sufficiently able, merely by his own authority, to oblige a million of men to change their religion, France had not lost so many subjects *. This country, however, notwithstanding its various shocks and losses, is at present the most flourishing on the face of the earth †; because all the good which Louis XIV. did, is still subsisting; and the evil, which it was difficult for him to avoid in turbulent times, has been repaired. In fine, Posterity, who pass judgment on Kings, and whose opinions they ought always to have before their eyes, will allow, upon weighing the virtues and foibles of this Monarch, that though he had been too much praised in his life-time, he deserved to be so for ever; and that he was worthy of the statue erected to him at Montpelier, with a Latin inscription to this effect: “*Lo Louis the Great, after his death.*” Don Ullaris, a Politician, who has written on the finances and the commerce of Spain, calls Louis XIV. *un homme prodigieux*, “an astonishing man.”

All the changes which we have just now seen pointed out in the government, and in all the orders of the State, must necessarily have produced a very considerable one in the manners of the people. The spirit of faction, fury, and rebellion, which possessed the nation from the time of Francis II. became a spirit of emulation for serving the Prince. The Lords who possessed great estates, being no longer canonized ‡ upon them, and the Governors of Provinces having no longer any important posts to bestow, each individual studied to deserve no other favours than those of the Sovereign, and the State became one regular whole, every line of which terminated in the center.

* See the Chapter of Calvinism. *French Note.*

† This is an assertion to which no British subject will subscribe. *Small.*

‡ The meaning of this expression is, that they were not then resident upon them, as formerly, and consequently possessed not that sway and influence in the Provinces, which might render them too powerful in the State, and too strong opposers of despotism.—*Translator.*

This

This was what saved the Court from factions and conspiracies, which had troubled the State during so many years. Under the administration of Louis XIV. there was but one plot, in 1674, which was contrived by La Truaumont, a gentleman of Normandy ruined by debauchery and debt: he was joined by one of the house of Rohan, Great Huntsman of France*, a man of much courage, but little conduct. The haughtiness and harshness of the Marquis de Louvois had provoked him to such a degree, that on quitting his audience he ran foaming and frantic to Monsieur de Caumartin, and throwing himself upon a couch, "It must be," said he, "that this --- Louvois or I should die." Caumartin regarded this only as a sudden transport of resentment, which might subside; but the next day, this same young man asking him whether he thought the people of Normandy were well affected to Government, he began to suspect some dangerous design to be in agitation. "The days of the Fronde," replied he, "are over; so, believe me, that you will only sacrifice yourself, and nobody will have any compassion for you." The young man believed him not, and rashly engaged in the conspiracy of La Truaumont. In this plot were concerned only the Chevalier de Preaux, nephew to La Truaumont, who, seduced by his uncle, also seduced his mistress, the Marchioness de Villiers. Their aim and hopes neither were, nor could be, to form a party in the Kingdom. They only intended to sell and deliver up Quillebeuf to the Dutch, and introduce the enemy into Normandy. This was rather a base treason, ill-planned, than a conspiracy. The punishment of all the criminals was the only event which this mad and fruitless affair produced, of which there is hardly at present any remembrance left.

If there were any seditions in the Provinces, they were only feeble tumults of the people, which were easily repressed. Even the Huguenots were always quiet, till the time that their churches were demolished.

* Called the Master of the Buckhounds.

At length the King succeeded so far as to make, out of a nation till then turbulent, a peaceable people, who were dangerous only to the enemy, after having been so to their Princes for above an hundred years. Their manners became civilized, without abating their courage.

The houses which the nobility built, or bought, in Paris, and their ladies who lived there with dignity, formed schools of politeness, which drew by degrees the young people from that tavern-life which had been the prevailing mode for a long time before, and only served to encourage a frontless debauchery. Men no longer depend on such trifles, that the custom of riding on horseback in Paris, kept up a disposition for quarrels, which ceased as soon as this usage was abolished. Decorum, for which we are principally obliged to the ladies who assembled company at their houses, rendered conversation more agreeable, and reading in time rendered it more solid. Treasons and great crimes, which do not disgrace men in times of faction and confusion, were hardly known any longer. The villainies of Buvilliers and Voisins were only transitory storms under a sky otherwise serene: and it would be equally unreasonable to condemn a nation on account of the glaring crimes of some individuals, as to canonize it on account of the reformation of La Trappe.

All the different states of life were, in former times, easily known by the faults which characterized them. Those of a military turn, and the young people who designed themselves for the profession of arms, were noted for an over-bearing vacuity; and those belonging to the Courts of Justice, for a disgusting gravity, to which the custom of going always in a long robe, even to ~~the~~ Court, did not a little contribute; and it was the same with regard to the Universities, and to Physicians. Merchants still wore little robes whenever they assembled in their Guild, or went to wait on the Ministers; the most considerable tradesmen also were at that time persons of rustic manners. But the houses, the

the theatres, and the public walks, in which they began to meet together, in order to enjoy the pleasures of a social life, gradually rendered the exterior appearance of all these people nearly alike. One may see at this day, even in the very shops, that politeness has gained ground among all ranks. The Provinces have in time also felt the effects of these improvements.

At length people no longer place luxury in any thing but taste and convenience. The croud of pages and servants in livery has disappeared, to make way for more freedom in the houses of the great; vain pomp and external parade have been left to those nations, among whom the people yet know no more than to display themselves in public, and who are ignorant of the art of living.

The extreme ease introduced into the intercourse of the world, affability, simplicity, and the cultivation of the mind, have rendered Paris a city, which, for the enjoyments of life, probably very much surpasses Rome and Athens in the height of their splendor.

The number of aids always ready, always open, for the whole circle of the sciences, for all the arts, the tastes, and exigencies of life; so many solid advantages uniting with such a number of agreeable articles, joined to that openness peculiar to the inhabitants of Paris; all these together induce vast numbers of strangers to travel to, or take up their residence in, this social city. If some natives quit it, they are either such as being called elsewhere on account of their talents, are an honourable specimen to their country; or else the refuse of the nation, who try to make their advantage of the reputation it has acquired*; or, perhaps, some emigrants, who, preferring their religion to their country†, go abroad to seek their fortunes, after the example of their parents driven from France by the fatal affront to the memory of the great Henry IV. in the revocation of the *perpetual law* called the

* For cooks, hair-dressers, and valets-de-chambre. *Translator.*

† This is a *Voltaireana*. *Ibid.*

Edict of Nantes; or, finally, some Officers, discontented with the Ministry, or malefactors who have escaped the rigorous forms of justice, often ill administered; and this is what happens in all the countries of the world.

Some object, that there is no longer to be seen at Court so much dignity as formerly. The truth is, that there are no petty tyrants, as in the days of the Fronde, or under the reign of Louis XIII. and in the preceding ages. But true greatness is now to be met with in those crowds of gentry, who were formerly debased for so long a time by serving subjects grown too powerful. There are seen Gentlemen, and also Citizens, who would have thought themselves honoured, in former days, to be the domestics of these Lords, become now their equals, and very often their superiors, in the military service: and the more that merit, of every kind, prevails over titles, the more flourishing is any State.

The Age of Louis XIV. has been resembled to that of Augustus. Not that the power and personal events in both, can be compared; for Rome and Augustus were ten times more considerable in the world, than Louis XIV. and Paris. But we must remember, that Athens was equal to the Roman Empire in all things which did not derive their value from force and power. We must further consider, that if there is nothing at present in the world like ancient Rome and Augustus, yet all Europe together is much superior to the whole Roman Empire. In the time of Augustus there was but one nation, and at this day there are several well-politied, warlike, and enlightened ones, who are possessed of arts unknown to both Greeks and Romans: and ~~among~~ these nations, there is not one that has been more distinguished, in every thing, for about an age past, than that formed in some measure by Louis XIV.

C H A P. XXX.

The Finances and Regulations.

IF we compare the Administration of Colbert with all the preceding ones, posterity will admire this man, whose body the frantic populace after his death would have torn to pieces. The French certainly owe to him their industry and their commerce; and consequently that wealth, the sources of which are sometimes diminished in war, but are always opened again with an abundant flow in peace. Yet in 1672, people had still the ingratitude to throw the blame upon Colbert, for the languor which began to be perceivable in the sinews of the State.

One Boisguilbert, Lieutenant-General of the Bailiwick of Rouen, published about that time a Detail of France, in two small volumes, in which he pretends that every thing was in a declining state from the year 1660. But it was quite the reverse. France had never been so flourishing as since the death of Cardinal Mazarin, till the war of 1689; and even under that difficulty, the body of the State, tho' beginning to feel decay, supported itself by means of the vigour which Colbert had diffused through all its members. The author of this Detail pretended, that from 1660 the houses and lands of the Kingdom had diminished in value fifteen hundred millions. But nothing was more false nor less probable. These captious arguments, however, persuaded such as were inclined to believe this ridiculous paradox. 'Tis the same way in England; where, in the most flourishing times, pamphlets are every day published to prove that the Nation is undone.

It was easier in France than in any other country, to decry the Minister of the Finances in the minds of the people. This Ministry is the most odious, because that imposts are always so: besides, there prevailed

in general as much prejudice and ignorance in the finances, as there did in philosophy.

It was so long before people received better information, that even in our days we find, in 1718, the Parliament in a body telling the Duke of Orleans, "that the intrinsic value of the silver mark is twenty-five livres;" as if there was any other real intrinsic value than that of the weight and standard; and the Duke of Orleans, with all his penetration, shewed very little of it in not being aware of this mistake of the Parliament.

Colbert arrived at the management of the finances with both knowledge and genius. He began, like the Duke of Sully, by putting a stop to the abuses and speculations, which were enormous. The collection was rendered as easy as possible; and by an admirable œconomy he augmented the revenue, while he diminished the taxes. It is plain, from the memorable Edict in 1664, that there was a million of the then currency appropriated to the encouragement of manufactures and maritime commerce. He was so attentive to the campaigns, which till his time were left to the rapacity of the Commissaries, that some English merchants having applied to Mr. Colbert de Croissy, his brother, Ambassador at London, to furnish France with cattle from Ireland and salt provisions for their Colonies in 1667, the Comptroller-General replied, that for four years past they had sufficient for their own use, and for exportation also.

To attain to so happy an administration, it was necessary to establish a Court of Justice, and great reformations. He was obliged to retrench above eight millions of the rents upon the City, acquired at a low price, which were repaid at the rate of the purchase. These several alterations required Edicts. The Parliament was in possession of the right of authenticating them, from the time of Francis I. It was proposed to have them registered only in the Court of Exchequer, but the ancient usage prevailed. The King went
himself

himself to the Parliament, to get his Edict recorded, in 1664.

He ever remembered the Fronde, the sentence of proscription against a Cardinal his Prime Minister, and the other Arrets by which they had seized the money in the Treasury, and pillaged the goods and cash of the citizens attached to the Crown. All these excesses having arisen from remonstrances on the Edicts relating to the revenues of the State, he enjoined the Parliament in 1667, not to offer any representation, except within eight days after its having been registered with obedience. This Edict was again renewed, in 1673. So that during the whole course of his reign, no remonstrance was presented from any of the Courts of Judicature, except in the fatal year of 1709, when the Parliament of Paris in vain represented the injury that the Minister of the Finances did to the State, by the variation of the price of the gold and silver.

Most of the people were persuaded, that if the Parliament would limit themselves to the rendering the Sovereign perfectly sensible of the distresses and necessities of the subject, the dangers of the imposts, the still greater hardship of selling them, to Farmers-General, who cheated the King and oppressed the people, this usage of remonstrating would be a sacred resource of the State, a check upon the avidity of the Financiers, and a constant lesson to Ministers. But the fatal abuse of so salutary a remedy, had so much provoked Louis XIV. that he saw nothing but the abuse, and proscribed the remedy. The indignation which he ever preserved in his mind, was carried so far, that in 1669 he went in person to the Parliament, to revoke the privileges of Noblesse, which he had granted in his minority, in 1644 *, to all the superior Courts. But notwithstanding this Edict, registered in the presence of the King, the usage has still subsisted to suffer all those to possess the rights of Noblesse, whose fathers had exercised for twenty years an office of judicature

When he was six years old.

in any of the superior Courts, or had died in their employs.

In thus mortifying a body of Magistrates, he meant to encourage the Noblesse which had defended their country, and the Husbandmen who fed it. He had already, by his Edict of 1666, granted a pension of two thousand francs, which was near four of the present currency, to every gentleman who had twelve children, and one thousand to those who had had ten. The half of this gratification was given to all the inhabitants of the towns exempt from taxes; and in the taxable ones, every father of a family that had, or that had had, ten children, was acquitted of taxation.

It is true, Colbert had not done all that he could, and still less than he would have done. Men were not then sufficiently enlightened; and in a great Kingdom there are always great abuses. The arbitrary taillie; the multiplicity of duties; the different customs of the Provinces, which makes one part of the inhabitants of France strangers, and even enemies, to the other; the inequality between the measures of one town and those of another; with many other maladies of the body politic, could not be remedied.

The greatest fault that was objected to this Minister, was his not having ventured to encourage the exportation of corn. It was a long time since they had sent any of it out of the Kingdom. Agriculture had been neglected, during the troubles of Richelieu's administration; it was more so in the civil wars of the Fronde. A famine in 1661, completed the ruin of the country; a loss, however, which Nature, seconded by Art, is always able to repair. The Parliament of Paris, in this unhappy year, voted an Arret which appeared prudent in its principle, but which became almost as pernicious in its consequences, as all the Arrets issued by that assembly during the civil war. The merchants were inhibited, under heavy penalties, from entering into any contract for this commerce, and all individuals from hoarding up the grain. What might have been proper in a transient dearth, became at length

length an injury, by discouraging tillage; and to rescind such a law in a time of so critical a situation, and of such prejudices, would have caused an insurrection.

. The Minister had no other resource but to repurchase, at an advanced price, from foreign markets, the very grain which the French themselves had sold in its years of abundance. The people were fed, but it cost the State dear; but the œconomy which Monsieur Colbert had before established in the finances, lightened the weight of this expence.

The dread of a second famine shut up all our ports from the exportation of corn. Each Intendant in his Province made a merit of opposing the transportation of grain, even into the neighbouring Provinces. They could not, even in their years of plenty, dispose of their corn without petitioning the Council. This fatal embargo, however, seemed excusable from their past experience. The whole Council feared, that the free commerce of grain might oblige them to repurchase again from foreign markets, at an extravagant rate, so necessary a commodity, which the avarice and improvidence of husbandmen had sold at a low price.

The ploughman also, still more timid than the Council, was afraid to hazard the cultivation of an article which he was restrained from turning to the best account; so that the lands were not as well tilled as they ought to have been. All the other branches of the Administration were in a flourishing state, while it was not left in the power of Colbert to redress an evil in the principal concern.

This was the only blot on his Ministry; it is certainly a great one; but what may serve to excuse it, what proves how difficult a thing it is to conquer prejudices in the French Administration, and how hard it is to do good, is, that this evil, which has been remarked by all sensible natives, was not repaired by any Minister, for the space of an intire century, until the memorable ara of 1764, when a Comptroller-General more enlightened rescued France

from extreme distress, by rendering the exportation of corn free, under such restrictions, pretty nearly, as those which are imposed in England.

Colbert, in order to furnish at once the expences of the war, the buildings, and pleasures, was obliged to re-establish, towards the year 1672, what at first he intended to have abolished for ever; namely, imposts on places, annuities, new offices, and the augmentation of salaries; in short, what supports the State for some time, but involves it in debt for many years.

He was carried beyond his intended measures; for by all the instructions remaining of his, we see he was persuaded that the riches of a country consist only in the number of its inhabitants, the cultivation of the lands, the industry of the people, and commerce. We see that the King, possessing very few personal domains, and being only the steward of the goods of his subjects, cannot be truly rich, but by imposts easy to bear, and equally assessed.

He feared so much giving up the State to the Farmers of the revenue, that some time after the dissolution of the Chamber of Justice, which he had caused to be erected against them, he got an Arret of Council passed, which made it death for those who should advance money upon the new imposts. His meaning by this menacing Arret, which was never printed, was to cure the avidity of Stock-jobbers. But, soon after, he was obliged to make use of them, without even revoking the Arret: for the King was pressing, and prompt means were necessary.

This invention, brought from Italy into France by Catherine of Medicis, had so much corrupted the Government, by the pernicious facility it supplies, that after having been suppressed in the glorious days of ~~Henry IV.~~ it appeared again throughout the reign of Louis XIII. and greatly infected the latter times of Louis XIV.

In fine, Sully enriched the State by the means of a prudent œconomy, which was seconded by a King equally parsimonious and brave; a King who was a soldier

dier at the head of his army, and a father at the head of his people. Colbert supported the State, notwithstanding the extravagance of an ostentatious Prince, who spared no expence to give a lustre * to his reign.

It is known, that after the death of Colbert, when the King determined to place Pelletier at the head of the Finances, Le Tellier said to him, "Sire, he is not fit for such a department." "Why so?" said the King. "He has not a heart callous enough," answered Le Tellier. "Why truly," replied the King, "I would not have my people oppressed." In fact, this new Minister was a good and just man; but when in 1688 the Kingdom was reftunged in war, and obliged to withstand the League of Augsburg, or, in other words, the united Powers of all Europe, he felt himself loaded with a weight which even Colbert had found too heavy. The easy and dangerous expedient of borrowing, and creating of funds, was his first resource. Afterwards he attempted to diminish luxury; which in a nation replete with manufactures, is to diminish industry and circulation; and by no means a prudent measure, except in States which purchase their superfluities from foreign countries.

An ordonnance was accordingly made, that all the moveables of solid plate, which were at that time in great quantities in the houses of the great, and were a proof of opulence, should be carried to the Mint. The King set the example: he parted with all those silver tables, branched chandeliers, grand couches of massive silver, and all the other moveables which were masterpieces of chased work by the hand of Balin, the greatest artist in his way, and all done from the designs of Le Brun. They had cost ten millions, but produced only three. The wrought plate belonging to private persons yielded three millions more. The resource was inconsiderable.

They were afterwards guilty of one of those enormous errors, which the Ministry have not corrected till of late;

* The word *glitter* would have been more proper here. *Translator.*

this was to adulterate the specie, to make an unequal recoinage, to give to the crowns a valuation disproportioned to that of the quarters*; so that the value of the latter being more intrinsic, that of the former being partly nominal, they were sent out of the Kingdom, coined into crowns, and brought back again; by which fraudulent traffic a considerable profit was gained. A country must be possessed of great internal strength to be able to support itself with vigour, after experiencing such frequent shocks as these. Men were not then well informed; the knowledge of finances was then like that of physic, a science of but vain conjecture. The stock-jobbers were a sort of mountebanks, who imposed on the Minister; it cost the State fourscore millions, and would require the labour of twenty years to repair the damage.

Towards the years 1691 and 1692, the finances of the State appeared sensibly out of order. Those who attributed the diminution of the sources of the public revenue to the profusion of Louis XIV. upon his buildings, the arts, and his pleasures, were not aware, that, on the contrary, the expences which encourage industry enrich a State. It is war that necessarily impoverishes the public treasury, unless the spoils of the vanquished can fill it again. Since the time of the ancient Romans, I know of no nation that has enriched itself by victories. Italy in the sixteenth century was opulent only by commerce. Holland would not have subsisted long, had she confined herself to the taking the plate fleet of the Spaniards, and were not the East Indies the support of her power. England has always impoverished herself by war, even in destroying the French fleets*; and commerce alone has enriched her. The Algerines, who have hardly any more than what they gain by piracy, are most miserably poor.

* *Quart d'ecu*, the fourth of a crown, a coin so called. *Translator.*

† If the French are turbulent, and encroach upon their neighbours, it would seem that destroying the means by which their intolence is most likely to be exerted with effect, namely, their fleet, will in the end enrich, rather than impoverish, the English nation. *Smollet.*

that

Among the nations of Europe, war, at the end of some years, renders the conqueror nearly as much distressed as the conquered. It is a gulph in which all the streams of abundance are absorbed. Ready money, that principle of all good and all evil, raised with such difficulty in the Provinces, terminates in the coffers of an hundred Stock-jobbers and Farmers of the revenue, who advance the funds, and purchase by this means the right of plundering the nation in the name of the sovereign. The people, then, considering the Government as their enemy, conceal their wealth; and the want of circulation suffers the Kingdom to languish.

No sudden expedient can supply the place of a fixed and permanent establishment of long standing, which provides at a distance against unforeseen wants. The Capitation* was established in 1695. It was suppressed at the peace of Ryswick, and re-established afterwards. The Comptroller-General Pontchartrain sold patents of Nobility for two thousand crowns in 1696: five hundred persons bought them. But the resource was transitory, and the shame permanent. The Nobles, both ancient and modern, were obliged to register their coats of arms, and to pay for the permission of sealing their letters with them. The Farmers bargained for this tax, and advanced the money: so that the Ministry had hardly ever recourse to any but petty resources, in a country which could have furnished much greater.

They durst not impose the tenth penny, till 1710. But this tenth penny, raised after so many other burthenfome taxes, appeared so hard, that they durst not exact it with rigour. The Government did not draw from it twenty-five millions a-year, at forty franks to the mark.

Colbert made but few attempts to change the nominal value of money. But it is better never to change ~~it at~~

* In vol. IV. p. 136, of Maintenon's Memoirs, we find that the Capitation "brought in beyond the hopes of the Farmers." But there has never been any farm of the Capitation. It is said, that "the lacqueys of Paris went to the Town-house to beg that they might be put into the Capitation." This ridiculous story destroys itself; for masters always paid for their domestics. *Voltaire.*

all. Silver and gold, those standards of exchange, ought to be invariable measures. He raised the nominal value of the silver mark, which was twenty-six francs in his time, only to twenty-seven and twenty-eight; and after his death, in the last years of Louis XIV. this denomination was extended as far as forty imaginary livres: a fatal resource, by which the King obtained a temporary relief, in order to be ruined afterwards; for, instead of a silver mark, he had only given him little more than the half of it. He who owed twenty-six livres, in 1668, gave a mark; and he who owed forty livres, gave little more than this same mark, in 1710. The diminutions which followed, injured the little commerce that remained, as much as the augmentation had done.

A real resource might have been found in paper-credit; but this ought to be established in a time of prosperity, that it may maintain itself in times that are otherwise.

The Minister Chamillard began, in 1706, to pay in bank-notes, notes of subsistence, and of free quarters: but as this paper-money was not received at the Exchequer, it was decried almost as soon as it appeared. The Government was reduced to the necessity of continuing to borrow heavy loans, and to anticipate four years of the revenues of the Crown*.

* We are told in the History written by La Hode, and published under the name of La Martiniere, that it cost seventy-two per cent. for exchange, in the wars of Italy; which is an absurdity. The fact is, that M. de Chamillard, in order to pay the armies, made use of the credit of the Chevalier Bernard. This Minister believed, thro' an old prejudice, that money must not go out of the Kingdom, as if such money were given for nothing, and as if it were possible that one nation indebted to another, and which does not discharge itself by the ballance of trade, ought not to pay in ready money. This Minister gave the banker eight per cent. in the profits, upon condition that foreigners were paid without making the money go out of France. Besides this, he paid the exchange, which amounted to five or six per cent. loss; yet the banker, notwithstanding his promise, was obliged to clear his accounts with foreigners, in cash; and this produced a considerable loss. *Voltaire.*

They

They were always contriving extraordinary expedients : they created ridiculous employs, readily purchased by those who were willing to exempt themselves from taxation ; for the being subject to the payment of taxes was humiliating in France ; and men being naturally vain, the bait which was to set them above this disgrace, was sure to make dupes. The considerable salaries, also, annexed to these new posts, tempted people to buy them, in times of difficulty, without ever reflecting that, in more prosperous ones, they would be all suppressed. So in 1707 they invented the dignity of King's Counsellors Tasters and Brokers of Wine, which produced a hundred and eighty thousand livres. They appointed Royal Registers, and Deputies of the Intendants of the Provinces. They contrived Counsellors of the King Comptrollers of the empilements of wood, Counsellors of the Police, Officers of Barbers perriwig-makers, Comptrollers-visitors of fresh butter, assayers of salt-butter. Such extravagances make people laugh now, but then they made them cry.

The Comptroller-General Desmarets, nephew to the illustrious Colbert, having succeeded Chamillard, in 1708, could not heal an evil which every thing rendered incurable.

Nature conspired with fortune to overwhelm the State. The severe winter of 1709 obliged the King to remit to the people nine millions of taxes, at the time when he had not wherewithal to pay his troops. The scarcity of provisions was so excessive, that it cost forty-five millions for the subsistence of the army. The expences of this year 1709 amounted to two hundred and twenty-one millions ; and the King's ordinary revenue scarce produced forty-nine. There was then a necessity for ruining the State, that the enemy might not make themselves masters of it *. The disorder encreased to such a degree, and was so little repaired, that for a long time after the peace, at the beginning of the year 1715, the King was obliged to cause thirty-two millions of notes to be negotiated, in order to procure eight millions in

† Like blowing up a man of-war, to prevent its being taken, *Transl. Specie.*

specie. In short, at his death, he left a debt of two thousand six hundred millions, at twenty-eight livres the mark, the rate to which the coin was then reduced; and this makes about four thousand five hundred millions * of our current money in 1760.

It is astonishing, but true, that this immense debt would not have been a burthen impossible to bear, had there been at that time a flourishing commerce in France, a paper credit established, and substantial Companies which would have supported this credit, as is the case in Sweden, England, Venice, and Holland: for when a powerful State is indebted only within itself, credit and circulation are sufficient to make payments. But France was far from having at that time a sufficient number of springs to set in motion so vast and complicated a machine, the weight of which crushed it.

Louis XIV. in his reign expended eighteen thousand millions; which amounts, one year with another, to three hundred and thirty millions of the present currency, balancing the nominal raisings and lowerings of the coin against each other.

Under the Administration of the great Colbert, the ordinary revenues of the Crown rose only to an hundred and seventeen millions, at twenty-seven livres, and afterwards twenty-eight livres, to the silver mark. Thus the whole surplus was always furnished by extraordinary methods. Colbert, though the greatest enemy to a fatal resource, was obliged to have recourse to it upon a pressing exigency. He raised eight hundred millions of our present currency in the war of 1672. The King had but very few ancient domains of the Crown left. These are declared unalienable by all the Parliaments of the Kingdom; and yet almost all of them are alienated. The King's revenue consists at present in the wealth of his subjects, and is a perpetual circulation of debts and payments. His Majesty owes the people more nominal millions a-year, under the name of an-

* Four thousand millions, amounting to above one hundred and eighty millions sterling. *Smollet.*

nuities of the Town-house, than any King ever drew from the domains of the Crown.

In order to form an idea of this prodigious increase of taxes, debts, riches of circulation, and at the same time the embarrassments and trouble which have been experienced in France and other countries, it is to be considered, that at the death of Francis I. the State owed about thirty millions of livres perpetual annuity on the Town-house, and that at present it owes upwards of forty-five millions.

Those who have compared the revenues of Louis XIV. with those of Louis XV. have found, by only keeping to the fixed and current revenue, that Louis XIV. was much richer in 1683, at the time of Colbert's death, with an hundred and seventeen millions of revenue, than his successor was in 1730, with nearly two hundred millions; and this will appear to be true, by considering only the fixed and ordinary rents of the Crown. For an hundred and seventeen nominal millions, with the mark at twenty-eight livres, are a much greater sum than two hundred millions at forty-nine livres, which was the amount of the King's revenue in 1730: and besides, we must reckon the charges increased by the loans to the Crown. But then, also, the revenues of the King, that is, of the State, have since accumulated; and the knowledge of the Finances has been brought to such a state of perfection, that in the ruinous war of 1741, there was not the least stagnation of credit. We have begun to form sinking funds, as among the English: it was necessary to adopt a part of their system of finances, as we have done of their philosophy; and if in a State purely monarchical, these circulating notes could be introduced, which at least double the wealth of England, the Administration of France would acquire its last degree of perfection*, but a perfection too liable to abuse, in a monarchy.

* The Abbé de St. Pierre, in his *Journal Politique*, on the article *Système*, says, that in England and Holland there are no more notes than specie: but it is certain that the former greatly exceed the latter, and do not subsist but by credit. *Voltaire*.

In 1683 there were about five hundred nominal millions of silver coin in the Kingdom; and there were about twelve hundred in 1730, of the present currency. But the computation under the Ministry of Cardinal Fleury, was almost double what it was in Colbert's time. It therefore appears, that France is only about one-sixth part richer in circulating specie, since the death of that Minister. It is much more so in materials of silver and gold, worked and used for service and luxury. In 1690 the value of these amounted not to four hundred millions of our present coin; and towards the year 1730 we possessed as much as equalled the circulating specie. Nothing shews more plainly, how commerce, the sources of which Colbert opened, has been increased, when a free course has been given to its channels that were shut up by the wars. Industry has been brought to perfection, notwithstanding the emigration of so many artists, which the revocation of the Edict of Nantes has dispersed: and this industry still increases, every day. The nation is capable of as great things, and even still greater, than it was under Louis XIV. because genius and commerce always gain new strength wherever they are encouraged.

To see the affluence of individuals, the number of fine houses built in Paris and in the Provinces, the multitude of equipages, the conveniences and refinements of luxury, you would think that our opulence is twenty times greater than it was formerly. All this is the fruit of ingenious labour, rather than of riches. At this day, it costs but little more for a good house, than it did for a bad one in the reign of Henry IV. A handsome glass of our own manufacture adorns our houses at a much less expence than the ordinary ones formerly brought from Venice; and our fine and showy stuffs are cheaper than those which we brought from foreign countries, and which were not of equal service.

In reality, it is not silver and gold that procure the accommodations of life, but genius. A nation possessed only of these metals would be miserable; but a people without them, who can happily employ all the productions

tions of the earth, would be the truly wealthy people. France possesses this advantage, with a great deal more specie than is necessary for her circulation.

Industry being brought to perfection in the towns, grew up and increased in the country. Complaints will always arise about the condition of the tillers of the soil: you hear them in all countries of the world; and such murmurings are generally raised by indolent people of fortune, who condemn the Government much more than they bemoan the people. It is true, that in almost every country, if such as pass their days in rural labours had leisure to murmur, they would rise up against the exactions which take from them a part of their substance. They would detest the necessity of paying taxes which they had not imposed upon themselves, and of bearing the burthens of the State without participating of the advantages enjoyed by other members of it.

It does not belong to the province of history to examine how far the people may be taxed without being oppressed, and to mark the precise point, so difficult to be found out, between the execution of the laws and the abuse of them; between impost and rapine; but history ought to shew, that it is impossible for a town to be flourishing, unless the country around it enjoys plenty; for certainly the produce of the fields supports its inhabitants. We hear on particular days*, in all the towns of France, the reproaches of those who by their profession are allowed to declaim in public against all the different branches of consumption to which the name of luxury is given†. It is evident that the supplies for this luxury is furnished only by the industrious labour of the tillers of the ground; a labour which, however, is always well paid for.

More vineyards have been planted, and better cultivated. New wines have been made that were not known before, like those of Champagne; to which the

* Sundays. *Translator.*

† *A Voltaireana. Ibid.*

vintners have found out the art of giving the colour, flavour, and strength of the Burgundy wines, and which they vend among foreigners to a great advantage. This increase of wine has produced that of brandies. The cultivation of gardens, of vegetables, and fruits, has received very great improvements; and the commerce of provisions with the Colonies of America has from thence been augmented. The loud complaints which have been made in all times about the misery of the country, have now ceased to have any foundation. Besides, in these vague murmurs the planters and the farmers are not distinguished from the labourers. These last live only by the work of their hands; and the case is alike in all the countries of the world, where the bulk of the people, or the greater number, should subsist by that means. But there is scarcely a kingdom in the universe in which the planter and the farmer are more at ease than in France; and England alone may dispute this advantage with her. The proportional land-tax, instead of that substituted at discretion, has still contributed, for about thirty years past, to render more stable the fortunes of such husbandmen as have ploughs, vineyards, and gardens. The labourer and common artificer must be reduced to necessity, before they will set themselves to work; such is the nature of man. But though the greatest part of mankind must be poor, there is no reason for their being miserable.

The middling class has enriched itself by industry. The Ministers and the Courtiers are less wealthy, because though money has been raised nominally near one half, their appointments and pensions have continued the same, and the prices of provisions have risen to more than double. This is what has happened in all the countries of Europe. The several dues and fees have every where remained on the ancient footing. An Elector of the Empire who receives the investiture of his estates, pays no more than what his predecessors did in the time of the Emperor Charles IV. in the fourteenth century; and in this ceremony there is only a crown perquisite to the Emperor's secretary.

What

What is much stranger is, that though all things have been raised, the nominal value of coin, the quantity of materials in gold and silver, and the price of commodities, yet the pay of a soldier has continued at the same rate it was two hundred years ago. A foot-soldier has five nominal sous, the same as he had in the time of Henry IV. None of the great number of ignorant creatures who sell their lives at so cheap a rate know, that since the over-rating of the specie, and the dearth of every commodity, he receives about two-thirds less than the soldiers of Henry IV. If he knew it, and demanded a pay two-thirds greater, it must have been granted him. From thence it must happen, that as the Powers of Europe would keep on foot two-thirds fewer troops, their forces would be balanced in the same proportion; and the cultivation of the ground and the manufactures would profit by this measure*.

We must farther observe, that the profits of commerce being augmented, and the salaries for all the great offices diminished in their real value, there is found to be less opulence among the great than formerly, and more among the middling rank of people; and this circumstance has brought men more upon a level. In former days there was no resource for the little, but to serve the great. At present, industry has opened a thousand ways, which were not known an hundred years ago. In short, in whatever manner the finances of the State may be administered, France possesses, in the labour of about twenty millions of inhabitants, an inestimable treasure.

* This is a very sensible remark; and a mutiny were much to be wished upon this account, provided it were unvertal. Though it would be but fair to give the French leave to take the first advantage of it, as the hint comes from Monsieur Voltaire. *Translator.*

C H A P. XXXI.

Of the Sciences.

THIS happy age, which has seen a revolution produced in the human mind, did not seem destined to it. To begin with philosophy, there was no appearance in the time of Louis XIII. that it should have emerged out of the chaos into which it was plunged. The Inquisition of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, had linked the errors in philosophy to the tenets of religion: the civil wars in France, and the disputes of Calvinism, were not more adapted to cultivate human reason, than was the fanaticism of Cromwell's time in England. If a Canon of Thorn renewed the ancient planetary system of the Chaldeans, which had been exploded for so long a time, this truth was condemned at Rome; and the Congregation of the Holy Office, composed of seven Cardinals, having declared not only heretical but absurd the motion of the earth, without which there is no true astronomy (the great Galilæo having asked pardon at the age of seventy for being in the right), there was no appearance that the truth would be received in the world.

Chancellor Bacon had pointed out at a distance the track which should be followed. Galilæo had made some discoveries on the descent of bodies: Torricelli began to ascertain the gravity of the air which surrounds us; and some experiments had been made at Magdeburg. But these were feeble essays, and all the Schools continued still in absurdity, and the world in ignorance. Then appeared Descartes, who did the very contrary of what ought to have been done; instead of studying Nature, he attempted to guess at her*. He was the greatest Geometician of his age; but Geometry leaves the

* Descartes was but an empiric in philosophy. *Translator.*

mind just as it finds it. That of Descartes was too much addicted to invention. The Prince of Mathematicians made scarcely any thing more than romances of philosophy. A man who scorned experiments, never cited Galilæo, and was for building without materials, could erect nothing more than an imaginary edifice.

That which was romantic in it, succeeded ; and the few truths, mixed with these new chimeras, were at first contested ; but at last these few truths shone forth by the help of the method which he had introduced. For before his time there was no thread for this labyrinth ; and at least he gave one, of which use was made, after he had bewildered himself. It was a great deal to destroy the chimeras of Peripateticism, though by the substitution of other chimeras. These two phantoms combated each other. They fell successively ; and reason raised itself at length upon their ruins. There was at Florence an Academy for Experiments, under the name *del Cimento*, established by Cardinal Leopold de Medicis, about the year 1655. They were already aware in this country of the arts, that it was not possible to comprehend any thing of the great fabric of Nature, but by examining it by parts. This Academy, after the days of Galilæo, and from the time of Torricelli, was of signal service.

Some Philosophers in England, under the gloomy administration of Cromwell, met together in peace for the discovery of truth, when it was oppressed by fanaticism. Charles II. being called home to the throne of his ancestors, by the repentance and inconstancy of his own nation, gave letters patent to this infant Academy ; but this was all that the Government bestowed upon it. The Royal Society, or rather, The Free Society of London, laboured for the sole honour of the pursuit. It was from this illustrious body, that in our days proceeded the discoveries on light, the principle of gravitation, the aberration of the fixed stars, the geometry of transcendental quantities, and an hundred other discoveries, which, on this account, might give occasion to the calling of this æra the Age of the English, as well as that of Louis XIV.

In 1666, Colbert, jealous of this new kind of glory, was desirous that the French should partake of it; and, at the entreaty of some learned men, prevailed on Louis XIV. to consent to the establishment of the Academy of Sciences. It was free, till 1699, like that of England and the French Academy. Colbert allured from Italy Dominico Cassini *, and Huygens from Holland, by means of large pensions. They discovered the satellites and ring of Saturn. The world is indebted to Huygens for pendulum-clocks. By degrees knowledge was acquired in all the parts of true physics, by the rejecting of systems. The Public was surpris'd to see a chemistry, in which researches were made neither for the grand secret †, nor for the art of prolonging life beyond the bounds of Nature; an astronomy which did not predict the events of the world; and a medicine independent of the phases of the moon. Putrefaction was no longer the parent of animals and plants. There were no more prodigies, from the time that Nature came to be better known; for she was studied in all her works.

Geography received extraordinary improvements. No sooner had Louis XIV. built the Observatory, than he caus'd a degree of the meridian to be measured, in 1669, by Dominico Cassini and Picart; which was continued towards the North, in 1683, by La Hire; and at last Cassini extended it, in 1700, as far as the extremity of Roussillon. This is the noblest monument of astronomy, and is sufficient to eternize that age.

* John Dominico Cassini was one of the most able Astronomers that ever Italy produced. He flourished in the seventeenth century, and in his youth was appointed Professor of Astronomy at Bologna; but he was invited into France by Colbert, to be Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences; and there he spent the remaining part of his life, which was happily extended to an extreme old age. He explained the nature and revolutions of comets: he discovered that the planet Mars revolved upon its own axis, in twenty-four hours and forty minutes: he discerned the spots on the body of Venus: he demonstrated that Saturn had five satellites, instead of one, which was all that Huygens had discerned; and he measured a degree of the meridian, in the South of France. *Smaller.*

† The transmutation of baser metals into gold, commonly called the *Philosopher's Stone*. *Translator.*

In

In 1672, Natural Philosophers were sent to Cayenne*, in order to make useful observations. This voyage gave rise to the discovery of a new Law of Nature, which the great Newton has demonstrated, and has paved the way for those more famous voyages which have since given lustre to the reign of Louis XV.

In 1700, Tournefort was sent to the Levant, to collect there the plants necessary to enrich the Royal Garden, which was formerly neglected, but at that time was restored to its due honour, and is now become worthy of the curiosity of Europe. The Royal Library, already extensive, was enriched under Louis XIV. with above thirty thousand volumes; and this example is so well followed in our days, that it contains at this time more than an hundred and eighty thousand. He caused the School of the Civil Law to be again opened, which had been shut for an hundred years past. He established in all the Universities of France a Professor of the French Law. One would imagine that there should be no other here, and that the good Roman Laws incorporated with those of the country, should form but one body of the Laws of the Nation.

Under him Literary Journals were established. 'Tis well known, that the *Journal des Sçavans*, which began in 1665, is the origin of all the works of this kind with which Europe now abounds, and into which too many abuses have crept, as commonly happens in things of the greatest utility.

The Academy of the Belles Lettres, composed at first, in 1663, of some Members of the French Academy, for transmitting to posterity, by medals, the actions of Louis XIV. became useful to the Public, from the time that it was no longer solely employed about the Monarch, and that they applied themselves to researches into antiquity, and a judicious criticism upon opinions and facts. It produced nearly the same effect in history, as the Academy of Sciences did in natural philosophy: it dispelled errors.

* An Island of South-America

The spirit of good sense and discernment, which increased by degrees insensibly destroyed superstition. It is to this dawn of reason that we owe the declaration of the King in 1672, which forbids the Tribunals to admit simple accusations of sorcery. This was a matter which durst not be attempted under Henry IV. and Louis XIII. And if, since 1672, there have been accusations of witchcraft, the Judges have not condemned the persons accused, excepting where profanation of religion, or the use of poison, was proved against them *.

It was formerly very common to try forcerers by plunging them in water, being first bound with cords; and if they floated on the surface, they were convicted. Several Judges in the Provinces had ordered such trials to be made; and these methods still continued, for a long time, among the people. Every shepherd was a forcerer; and amulets and constellation-rings † were used in the towns. The effects of a hazle-wand ‡, with which it was believed that springs, treasures, and thieves, could be found out, were looked upon as certain, and have still a great deal of credit given them, in more than one Province of Germany. There was hardly any body but who had his nativity cast; and nothing was talked of but magical secrets. Almost every thing was illusion. Learned men and Magistrates had written seriously upon these

* In 1609, six hundred forcerers were condemned in the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and most of them burnt. Nicholas Remi, in his *Demonolatrie*, gives an account of nine hundred arrests passed in fifteen years against forcerers, in Lorrain only. The famous Curate, Louis Guaffredi, burnt at Aix in 1611, had publicly owned that he was a forcerer, and the Judges believed him.

It is shameful that Father Le Brun, in his *Treatise of Superstitious Practices*, still admits of the decision of doubtful matters by casting lots. He even goes so far as to say, page 524, that the Parliament of Paris acknowledged it; but he is mistaken: the Parliament indeed owned that there were profanations and witchcrafts, but no supernatural effects produced by the Devil. The book of Dr. Calmet, *sur les vampires & sur les apparitions*, has been looked upon as the work of a disordered brain, but it plainly shews how much the mind of man is addicted to superstition. *Voltaire.*

† Called magic rings. *Translator.*

‡ It was a particular kind, called, from thence, the *witch-hazel*. — *Ibid.*

matters.

matters. A set of Authors was distinguished by the name of *Dæmonographi*. There were rules for discerning true Magicians, and true Demoniacs, from the false. In fine, to that time, there was hardly any thing adopted from antiquity, but errors of every kind.

Superstitious notions were so rooted among men, that people were frightened by a comet so late as in 1680; and scarce any one dared to combat this popular fear. James Bernoulli, one of the greatest Mathematicians in Europe, in his answer to those who maintained the ominous nature of comets, says, that its beams cannot be a sign of the divine wrath, because the beams are eternal; but that the tail may very well be so. However, neither the head nor tail are eternal. It was then necessary that Bayle should write against these vulgar prejudices a book famous at that time, which the progress of human reason has since rendered useless.

One would not believe that Sovereigns had obligations to Philosophers. It is however true, that this philosophic spirit, which has gained ground among all ranks, except the lower class of people, has very much contributed to give a due weight to the rights of Princes. Disputes, which would have formerly produced excommunications, interdicts, and schisms, now cause none of these things. If it has been said, that the people would be happy had they Philosophers for their Kings; it is equally true, that Kings are the more happy, when many of their subjects are Philosophers.

It must be confessed, however, that this rational spirit, which begins to preside over education in the large towns, has not yet been able to cure the phrenzy of the fanatics in the Cevennes, nor prevent the inferior people of Paris from shewing their folly at the tomb of St. Medard *.

* Miracles were said to be performed at the tomb of the Abbé Paris, in the year 1730. As this Abbé was a professed Jansenist, the Jesuits would not allow him to be a Saint, and found means to interest both the Clergy and the Government against his pretensions to this title. The Archbishop of Paris published a mandamus, condemning the new miracles of this beatified Jansenist. The Life of the Abbé, which had been published at Brussels, was pronounced heretical, by the Holy Congregation of the Office, and burnt by the hands of the

nor quiet the disputes, as violent as they are frivolous, which arise between men who ought to be wiser. But before this age, such disputes had caused troubles in the State; the miracles of St. Medard would have been credited by the most considerable Citizens; and fanaticism, now confined within the mountains of the Cevennes, would have diffused itself into the towns.

All kinds of science and literature were exhausted in this age; and so many Writers have extended the powers of the human understanding, that those who at other times would have been thought prodigies, passed undistinguished in the crowd. Their glory is lessened, on account of their number; but the glory of the age is, therefore, the greater.

C H A P. XXXII.

Of the Fine Arts.

TRUE philosophy made not in France so great a progress as in England and Florence; and though the Academy of Sciences was of advantage to the human understanding, it did not set France above other Nations. All the great inventions, all the great truths, took their rise elsewhere.

But in eloquence, in poetry, in polite literature, in books of morality and entertainment, the French were the Legislators of Europe. There remained no longer any taste in Italy. True eloquence was every where unknown. Religion was taught ridiculously from the pulpit, and Causes pleaded as absurdly at the Bar. The Preachers quoted Virgil and Ovid; the Lawyers St. Austin and St. Jerome. There had not yet arisen a

hangman; but the reputation of the defunct flourished under this persecution. His tomb was surrounded by crowds of devotees, and the lame were cured, the blind were restored to sight; so that the catalogue of miracles daily increased, until the burying-ground of St. Medard was shut up, by the King's express arret, and then the Saint being deprived of his retinue, sunk into oblivion. *Smollet.*

Genius

Genius capable of giving to the French language a turn of period, or of phrase, a harmony of measure, a propriety of stile, or a dignity of expression. Some verses of Malherbe had only made it known, that it was capable both of force and grandeur; but that was all. The same Writers who had succeeded so well in Latin, as the President De Thou, and the Chancellor De l'Hôpital, did not appear the same persons when they attempted to compose in their own language, which was stiff in their hands. The French tongue had not yet any thing to recommend it, but a certain naïveté, which was the only merit of Joinville *, of Amiot †, of Marot ‡, of Montagne §, of Regnier §, and of the Menippean Satires **. This simplicity was debased with a great deal of irregularity and coarseness.

John de Lingendes, Bishop of Maçon, unknown at present, as he did not publish his writings, was the first Preacher who delivered himself in a polite stile. His Sermons and his Funeral Orations, though yet mixed up with the rust of his time, were the model of the Orators who imitated and surpassed him. The Funeral Oration of Charles-Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, surnamed *the Great*,

* An eminent Statesman in the reign of Louis IX. in the thirteenth century. He composed the History of St. Louis, which is a work both curious and entertaining. He died in 1318. *Translator.*

† An Author, of little fame, it may be supposed, as he is not taken notice of by the Biographers. *Ibid.*

‡ Valet-de-Chambre to Francis I. He was esteemed a good Poet in his time. Fontaine professedly imitated him. He translated some of the Psalms of David, which were censured by the College of Divinity at Paris, which made them sell the better. He was the first that introduced a sort of Doggerel Verse, called *Maroticks*, from his name, and since imitated most successfully by Butler, in his *Hudibras*. He died in 1544. *Ibid.*

§ This Author is sufficiently known. He is a sensible, philosophic; and entertaining Egotist. *Ibid.*

§ There were two of this name, Mathurin and Seraphin. The first was a Satirist, of the sixteenth century; a great profligate, by his own confession. The second was a Poet, of the seventeenth century, and a person of good character. He translated Anacreon into Italian. *Ibid.*

** So called from Menippus, an ancient Cynical Poet, who wrote some coarse Satires, and then hanged himself. *Ibid.*

in his own country; pronounced by Lingendes, in 1630, was so replete with sublime strokes of eloquence, that Flechier, a long while after, borrowed the entire exordium, as well as the text, and several remarkable passages from it, to adorn his famous Funeral Oration upon Viscount Turenne *.

Balzac, at that time, gave numbers and harmony to the French prose. His Letters, however, are written in too bombastical a style. He says to the first Cardinal de Retz †, " You have taken the sceptre of Kings, and " the livery of roses ‡." He wrote from Rome to Bois-Robert, in speaking of scented waters, " I save my life " by swimming in my chamber through waves of perfume." Notwithstanding his faults, he charms the ear. Eloquence has such a power over the minds of men, that Balzac was admired in his time, for having discovered that small part of this necessary and neglected art, which consists in the harmonious choice of words ; and even for having often used them improperly ||.

Voiture afforded some idea of the superficial graces of an epistolary style, which is not the best kind, because it consists merely in entertaining. Two volumes of Epistles are but an idle work, which contain not a single Letter that is instructive, not one that flows from the heart, that paints the manners of the times, or the characters of men. This is rather an abuse than an exercise of wit.

The language began to attain a purity, and assume a more steady form. This was owing to the French Academy,

* He is spoken of in the Catalogue of the French Writers prefixed to this work, Vol. I. *Translator*.

† Uncle to the factious Priest of the Fronde. *Ibid*.

‡ Alluding to his rank as a Prince, and to the colour of his scarlet robe. *Ibid*.

|| In a former Note, on the article of Balzac, in the Catalogue of the French Writers, I took notice of a neglect in M. Voltaire, for not mentioning the collection of Letters above spoken of ; but I find now, that he only deferred it to speak more fully upon the subject here. He has certainly too much wit for the epistolary style ; but that we may forgive him, as it is a scarce commodity ; but he has still more flattery, which we cannot pardon, as this is a drug. All his Statesmen are Solons, his Generals Cæsars, and his Bishops Saints. *Ibid*.

demy, but more particularly to Vaugélas *. His translation of Quintus Curtius, which was published in 1646, was the first good book written in a pure stile; so that very few of the phrases or expressions are yet become obsolete.

Oliver Patru †, who followed soon after, contributed to refine the language; and though he was not deemed a profound lawyer, yet we are indebted to him for a just disposition, perspicuity, decorum, and elegance of discourse; merits absolutely unknown before him at the Bar.

One of the works which contributed the most to form the taste of the Nation, and to give it a relish of justness and correctness, was the small collection of the Maxims of Francis Duke of Rochefoucault. Though there is but one truth ‡ in this book, namely, that *self-love is the spring of all our actions* §, yet this thought presents itself under such a variety of aspects, that it is always striking. It is not so much a book, as the materials for embellishing one. This little collection was much read and admired; it accustomed men to think, and to comprize their thoughts in a lively, correct, and delicate turn of expression. This was a merit that no Writer had possessed before him in Europe, since the revival of Letters.

But the first work of genius that appeared in prose, was the collection of the *Provincial Letters*, in 1654. Examples of every species of eloquence may there be found. There is not a single word in it, which, after an hundred years, has suffered the change to which all living languages are liable. We may refer to this work the æra when our language became fixed. The Bishop of Luçon, son

* Mentioned before in the Catalogue.

† Ditto.

‡ Principle, or proposition, would have been a juster term here.—*Translator.*

§ See the article under his name, and the Note upon it, in the Catalogue. Such *Manippean Satirists* say, that even when a person performs an action the most apparently disinterested, to his own loss and damage, yet the treasury of self-love receives a fee from the very pleasure of the deed. But pleasure, in such cases, is not the *motive*, but the *concomitant*, only. *Ibid.*

of the celebrated Buffy, told me, that having asked the Bishop of Meaux what work he would chuse to have been the author of, exclusive of his own, Bossuet replied, "The Provincial Letters." They have lost a good deal of their poignancy since the Jesuits have been abolished, and the objects of their disputes fallen into contempt.

The good taste which reigns throughout this work, and the strength of the last Letters, were not at first sufficient to correct the loose, diffuse, incorrect, and unconnected style, which had so long infected our Authors, Preachers, and Pleaders at the Bar.

One of the first who displayed in the pulpit a reasoning uniformly eloquent, was Father Bourdaloue, about the year 1668. He was a new light. There have since appeared other ecclesiastical orators; as Massillon, Bishop of Clermont, in whose sermons are found more graces, more delicate and masterly pictures of the manners of the age; but none of them can eclipse Bourdaloue. In his style, more nervous than florid, without the least fancy in the expression, he seems rather to aim at convincing, than inflaming; and never labours to please.

Perhaps it were to be wished, that in banishing from the pulpit that false taste whereby it had been so debased, he had also suppressed the custom of preaching upon a text. In reality, to speak a good while upon a quotation of one or two lines, to weary one's self in accommodating the whole discourse to that line, seems to be a practice little suiting the gravity of a Divine. The text is a kind of device, or rather enigma, to be explained by the sermon. This custom was unknown to the Greeks and Romans; it arose upon the decline of Letters, and has been consecrated by time.

The method of always dividing into two or three heads, things that require no division, as morality; or that require it a great deal more, as controversy; is an arbitrary custom, which Father Bourdaloue found established, and with which he chose to conform.

Bossuet, afterwards Bishop of Meaux, had preceded him. He, who proved afterwards so great a man, was at first intended for the Bar, and contracted when very young

young to Mademoiselle Des-Vieux,* a lady of extraordinary merit. But his talents for divinity, and for that kind of eloquence whereby he is particularly distinguished, appeared so very early, that his relations and friends determined to dedicate him rather to the Church. Mademoiselle Des-Vieux interested herself in determining him in this point, preferring his glory to the happiness of spending her life with him. In 1662, being yet very young, he preached before the King and Queen-Mother, a long time before Father Bourdaloue was known. His discourses, animated by a noble and affecting manner, the first which had been delivered at Court that approached the sublime, were so well received, that the King caused a letter to be written in his own name to his father, the Intendant of Soissons, congratulating him on the merit of his son.

Nevertheless, when Bourdaloue appeared, Bossuet no longer was esteemed the first preacher. He had applied himself to the composing funeral orations; a species of eloquence that requires imagination, and majestic grandeur bordering a little on poetry, from which it must always borrow something, though with discretion, when it aims at the sublime. The funeral oration of the Queen-Mother, which he pronounced in 1667, procured him the Bishopric of Condom; but it was a performance unworthy of him, and was never printed, no more than his sermons. The funeral elegium upon the Queen of England, widow of Charles I. which he delivered in 1669, is allowed in every part to be a master-piece. The subjects in these pieces of eloquence are happy, in proportion to the misfortunes sustained by the deceased. It is here, as in some sort of tragedy, where the great misfortunes of the principal characters are what interest us most.

His funeral oration on Madame †, who was snatched away in the flower of her youth, and expired in his arms, had the great and uncommon effect of melting

* See the Catalogue of Writers, for the article Bossuet.
Henrietta Duchess of Orleans.

the whole Court into tears. He was obliged to stop after these words: "O fatal night! O night of horror, when suddenly was heard, like a clap of thunder, the shocking sound of Madame is dying! Madame is dead!" The whole congregation sobbed, and the voice of the orator was interrupted by their sighs and tears.

The French were the only people who succeeded in this kind of eloquence. A new one was soon after invented by the same person, which in any other hand could scarcely have succeeded. He applied the art of oratory to history itself, which seems to exclude it. His *Discourse upon Universal History*; written for the use of the Dauphin, is without model or imitation. Though he has been opposed by the Learned in the system which he adopts for reconciling the Jewish chronology with that of other nations, his style has been universally admired. The World was astonished at that majestic force with which he describes the manners, the government, the rise and fall of the great empires; and those rapid strokes of energetic truth with which he paints, and with which he judges the nations.

Almost all the works which reflect so much honour upon this Age, were of a species unknown to antiquity. *Telemachus* is of this number. Fenelon, the disciple, the friend of Bossuet, and after, in spite of himself, become his rival and his enemy, composed this singular work, which partakes at once of the romance and poetry, and which substitutes a measured prose in the room of versification. One would think that Fenelon was inclined to treat romance as the Bishop of Meaux had done history, by endowing it with a dignity and charms before unknown; but more especially to deduce from these fictions a moral that might be useful to mankind; a moral till then entirely neglected in every fabulous invention. It has been generally believed, that he composed this work to serve for themes and instruction to the Duke of Burgundy, and the other children of France, to whom he was preceptor, as the Bishop of Meaux had formed his *Universal History* for the education of the Dauphin. But I was assured of

of the contrary, by the Marquis de Fenelon, the nephew of this great man, who inherited all his virtues, and was killed at the battle of Rocou. Nor does it indeed seem probable, that the first lessons given by a priest to the children of France, should be the loves of Calypso and Eucharis.

It was not till after he was confined to his diocese of Cambray, that he composed this performance. Well read in the Antients, and born with a lively and glowing imagination, he formed a stile peculiar to himself, and wrote it with infinite ease. I have seen the original manuscript, and there are not ten erasures in the whole. He composed it in three months, in the height of his unhappy disputes about Quietism; and his relaxations were certainly preferable to his occupations. It is pretended that the first impression was taken from a copy stolen by one of his domestics. If this be true, the Archbishop of Cambray owes all the reputation which he has acquired in Europe to this breach of trust; but to the same cause he is indebted also for being ever after out of favour at Court. There were some who imagined they could trace in *Telemachus* an indirect reflection upon the Government of Louis XIV. Sesostris, too haughty in his triumphs; Idomeneus, who established luxury in Salentum, and neglected œconomy, were thought to be portraits of the King; yet, after all, it was impossible for him to have had a superfluity, without a cultivation of the essential and necessary arts. The Marquis de Louvois was supposed by the malecontents to be represented in the character of Protefilaus; vain, intractable, haughty, and an enemy to those great Generals who chose to serve the State, and not the Minister.

The Allies, who in the war of 1668 united against Louis XIV. and who in 1701 shook his Throne, traced his character with infinite pleasure in that of Idomeneus, whose haughtiness had rendered him odious to all his neighbours. These allusions made the deeper impression, by means of the harmony of the stile, which so gently insinuates moderation and concord. Even the French themselves,

themselves, as well as strangers, tired out with so many wars, found a malicious consolation in tracing a satire of this kind through a book meant to inculcate the principles of virtue. The editions of it were innumerable: I have seen fourteen in English. It is true, that after the death of this Monarch, so feared, so envied, so respected by all, so hated by some, when the malignity of mankind ceased to satiate itself with those pretended allusions which censured his conduct, the judges of the correctest taste treated *Telemachus* with severity. They blamed it, as being too tedious and circumstantial; as having too little connection in the adventures; besides the descriptions of a country-life occurring too often, and being too much of a piece; yet the book has been always esteemed as one of the finest monuments of a flourishing Age.

Among productions of a singular kind, may be counted the *Characters* of La Bruyere. We have no copies of such a work among the Ancients*, no more than of *Telemachus*. A stile rapid, concise, and nervous; expressions picturesque; an entire new use of language, without offending against its rules; captivated the Public; and the allusions, which every where occur, completed its success. When La Bruyere shewed his work in manuscript to Mr. Malezieux†, “It will procure you (said he) many readers, and many enemies.” The reputation of this book sunk in the public opinion, when the whole generation against which it was levelled was no more; yet, as there are in it many passages applicable to all times and all places, there is room to believe it will never be entirely forgotten. *Telemachus* has had some imitators; La Bruyere’s *Characters* have produced many more. It is much easier to sketch short pictures of striking things, than to produce a long work of imagination, which will at once both please and instruct.

* Was not Theophrastus his model? *Translator.*

† See the Catalogue of Writers.

The happy art of associating the Graces with Philosophy was a new thing, of which the *Plurality of Worlds** was the first specimen, though a dangerous one; because the native dress of Philosophy should be composed of order, perspicuity, but more especially of truth. There is nothing to hinder this ingenious work from being ranked amongst our Classics by posterity, but that it was partly founded upon Cartesius' chimerical notion of the vortices.

To these new species may be added Bayle's work, who gave us a kind of reasoning dictionary. It is the first book of this sort whence a man may be taught to think; though we must indeed abandon to the fate of common productions such articles in this collection, as contain only trifling facts, unworthy of the character of Bayle, beneath the attention of a grave reader, or the regard of posterity. It is necessary to observe; that in ranking Bayle among the authors who reflect honour upon the Age of Louis XIV. though he was a refugee in Holland, I only conform to the Decree of the Parliament of Thoulouse, which in declaring his will valid in France, notwithstanding the rigour of the laws, expressly said, "Such a man cannot be looked upon as a foreigner."

We shall not descant here upon the multitude of good books produced in this Age; we shall only dwell upon such new and singular productions of Genius, as characterise and distinguish it from all others. The eloquence, for example, of Bossuet and Bourdaloue are not, nay cannot, be deemed similar to that of Cicero. The merit, as well as the species, was entirely new. If any production of this æra comes near the Roman orator, it must be the three Pleadings of Pellisson, composed for Fouquet. They, like many ofully's orations, are a mixture of judicial and state matters solidly handled, with an art scarcely discernible, and adorned with the most affecting chains of oratory.

* By Fontenelle.

We have had Historians, but no Titus Livius. The style of *The Conspiracy of Venice* may rank with Sallust: that he was the Abbé de St. Real's model is evident, and perhaps he has surpassed him. All the other writings of which we have been speaking, seem to have been of a new creation. And it is this which so peculiarly marks this illustrious Age; for both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have produced Scholars and Commentators, but true Genius had not yet unfolded itself.

Who would believe that these excellent prose works, of which we have taken notice, had probably never existed, had they not been preceded by poetry? Yet such has been the fate of the human understanding in all nations, that verse has every where been the first offspring of Genius, and the parent of Eloquence.

It is the same with men in general, as with particulars. Plato and Cicero began with versifying. When every body had by heart the few fine verses left us by Malherbe, we had not one sublime or noble passage in prose to quote; and it is very likely that the genius of prose writers had never displayed itself, without the aid of Peter Corneille*.

This great man is the more to be admired, because when he began to write Tragedies, he had none but the very worst models before him; and as these bad patterns were highly esteemed, he may be said to have been further shut out from the road to success: and the more to augment his discouragement, they were favoured by Cardinal Richelieu, the protector of men of letters, but not of taste. He rewarded the most miserable scribblers, who are commonly sycophants; and from his haughtiness of mind, so proper on other occasions, he endeavoured to humble men of real genius, whom he viewed not without some pique, as they seldom can stoop to dependence. It rarely happens that a man of power

* This is a most curious argument of M. Voltaire's. But, in order to compleat it, he should have observed, from the instances he adduces, of Plato and Cicero, that the writing of bad verses was the best prognostic of genius. Two exceptions would better prove a general rule, than two examples. *Translator.*

cordially

cordially patronizes the best artists; when he himself is an artist.

Corneille had the times, his rivals, and the Cardinal, to combat. I shall not rehearse here all that has been said about *The Cid*; let it suffice that the Academy, in their critical decisions between Corneille and Scudery, shewed too much complaisance for his Eminence, in condemning the love of Chimene. To love the murderer of her father, and yet persist in avenging the murder, was admirably fine. To have conquered her passion had been a capital defect in the tragic art, which consists principally in the struggles of the heart. But, except to Corneille, the dramatic art was then entirely unknown to the world. Nor was *The Cid* the only one of his works which the Cardinal strove to depreciate; for the Abbé Polignac tells us, that he disapproved of *Polieuctes*, also. *The Cid*, after all, was a noble imitation, and in many places a translation, of *Guillain de Castro**. *Cinna*, which followed it, was original. I knew an old domestic of the Condé family, who said, that at the first exhibition of *Cinna*, the great Condé, being then only twenty years old, shed tears at these lines pronounced by Augustus:

Je suis maître de moi, comme de l'univers;
Je le suis, je veux l'être. O siècles! ô mémoire!
Conservez à jamais ma nouvelle victoire,
Je triomphe aujourd'hui du plus juste couroux,
De qui le souvenir puisse aller jusqu'à vous!
Soyons amis, *Cinna*; c'est moi qui t'en convie.

Myself I govern, as the world I rule,
In act and will. O Time! O Memory!
Hear and record this my new story!
Behold me triumph over my just ire,
And let Posterity the deed admire!
Cinna, let us be friends; 'tis *Cæsar* asks it.

* There were two Spanish tragedies upon this subject; *The Cid* of *Guillain de Castro*, and *L'Honrador de Supadre* of *John Baptist Dramante*. Corneille imitated as many scenes of *Dramante* as of *Castro*. *Voltaire*.

These were the tears of a hero. The great Corneille forcing tears of admiration from the eyes of the great Condé, is a most celebrated epocha in the history of the human mind. The many pieces unworthy of himself, which he afterwards published, will never hinder the nation from regarding him as a great man; no more than the considerable blemishes of Homer have prevented his being thought sublime. It is the privilege of true genius, more especially when it strikes out into a new path, to launch with impunity into considerable errors*.

Corneille formed himself; but Louis XIV. Colbert, Sophocles, and Euripides, all contributed to form Racine. An ode which he composed at the age of eighteen, on the King's marriage, and for which he obtained an unexpected present, determined him in pursuit of poetry. His reputation encreases every day, and that of the works of Corneille has somewhat diminished; the reason of which is, that Racine, in all his performances subsequent to *Alexander*, is always correct, always elegant, and always natural; that he speaks to the heart; while the other is often deficient in all these respects. Racine understood the passions much better than either the Greeks or Corneille; and carried the smooth flow of versification, as well as the graces of expression, to the highest point they were capable of. By these great men the nation was taught to think, feel, and express themselves; and their auditors, by them only instructed, became at length judicious critics of what their very masters produced.

In the time of Cardinal Richelieu there were but few people in France capable of discerning the faults

* What prevented M. Voltaire from applying this remark to Shakespeare? The Abbé Troublet justly says, "Si un ouvrage sans défaut étoit possible, il ne le seroit qu'à un homme médiocre." *If a faultless work were possible, it could only be executed by a person of a middling genius.* He says very well, also, in another place, "Il n'y a rien de plus difficile, qu'un ouvrage sans défaut, et un ouvrage parfait." *There is nothing so difficult, as a faultless work, and a perfect one.* A diamond with a flaw is preferable to crystal. Translator.

of *The Cid*; and in 1702, when *Atalia* that masterpiece of dramatic writing, was performed at the house of the Duchess of Burgundy, the Courtiers thought themselves sufficient judges to condemn it. Time has done the author justice; but that great man died without sharing in the success of his most admirable composition.

There was ever a numerous party which were active to decry Racine. Madame de Sevigné, the first epistolary writer of her time, and who had particularly the art of expressing the merest trifles with grace, always said that Racine's fame would never be great. She judged of him as she did of coffee, about the virtues of which she said the Public would soon be undeceived. Time is requisite to ripen reputations.

The singular fortune of this æra rendered Moliere contemporary with Corneille and Racine. It is not true that Moliere at his first appearance found the stage utterly devoid of good Comedies. Corneille had produced his *Liar*, a piece taken from the Spanish, as well as *The Cid*, a piece of character and intrigue; and Quinault's *Coquet-mother*, a piece not only abounding with character and intrigue, but even the very model of intrigue, had been exhibited, when only two of Moliere's capital pieces were presented. It made its appearance in 1664, and is the first Comedy in which appears the character of a species of men since called *Marquis*. Most of the Nobility of Louis XIV.'s Court endeavoured to imitate the grandeur, splendour, and dignity of their Sovereign. Those of an inferior class copied the exalted air of their superiors; and there were many who carried their conceit and predominant desire of being thought of consequence, to the most ridiculous height.

This humour prevailed long. It was often attacked by Moliere, and he contributed to rid the Public of these important subalterns; as well as of the affectation of prudes, the pedantry of female learning; and the jargon of lawyers and physicians. Moliere was, if one may be permitted to use the expression, the law-giver of politeness.

politeneſs to the world. I only here ſpeak of the ſervices he rendered to the Age: every body knows ſufficiently his other merits.

This was an æra worthy the attention of futurity, when the heroes of Corneille and Racine, the characters of Moliere, the muſical compositions of Lully, ſo very new to the nation, and (ſince we only ſpeak here of the arts) the eloquence of a Boſſuet and a Bourdaloue, were exhibited before a Louis XIV. a Ducheſs of Orleans, ſo remarkable for the moſt finiſhed taſte, a Condé, a Turenne, a Colbert, and that croud of illuſtrious men, of every ſort, that now appeared. Thoſe times will never return, wherein a Duke de la Rochefoucault, author of the Maxims, after enjoying the converſation of a Paſcal and an Arnould, ſhall repair to the theatre of Corneille.

Deſpreaux raiſed himſelf to the rank of theſe great men, not by his firſt ſatires, for poſterity will not be much entertained with an account of the *Troubles of Paris*, or with the names of the *Caffaignes* and the *Cotins*; but he has inſtructed that poſterity by his fine epiſtles, and eſpecially by his *Art of Poetry*, where even Corneille might have found many uſeful leſſons.

La Fontaine, leſs chaſte in his ſtile, leſs correct in his language, but inimitable in his naïveté, and thoſe graces peculiar to his manner, raiſed himſelf, by the ſimplicity of his narrations, nearly to an equality with thoſe ſublime Genius's.

Quinault, who excelled in a new mode of writing, the more difficult for its appearing to be the more eaſy, juſtly deſerves a place amongſt theſe his illuſtrious contemporaries. The injuſtice wherewith Boileau decried him is well known. Boileau had never learned to ſacrifice to the Graces; and it was in vain, that he all his life ſought to humble a man who was only inſpired by them. The greateſt praiſe that can be given to a Poet, is to remember his verſes. Whole ſcenes of Quinault are got by heart, an advantage at which the Italian Opera could never arrive. French muſic has remained in a ſtate of ſimplicity which is no longer the taſte of
any

any other Nation; but those simple and beautiful strokes of Nature which so frequently charm in Quinault, still please in every part of Europe those who are masters of the French tongue, and possess a refined taste. Had we found such poems as an *Armida*, or an *Alys*, among the remains of antiquity, with what idolatry had they been received ! but Quinault was a modern.

All these great men were known and patronized by Louis XIV. except La Fontaine. His extreme simplicity, which amounted even to a neglect of himself, kept him at a distance from Court, where he never once thought of appearing. The Duke of Burgundy sought him out, and in his old age he received some favours from that Prince. He was, notwithstanding his genius, as simple in his manners as the heroes of his fables. Pouget, one of the Fathers of the Oratory, thinks he has great merit in treating this man of such innocent manners as if he spoke of a Brinvilliers, or a Voisin. His tales are only from Poggius, Ariosto, and the Queen of Navarre. If wantonness be dangerous, it is not wit or humour that imposes it. One may apply to La Fontaine his admirable fable of the *Beasts sick of the Plague*, which accuse each other of their sins : the lions, the wolves, and the bears, are pardoned every thing, and an innocent animal is devoured for having nibbled a little grass. In the school of these Genius's, destined to be the delight and instruction of posterity, were formed many men of wit, who have produced a multitude of elegant little pieces, which serve to amuse people of taste, just as we have several good painters who are yet unequal to Poussin, Le Sueur, Le Brun, Le Moine, or Vanloo.

But towards the end of Louis XIV's reign, two men rose superior to the class of mediocrity, and acquired a great degree of reputation. One was La Motte-Houdart *, rather of a more solid and extensive, than a sublime capacity. In prose he was delicate and methodical ; but in his poetry often wanted that fire and ele-

* See the Catalogue of Writers, for his name.

gance, even that correctness, the neglect of which is only to be dispensed with in favour of the sublime. He has, however, given us some beautiful stanzas, for they cannot be properly called odes. His talents were not long-lived, yet the many beautiful pieces he has left us, of more than one kind, are sufficient to set him above authors of the lowest class. In him is proved, that, in the art of writing, some may rank as seconds.

The other was Rousseau, who, with less genius, less art and facility, than La Motte, had yet greater talents for versification. His odes were written after La Motte; but they are more beautiful, more diversified, and fuller of imagery. In his psalms, he comes up to that rapture and harmony so remarkable in the Canticles of Racine. His epigrams are better finished than those of Marot. He had less success in operas, which require sensibility; nor did he succeed in comedy, in which a spirit of gaiety is necessary; nor in his moral epistles, which must be founded in truth. In these requisites he may be deficient; therefore in these kinds of writing he did not succeed, because they were foreign to his genius.

Had the Marotic stile *, which he used in his serious works, been imitated, he would have corrupted the French tongue: but happily that mixture of the purity of our language, with the obsolete dialect spoken above two hundred years before, did not long maintain its ground. Some of his epistles are still imitations of Boileau, and are not composed of notions sufficiently clear, nor of acknowledged truths: truth only is amiable.

He degenerated in foreign countries: whether his genius was impaired by his misfortunes, or that his principal merit consisting in a choice of words and happy turns of expression, perfections more necessary and uncommon than is generally imagined, he had not abroad the same advantages he might have found at home. Exiled from his native land, he might rank it among his

* In the burlesque stile of Marot, a latitude was used of mixing obsolete words and expressions with the modern languages, which though well enough there, was absurd in graver compositions. *Translator.*

misfortunes, that he was no longer, under the eye of severe criticism.

His long misfortunes had their foundation in an ungovernable self-love, too much intermixed with jealousy and animosity. His example should be a striking lesson to all men of talents ; but we only consider him here as a Writer who has not a little contributed to the honour of Letters.

We have had few great Genius's since the glorious days of these illustrious men ; and Nature seemed as it were to repose herself, a little time before the death of Louis the Great *.

The road was difficult at the beginning of this Age, because untrodden ; it is so now likewise, because it has been beaten †. The great men of the preceding century have taught us to think and speak ; they have informed us of things which were before unknown. But little now is left to be said by their successors. In fine, the multitude of excellent pieces has occasioned a kind of satiety in literature.

The Age of Louis XIV. had in every thing, therefore, the fate of the Ages of Leo X. of Augustus, and of Alexander. The soils which produced in these illustrious times so many fruits of genius, had been long before preparing to rear them. In vain have we searched out in causes moral and physical, the reason of this slow fruitfulness, and of the long sterility that ensued. The true reason is, that among the Nations which cultivate the polite arts, it requires many years to purify their language and refine their taste. When these preliminaries are adjusted, then genius begins to bloom. Emulation and public favour lavished upon these new efforts, excite every talent. Each artist in his particular sphere seizes upon those natural beauties which correspond with his art. Whoever fathoms the theory of such arts as depend purely upon genius, must, if he has any himself,

* What an hyperbole is here ! Every thing bears reference to Louis XIV. See the Notes in pages 3 and 108, Vol. I. *Translator*.

† The metaphor is false here, as referring to travelling. *Ibid*.

know that the primary beauties, the grand natural outlines peculiar to such arts, and which are suited to the Nation for which their talents are employed, are in number very confined. The subjects and their suitable embellishments have boundaries still more contracted than is generally imagined.

The Abbe du Bos, a man of great good sense, who, in 1714, composed a Treatise upon Poetry and Painting, found not in the whole History of France one proper subject for an epic poem, but the destruction of the League by Henry the Great. He ought to have added, that the ornaments of the epopœa suitable to the Greeks and Romans, and the Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, being proscribed by the French Writers; the fabulous deities, oracles, invulnerable heroes, monsters, sorceries, metamorphoses, romantic adventures, now all generally exploded; the beauties proper to epic poetry are confined within a very narrow circle. If therefore at any time a Genius springs up, who possesses himself of all the embellishments suitable to the times, to the subject, and to the nation, and executes what he has attempted *, those who follow him will find the whole fund exhausted.

It is the same in tragic compositions. It is not to be supposed that sublime passages and elevated sentiments can

* Here the Author alludes to his own Poem, entitled *La Henriade*. We cannot, however, subscribe to his opinion, or that of the Critics who suppose the epopœa depends so much on the machinery of Heathen Gods, &c. from the use of which we Christian Authors are excluded: for granting the scene or plan of the work is laid within the pale of the Church, the opinions and traditions of our own superstition supply the Author with a fund of machinery as ample as any that antiquity can produce. We have our demons, satires, sorceries, prophecies, apparitions, dreams, and even metamorphoses, with all the romantic adventures of chivalry, which, if properly exhibited, would produce as good an effect as the intervention of the Gods of Homer, which, in spite of all that has been said in their defence, certainly outrage probability, and would be a disgrace to any system of religion. After all, notwithstanding what Aristotle, Boissu, Rapin, and other Critics have said of the fable and the machinery of the Epic Poem, we will venture to affirm, that the success of it does not so much depend upon the contrivance of the Poet, in these particulars, as upon the characters or manners, the imagery and versification of the performance, *Smollett*.
be

be susceptible of such infinite variety as to be always new and affecting : every thing has its boundaries.

Nor is the case different, with regard to genteel comedy ; there is not in human nature above a dozen characters truly comic and highly marked. The Abbé du Bos, not having genius himself, thinks that men of wit may strike out a variety of new characters ; but they must all be founded in Nature. He imagines that those trifling peculiarities which mark the different characters of men, may be as happily handled as the stronger distinctions. The shades, indeed, are innumerable, but her most glaring colours are not many ; and it is these great primary rays that the great masters of Comedy generally make use of*.

Pulpit oratory, particularly that which relates to funeral eulogium, is in the same state. Moral truths being once delivered with eloquence, the images of wretchedness and human weakness, the vanity of grandeur, and the devastations of death, being once drawn by masterly hands, in time become common-place. We are reduced to the necessity of imitating, or erring from the point. A sufficient number of fables being composed by a La Fontaine, all further additions enter into the same system of morality ; and the course of adventure is nearly the same. Thus genius has but its æra, after which it must necessarily degenerate.

Those kinds of science whose subjects permit of perpetual renewal, such as history and natural philosophy, and which require only industry, judgment, and a common understanding, may more easily keep their ground ;

* Without entering into a discussion of this point, whether Nature has not produced more than a dozen original comic characters, we shall beg leave to observe, that it is the business of Comedy to paint the follies of the age : and every body knows, that the follies of life are infinitely varied, according to fashion, time, and circumstance. *Smollet.*

M. Voltaire confines the scope of Comedy within too narrow limits. 'Tis the distinguishing strokes of a general character which produce the finest effect in the comic scene. A piece of painting composed only of the prismatic colours, without their shades, would be but a daub. *Translator.*

and the manual arts, such as painting and sculpture, can never degenerate, when Princes, after the example of Louis XIV. are careful only to employ the best masters. For, in painting and sculpture, the same subjects may be treated an hundred different ways. The Holy Family is drawn every day, though it is a subject on which Raphael has displayed the utmost power of his art : but it would be absurd again to undertake a *Cinna*, an *Andromache*, an *Art of Poetry*, or a *Tartuffe* *.

It may be farther observed, that the last age having instructed the present, it is become so easy to write indifferent things, that we have been over-run with trifling books ; and, what is still worse, many of them as serious as useless. But amidst this quantity of pieces of small merit, an evil become necessary in a large city, opulent and idle, where one part of the people are always striving to amuse the other ; there will now and then be found some excellent tracts, either of history or reflection, or of that superficial kind of writing which amuses every body †.

The French Nation has, above all others, produced most of these performances. Its language is become the

* We cannot think this a fair comparison. A picture appeals instantaneously to the eye, which enjoys it at the first glance : but a man must take some pains to become a judge of tragedy. A picture is a valuable piece of furniture, an original ornament, of which the owner is sole possessor ; an eighteen-penny pamphlet makes no figure at all, and is besides common to thousands ; a circumstance that must greatly diminish its value. Yet we will be bold to say, that if the same subject for tragedy was treated by a dozen different Authors of established reputation, we should peruse them all with pleasure ; and if there was but one copy of each, it would, perhaps, fetch as great a price as an original *Milona*. *Smollet*.

† The writings of the present age have been undervalued, not from their mediocrity, but from their abundance. Genius is become cheap, because the market is overstocked. Mr. Pope was caressed by the Great, as the first Port of the age. His friendship was courted by the first persons in the nation ; and his fortune was made at once by a liberal subscription. Let it not be imagined we want to detract from the memory or fame of this excellent Writer, when we declare our opinion, that there are now living several Authors equal to Pope in poetical merit, who have never felt one ray of patronage or protection. *Idem*.

language of Europe ; every thing has contributed to this ; the celebrated Writers of the Age of Louis XIV. ; those who succeeded them ; the Calvinist Ministers who were refugees ; and carried eloquence and method into other countries ; a Bayle, above all, who wrote in Holland, and was read throughout Europe ; a Rapin de Thoyras, who published in French the only good History of England † ; a St. Evremond, whose acquaintance was sought by the whole English Court ; a Dutchess of Mazarin, whom they were all ambitious to please ; and a Madame d'Olbreuse, afterwards Dutchess of Zell, who carried into Germany all the graces of her native country. The social spirit is the natural characteristic of the French ; a merit and pleasure of which other Nations feel the want. The French tongue is, of all other languages, that which expresses every subject of polite conversation with the greatest ease, correctness, and elegance, and thereby contributes, all over Europe, to one of the greatest pleasures of life.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Sequel of the Arts.

THE arts which do not depend solely upon the mind, such as Music, Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, made but small progress in France, before that æra which we name the Age of Louis XIV. Music was as yet in its infancy ; all that we knew were some languid songs, and a few airs for the violin, the guitar, and theorbo, most even of which were composed in Spain. The taste, the skill of a Lully, surprised the nation. He was the first who in France introduced basses, half-notes, and fugues. However easy and simple his compositions may now appear, the executing

† This assertion will, we hope, admit of a dispute. Rapin reigned for some years, because there was no competitor. The case is otherwise at present *. *Smollett.*

* N. B. Dr. Smollet wrote a History of England himself. *Translator.*

of them must at first have cost some pains. There are at this time a thousand people who understand music, for one who was a master of it in the days of Louis XIII. and the art has arrived at perfection, in the profession*.

Few great towns are now without a public concert; whereas then there was not one, even in Paris. The King's band of twenty-four violins, was all the music of France. The different species of science belonging to music, and its dependent arts, made afterwards such a progress, that, about the end of Louis XIV.'s reign, the art of pricking down dances was invented; so that it may now be truly said we dance by book.

In the Regency of Mary of Medicis, we had very great architects. She built the Palace of Luxemburg in the Tuscan style, to do honour to her own country, and embellish ours. The same Desbrosses to whom we owe the portal of St. Gervais, built that Queen's Palace, which she never enjoyed. Cardinal Richelieu, with equal greatness of soul, came not near her in taste. His Palace, which now belongs to the Crown, is a proof of it. When that beautiful front of the Louvre, which with regret we still behold unfinished, was first raised, we conceived the warmest expectations. Many magnificent buildings have been erected by citizens; but they have been more highly finished within than without, and contribute more to gratify the luxury of individuals, than to the embellishment of the city.

Colbert, the Mécenas of the Arts, founded an Academy of Architecture in 1671. It is not enough to have Vitruvius's, we must also have Augustus's to employ them.

It is also necessary that the municipal magistrates should be men of public spirit, and possessed of taste. Two or three such Mayors of Paris as the President Turgot, would have prevented the reproach now cast

* What music may have gained in composition, it seems to have lost in expression: for the modern refinements of this art are calculated to tickle the ear, rather than wake or assuage the passions of the heart. *Smollet.*

upon that city, on account of the Town-house, so badly built, and so ill situated; of the public square, so small and irregular, remarkable only for executions and bonfires; of the principal streets, so extremely narrow; and, in fine, of those remains of barbarity, still subsisting in the midst of grandeur, and in the very bosom of all the arts.

Painting began with Poussin, in the days of Louis XIII. It is not worth while to take notice of the indifferent artists in that way who preceded him. We have always since his time had great painters; though not indeed in that abundance which constitutes one of the riches of Italy. But to say nothing of Le Sueur, who had no other master but himself; or Le Brun, who, in design and composition, equalled the Italians; yet we can boast of more than thirty painters, who have left behind them pieces worthy of admiration. Foreigners begin to purchase them of us. I have seen the galleries and apartments of a great Monarch*, which have been adorned with our pictures only, of whose merit we were not, perhaps, sufficiently apprized. I have known in France twelve thousand livres refused for a picture of Santerre. Europe cannot boast a greater, nor perhaps a finer piece of painting, than the cieling at Versailles, by Le Moine.

We have lost Vanloo, whom even foreigners allowed to be the first in Europe. Colbert not only gave to the Academy of Painting its present form, but prevailed also upon Louis XIV. to establish one at Rome, in 1667. An house was there purchased for the Superintendent. Scholars are sent thither who have obtained the premium in the Academy at Paris. They are sent and maintained there at the King's expence. They design after antiques, and study the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo. This ambition of imitating her is a noble homage paid to ancient and modern Rome; and we still continue it, notwithstanding the immense collection of Italian pictures made by the Duke of Orleans and the

* The King of Prussia.

King, and those master-pieces of sculpture, produced in France, which have set us above the search after foreign assistance.

We have principally excelled in sculpture, and in the art of casting in metal colossal equestrian figures, at a single heat.

Should there hereafter be discovered in ruins such master-pieces of art as the baths of Apollo, exposed to all the injuries of the weather in the gardens of Versailles; the tomb of Cardinal Richelieu in the Chapel of the Sorbonne, not sufficiently pointed out to the Public; the equestrian statue of Louis XIV. made at Paris, to embellish Bourdeaux; the Mercury sent by the present King of France as a present to his Majesty of Prussia; and other performances equal in merit to those I have named; is it not probable they would set this Age in a light as advantageous as the most polished æra of ancient Greece?

We have equalled the Antients in our medals. Varin was the first who raised this art above mediocrity, about the end of the reign of Louis XIII. The number and variety of these pieces which we see ranged in historical order in that part of the Gallery of the Louvre assigned to the Artists, is surprising. There are above two millions, and most of them very masterly executed.

Nor have we been less successful in the art of engraving on precious stones. That of multiplying pictures, of perpetuating them by means of copper-plates, and transmitting with ease to posterity all the representations of art and nature, was, before this time, in a very imperfect state in France. It is one of the most useful and pleasing arts. We are indebted for it to the Florentines, among whom it was invented, about the middle of the sixteenth century; and it has been more improved in France than even in the place of its discovery, because we have made a greater number of works in that way. The King's collection of prints has been often considered as one of the most magnificent presents that could be given to ambassadors. Chasing in gold and silver, which depends upon design and taste, has been carried

to the highest perfection which the hand of man is capable of.

Having thus run through all those arts which contribute to the delight of individuals, and the glory of the State, let us not pass over in silence one of the most useful of them all, in which France surpasses all nations of the world; I mean Surgery, the progress of which was so rapid and celebrated in this Age, that people crowded to Paris from all parts of Europe, for those cures and operations which required uncommon dexterity of hand. And, besides that good surgeons were to be found scarcely any where but in France, it was the only country in which the instruments necessary to that art, were properly finished. They supplied all their neighbours; and the celebrated Cheselden, one of the greatest surgeons in London, told me, that it was he who first caused them to be fabricated in that city, in 1715. Physic, which contributes to perfect the chyrurgical art, did not make a swifter progress in France, than in England, and under Boerhaave * in Holland. But we may say of physic as of philosophy, that, by making use of the lights communicated to us by our neighbours, we have raised it to the greatest possible perfection.

Thus have I given, in general, a faithful portrait of the progress of the human genius, among the French, in this Age, which commenced under Cardinal Richelieu, and ended with our own times. It will be difficult to surpass it; and even though this should happen in some things, it will ever remain a model for those more fortunate Ages to which it may give birth.

* Boerhaave. In Dutch the diphthong *oe* is pronounced *eo*. *Voltaire*.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Of the Fine Arts in Europe, in the Time of Louis XIV.

I HAVE sufficiently hinted, in the course of this History, that the public disasters it contains, and which succeed one another almost without intermission, are at length erased from the registers of time. The springs, and the details of politics sink into oblivion. Wise laws, institutions, and the monuments produced by the Arts and Sciences, remain for ever.

Of the immense crowd of strangers that now travel to Rome, not as pilgrims, but as persons of taste, hardly one is at the pains to enquire any thing concerning Gregory VII. or Boniface VIII. They admire the beautiful churches built by a Bramantes and a Michael Angelo, the paintings of a Raphael, and the sculptures of a Bernini. If they have genius, they read the works of Ariosto and Tasso, and reverence the ashes of Galileo. In England, Cromwell is scarcely mentioned, and the disputes of the White and Red Roses are almost forgotten; but Newton is studied for whole years together. No one is surprised to see in his epitaph, "That he was the glory of mankind;" but it would be matter of great wonder in that country, to see the remains of any statesman honoured with such a title.

I should be glad, in this place, to do justice to all great men, who, like him, were the ornaments of their country in the last century. I have called this the Age of Louis XIV. not only because this Monarch patronized the arts much more than all the other Kings his contemporaries put together, but also, because he lived to see all the generations of the Princes of Europe thrice renewed. I have fixed this epocha some years before the time of Louis XIV. and have carried it down some years after his decease, as this was in fact the space of time in which the human mind made the greatest progress.

The English have made greater advances towards perfection, in almost every species of learning, from 1660 to the present time, than in all the preceding ages. I shall not here repeat what I have elsewhere said of Milton*. It is true, he is accused by several critics, of a strange extravagance in his descriptions; his fools paradise; the walls of alabaster with which the garden of Eden was surrounded; his devils, who transformed themselves from giants to pigmies, to take up less room in the council-chamber of hell, built all of pure gold; the firing of cannons in heaven; the hills that the combatants flung at each other's heads, cherubims on horseback, and seraphims whose bodies are cut asunder, and unite again. He is condemned for his prolixity and incessant repetitions. They say he neither equals Ovid nor Hesiod, in that long description of the formation of the earth, animals, and man. His dissertations on astronomy are censured, as being too dry, and his inventions are thought rather extravagant than marvellous, and more disgusting than striking; such as a long causeway over the chaos; Sin and Death enamoured of each other, and having children by their incestuous commerce; and *Death, who lifts up his nose to snuff, through the immensity of chaos, the change which befall the earth, as a raven smells dead carcases*; the same Death who smells out Sin, who strikes with his petrifying club on the Cold and on the Dry, which, together with Heat and Humidity, becoming four valiant generals of an army, lead in battle-array the light-armed embryos of atoms. In short, criticism has exhausted itself upon this work; but there can be no end to the praises it merits. Milton remains the boast and admiration of the English nation; he is compared to Homer, whose faults are equally great, and is preferred to Dante, whose imagination is even more extravagant.

Among the great number of pleasing Poets that adorned the reign of Charles II. such as Waller, the Earls of Dorset and Roscommon, the Duke of Buck-

* See Page 147, Vol. I. and the second Note in the same place.

ingham, &c. the celebrated Dryden holds a distinguished place, who was equally famous in all the different species of poetry. His writings abound with a number of minute particulars, at once natural and brilliant, animated, bold, nervous, and pathetic; a merit in which he has been equalled by no other Poet of his nation, nor surpassed by any one among the Antients. If Pope, who came after him, had not, in the latter part of his life, written his *Essay on Man*, he would have fallen far short of Dryden*.

No nation has ever treated morality, in verse, with so much energy and depth, as the English. In this, I think, seems to lie the greatest merit of their Poets.

There is another kind of varied literature, which requires a still more cultivated and universal genius; this was what Addison possessed. He has not only immortalized his name by his *Cato*, which is the only English tragedy written with elegance and well-supported dignity†, but his other writings, both moral and critical, breathe the spirit of true taste: here sense is every where embellished with the flowers of imagination; and his manner of writing may serve as a model to all nations. There are several little pieces of Dean Swift, of which there is no model in antiquity. He is Rabelais perfected‡.

The English are not acquainted with funeral orations, it not being the custom with them to praise their Kings and Queens in their churches; but pulpit-eloquence, which before the reign of Charles II. was very coarse

* We need only compare their two Odes on Music, together, the Alexander's Feast, of Dryden, and the Ode to St. Cecilia, of Pope, to be certain of this assertion. The attempt in Pope of measuring a lance with Dryden, was both vain and invidious: the liberal mind must, therefore, rejoice at his defeat. *Translator.*

† Voltaire prefers this play, because 'tis written more according to the French model; with more declamation and sentiment, than either action or passion. But Doctor Johnson, upon comparing it with one of Shakespeare's, says, very justly, that "Addison speaks the language of Poets, but Shakespeare that of Men." *Ibid.*

‡ Some Writer files him, Rabelais in his senses; and Doctor Boerhaave called him, *Homo heteroclitus ingenii.* *Translator.*

in London, became reformed on a sudden. Bishop Burnet acknowledges, in his *Memoirs*, that this was owing to their imitation of the French. Perhaps they have surpassed their masters; their sermons are less stiff, less affected, and less declamatory than the French.

It is also very remarkable that these Islanders, separated from the rest of the world, and instructed so late, should have acquired at least as much knowledge of antiquity as is to be acquired in Rome, though so long the center of all nations. Marsham has unveiled the dark accounts of ancient Egypt; no Persian had ever a more perfect knowledge of the religion of Zoroaster, than the celebrated Hyde*. The History of Mahomet, and the times preceding him, which was unknown to the Turks, has been fully illustrated by the Englishman Sale, who made so many useful voyages to Arabia.

There is no country in the world where the Christian religion has been so strongly attacked, and so learnedly defended, as in England. From the time of Henry VIII. to that of Cromwell, they carried on their disputes like the ancient sort of gladiators who entered the arena with the scymetar in their hand, and a bandage over their eyes. Some slight differences in doctrine and worship were then productive of the most bloody wars; but though since the Restoration to the present time, scarce a year has passed without some attack upon the whole of Christianity, the controversy has not excited the least disturbance; learning being the only weapon now employed: formerly it was fire and sword.

But it is in philosophy that the English have particularly had the advantage over all other nations. They never amused themselves with ingenious systems. The fables of the Greeks should have been long laid aside, and those of the moderns ought never to appear. Chancellor Bacon first led the way, by asserting that we should search into Nature in a new manner, and have recourse to experiments. Boyle employed his whole life in

* Doctor Thomas Hyde.

making them. This is no place for discussions in natural philosophy; let it suffice to say, that, after three thousand years of vain enquiries, Newton was the first who discovered and demonstrated the great law of Nature, by which every part of matter tends towards a center, and all the planets are retained in their proper course. He was the first who truly beheld light; before him we knew not what it was.

His principles of the mathematics, which contain a system of natural philosophy entirely new and true, are founded on the discovery of a calculation, called, but improperly, of *Infinities*, the last effort of geometry, and which was performed by him at the age of twenty-four. This occasioned that great Philosopher the learned Halley to say, "That it will never be permitted any mortal to approach nearer to the Deity*."

Numberless good geometricians and natural philosophers were enlightened by his discoveries, and excited by him. Bradley, at length, went so far as to discover the parallax† of the fixed stars, at twelve millions of miles distance from our little globe.

The same Halley whom I have just mentioned, though no more than a private astronomer, had the command of one of the King's ships in the year 1698. In this ship he determined the position of the stars of the Antarctic Pole‡, and marked the different variations of the compass in all the parts of the known world. The famous voyage of the Argonauts was, in comparison of his, no more than the passing a ferry in a boat; and yet this voyage of Halley's has scarcely been spoken of in Europe.

This indifference of ours for great things, when become too familiar, and the admiration paid by the ancient Greeks to the most trivial ones, is another proof of the prodigious superiority of our Age over the ancient times. Boileau in France, and Sir William

* A sublime complement, and a fine expression. *Translator.*

† The difference between the true and apparent situation of any object viewed through a refractive medium. *Ibid.*

‡ The South Pole. *Ibid.*

Temple in England, obstinately deny any such superiority; they seem resolved to depreciate their own Age, in order to exalt themselves above it. This dispute between the antients and moderns, is at length decided, at least as to philosophy. There is not one of the ancient philosophers, whose works are now made use of for the instruction of youth in any of the enlightened nations.

Locke alone might serve as a great instance of the advantage the present time has over the finest Ages of Greece. From Plato down to him, there is a perfect void; no one, during all that interval, having explained the operations of the soul; and a person who should be acquainted with all that Plato has written, and acquainted only with that, would have very little knowledge, and even that erroneous.

The Greek was indeed an eloquent writer; his *Apology* for Socrates is a great piece of service rendered to the learned of all nations. It is but just to hold him in veneration, who shewed oppressed virtue so venerable, and its persecutors so detestable. It was for a long time thought that so fine a moralist could not be a bad metaphysician; and he was held almost for a Father of the Church, on account of his *Ternarion*, which no one understood.

But what would be thought of a philosopher in our days, who should tell us that matter is *the Being*; and that the world is a figure of twelve pentagons? that fire, which is a pyramid, is linked to the earth by numbers? How would a person be received, who should go about to prove the immortality and metempsychosis of the soul, by saying, that sleep comes from watching, watching from sleep, life from death, and death from life? Yet such are the arguments that have been the admiration of so many ages; and ideas still more extravagant have since continued to be made use of, in the education of mankind.

Locke is the only one who has explained the Human Understanding, in a book where there are nothing but

truths; and what renders the work perfect, is, that these truths are clear.

If we would, once for all, see in what this last Age has the superiority over the former ones, we have only to cast our eyes upon Germany and the North. Hevelius, at Dantzick, is the first astronomer that was ever well acquainted with the planet of the moon; no man before him having ever so carefully examined the heavens. Among the many great men which this Age has produced, no one is a more striking example how justly it may be called the Age of Louis XIV. Hevelius lost an immense library by fire. The French Monarch recompensed the astronomer with a present that far overpaid his loss.

In Holstein, Mercator was the forerunner of Newton in geometry. The Bernouillis of Switzerland were the worthy disciples of this great man. Leibnitz was for some time considered as his rival.

The famous Leibnitz was born at Leipzick: he ended his days in Hanover, like a true philosopher, believing in a God, like Newton, without consulting the various opinions of mankind. He was perhaps a man of the most universal learning in Europe; he was an historian indefatigable in his enquiries; a profound civilian, who enlightened the study of the law by philosophy, foreign as it may appear to that kind of science*; so acute an ontologist, as to attempt reconciling divinity with metaphysics; a tolerable Latin poet; and lastly, so good a mathematician, as to dispute with the great Newton the invention of the calculation of Infinites, and to make the doubt for some time to subsist, between Newton and him.

This was then the illustrious Age of Geometry. Mathematicians sent frequent challenges to each other,

* The connection here is not so remote as M. de Voltaire seems to imagine. The nature of Man, the

Quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
the nature, circumstances, and relative situation of nations, upon a consideration of which all just and prudent Laws should be founded, are all equally the objects of the Philosopher, the Legislator, and the Politician. *Translator.*

that

that is to say, problems to be solvèd, much in the same manner as it is said the ancient Kings of Egypt and Asia sent ænigmas to be answered by one another. The problems proposed by these geometricians were of a much more difficult nature than the Egyptian ænigmas, and yet none of them remained unanswered, either in Germany, England, Italy, or France. There never was a more universal correspondence kept up between philosophers, than at this period, and Leibnitz contributed to animate it. A Republic of Letters was insensibly established in Europe, in the midst of war, and notwithstanding the number of different religions. The Arts and Sciences all of them thus received mutual assistance from each other, and the Academies helped to form this republic. Italy and Russia were united by the bonds of science, and the natives of England, Germany, and France, went to study at Leyden. The famous Physician Boerhaave was consulted at the same time by the Pope and the Czar of Muscovy. His principal pupils have in like manner drawn foreigners to them, and are in some measure become the physicians of nations. The truly learned, of every denomination, have strengthened the bands of this grand Society of Geniuses, universally extended, and every where independent. This correspondence is still carried on, and proves one of the greatest comforts against the evils which ambition and politics scatter through the world.

Italy has preserved her ancient glory, in this Age, though she has produced no new Tassos nor Raphaels. It is sufficient that she has once produced them. A Chiabrera, and afterwards a Zappi, and a Filicaia, have shewn that delicacy is always the characteristic of this nation. The *Merope* of Maffei, and the dramatic works of Metastasio, are beautiful monuments of the Age.

The study of true natural philosophy, as established by Galileo, still keeps its ground, in spite of its opposition to an ancient philosophy too much sanctified. The Cassinis, the Vivianis, the Manfredis, the Bianchinis,

the Zanottis, and many others, have spread over Italy the same light which beamed in other countries; and, though its principal rays came from England, yet the Italian schools have been able to gaze on it in all its splendor.

Every kind of literature has been cultivated in this ancient seat of the Arts, as much as elsewhere, except in those subjects where a freedom of thinking allows a greater latitude to the mind in other nations. This Age, in particular, has attained a better knowledge of antiquity, than the preceding. Italy furnishes more monuments than all Europe together, and in proportion as these have been brought to light, Science has become more extensive.

We are indebted for this progress to some wise men and some genius's, thinly scattered over several parts of Europe, almost all of them for a long time subjected to persecutions, and lost in oblivion: they have enlightened and comforted the world, during the wars that spread desolation through it. There are lists to be met with elsewhere, of all those who have been the ornaments of Germany, England, and Italy. It would be very improper in a stranger to pretend to rate the merits of so many illustrious men; let it suffice then to have shewn, that, in the last age, mankind had acquired throughout Europe greater lights than in all the ages that preceded it.

C H A P. XXXV.

Ecclesiastical Affairs; and Memorable Disputes.

OF the three orders of the State, the Church, which is the least numerous, is that which has exacted from the Sovereign a conduct the most delicate, and of the greatest address. To preserve at the same time an union with the See of Rome, and support the liberties of the Gallican Church, which are the rights of the ancient one; that

that is, to make the Bishops obey as subjects, without infringing their episcopal immunities; to oblige them to submit in many things to the secular jurisdiction, and to leave them judges in others; to make them contribute to the exigencies of the State, without offending against their privileges; all this required a compound of dexterity and resolution, of which Louis XIV. was always master.

The Clergy of France were, by degrees, reduced to a state of order and decency, from which the civil wars, and the licentiousness of the times, had caused them to deviate. The King would no longer permit either that laymen should possess benefices *in commendam**, nor any to be Bishops unless they were Priests; as the Cardinal Mazarin, who had held the Bishopric of Metz, when not even a Sub-deacon, and the Duke de Verneville, who had also enjoyed the profits of it, though a layman.

The money paid, one year with another, to the King, by the Clergy of France and the conquered towns, amounted to about two millions five hundred thousand livres †; and, since the numerical increase of the value of money, they have assisted the State, yearly, with about four millions, under the name of tenths, extraordinary subsidies, and free-gifts. The name and privilege of *free-gift* is still preserved, as one of the remains of ancient custom, whereby the Lords of Fiefs were wont to contribute to the necessities of the State, by way of free-gift to the King. In the time of feudal anarchy, Bishops and Abbots, being Lords of Fiefs, by an ancient abuse, were only obliged to furnish soldiers. Kings then, like other Lords, lived upon the revenue of their own domains: afterwards, when every other order changed, the Clergy remained upon their old footing, and preserved the custom of assisting the State by way of free-gift ‡.

* A sort of plurality. *Translator.*

† See the State of France, and Puffendorf. *Ibid.*

‡ There seems to be a contradiction here. Is the furnishing soldiers and the free-gift the same? If so, why was the distinction made just before? *Ibid.*

To this ancient custom, which a body that assembles often, easily preserves, and which must be necessarily lost by one that never assembles, is joined the immunity always claimed by the Church ; and the maxim, *that its revenues are those of the poor*. Not that it pretends to owe nothing to the State, of which it holds every thing ; because, when the Public is necessitated, it is to be considered in the first class of poor ; but it alledged on its own part, the right of only giving supplies of its own *free-will* ; and Louis XIV. exacted these supplies in such a manner, that he was sure of never being refused.

It is amazing to all Europe, as well as to France, that the Clergy, who are supposed to be possessed of one-third of the revenue of the Kingdom, should contribute so little. If they enjoy the third, it is indisputable that they ought to pay one-third of the expences of Government, which, upon an average, amounts to thirty millions yearly, besides the duties upon the consumptions, which they pay in common with other subjects ; but vague and partial judgments are passed upon every thing. It is indisputable, that the Church of France is, of all the Catholic ones, that which has accumulated the least riches. Not only it has no Bishop endowed, like the one of Rome, with a great sovereignty, but there is no Abbot possessed of a regale †, like the Abbot of Mount Cassin, and the Abbots of Germany. In general, the Bishops of France have not very large revenues. Those of Strasburg and Cambray are the most considerable ; but then they originally belonged to Germany, and the German Church was richer than the Empire.

Giannoni, in his History of Naples, asserts, that the Ecclesiastics enjoy two-thirds of the revenue of that country ‡. France does not labour under so enormous an abuse. They say, that the Church possesses the third of the Kingdom, as they pronounce at random that Paris contains a million of inhabitants.

† Princely rights and prerogatives. *Translator.*

‡ Book II. Chap. 6.

Were we but to take the pains of computing the revenues of the Bishoprics, by the rents of the leases granted about fifty years ago, it would appear, that the whole annual revenue did not then exceed four millions; and the commendatary Abbies amounted to about four millions five hundred thousand pounds. It is true, the leases were estimated at one-third of their real value; and if to this estimation we add the encrease of the landed revenue since, the sum total of the consistorial benefices will amount to about sixteen millions; and it should not be forgotten, that out of this income there goes annually a considerable sum to Rome, which, as it never comes back, is absolutely lost to us. The King is herein extremely liberal to the Holy See; by which the State is plundered, in the space of a century, of more than 400,000 marks of silver; which could not in time fail to impoverish the Kingdom, were not the loss abundantly repaired by the returns of commerce. To these benefices which pay annates * to Rome, must be added the cures, convents, canonries, communities, and all other ecclesiastical establishments; and, if we compute the value of all together at fifty millions yearly, throughout the whole extent of the Kingdom, we shall not fall far short of the truth.

Those who have enquired into this matter with the utmost accuracy and attention, cannot carry the sum total of the yearly revenues of the Gallican Church, secular and regular, farther than eighty millions. This is no exorbitant sum, when appropriated to the maintenance of ninety thousand regulars, and about one hundred and sixty thousand other ecclesiastics, which was the computation in 1700: and of these ninety thousand, more than one-third live upon alms and masses. Many conventual Monks do not stand their community in two hundred livres yearly: there are regular Abbots, whose income each annually amounts to two hundred thousand livres: 'Tis this enormous disproportion that strikes and excites

* First-fruits; a year's income of all Ecclesiastical Livings.—*Translator.*

murmurs. We pity a poor country Curate, whose laborious duties only acquire him a scanty income of three hundred livres, and between four or five hundred more from liberalities ; while a lazy Monk become an Abbot, but not the less lazy, possesses an immense fortune ; receiving at the same time from his inferiors the most flattering and pompous titles. These abuses are carried much higher in Flanders, Spain, and above all, in the Catholic States of Germany, where we often find Monks among the Princes. Abuses almost every where pass by degrees into laws ; and if the wisest men were to assemble to compose laws, where is the State whose constitution would remain unalterably the same ?

The Clergy of France always observe a custom that is very burthenome to them, when they assist the King with a free-gift of several millions for a certain term of years. They borrow the money, and reimburse their creditors with the capital, after having paid the interest ; thus paying it twice over†. It would be more to the advantage of the State, as well as of the Clergy in general, and more conformable to reason, if this body were to assist the wants of their country by contributions proportioned to the value of their respective benefices ; but we are always too much attached to old customs. It is owing to this disposition that the Clergy, though they assemble every five years, have never yet had a Hall of Convocation, nor any one moveable they could call their own. It is clear, that with less expence to themselves, they might have more effectually served the King, and have built themselves a Palace in Paris, which would have been a new ornament to that capital.

In the minority of Louis XIV. the maxims of the Clergy of France were not entirely purged from the leaven they had imbibed from the League. It is well known, that in the younger days of Louis XIII. and in the last Assembly of the States, held in 1614, the most numerous part of the Nation, distinguished by the ap-

† I don't understand the objection made here. Does not every borrower pay the interest, till he discharges the principal ? *Translator.*

pellation of the Third Estate, and which is, as it were, the foundation of the State, in vain demanded of the Parliament, that it should be registered as a fundamental law, "That no spiritual power can deprive Kings of their sacred rights, which they hold only from God ; and that it is high-treason of the first magnitude to teach the doctrine of deposing and killing Kings." This was the substance of the Nation's demand, in nearly the same words. It was made when the blood of Henry the Great still smoked. Yet a Bishop of France, born in that Kingdom, the Cardinal Du Perron, opposed violently the proposition, under the pretence that it was not the province of the Third Estate to dictate laws that any way concern the Church. Why did he not then, in conjunction with the Clergy, concur with the request of the Third Estate?—But he was so far from this as to say, "That the power of the Pope was plenary without controul, direct as to spiritual matters, indirect as to temporals ; and he was also commissioned by the Clergy to add, they would excommunicate all such persons as might pretend to maintain that the Pope could not depose Kings."

The Nobility was gained over, and the Commons were obliged to desist. The Parliament renewed their ancient decrees, declaring the Crown independent, and the King's person sacred. The Ecclesiastical Chamber, in acknowledging the King's person to be sacred, still persisted to maintain that the Crown was dependent. The very same temper had before deposed Louis the Debonnaire. It now prevailed so far, that the Court was obliged to acquiesce, and imprison the Printer who had published the decree of Parliament, under the title of 'The Fundamental Law.' This proceeding was said to be necessary for the public peace ; but it was meant to punish those who furnished the Crown with defensive arms. The case was quite different at Vienna, because France stood in awe of the Court of Rome, and the Pope was afraid of the House of Austria.

The cause here given up was so much the cause of Kings, that James I. King of England, wrote against Cardinal

Cardinal Perron ; 'and this piece is the best of his works. It was also the cause of the people, whose safety required that their Sovereign should not depend upon a foreign Power. Reason at length prevailed ; and Louis XIV. with the weight of his authority, found no great trouble in procuring it to be heard.

Antonio Perez had recommended to Henry IV. three things, *Roma, Consejo, Pielago* *. Louis XIV. had attained to such a superiority in the two last, that he had no need of the first. He was particularly careful to preserve the custom of appealing to Parliament from the decrees of the Ecclesiastical Courts, in all cases respecting the regal jurisdiction. The Clergy sometimes complained of this proceeding, and sometimes applauded it : for if, on the one hand, these appeals support the rights of the State against episcopal authority, they yet confirm that authority itself, in maintaining the rights of the Gallican Church against the pretensions of the Court of Rome : infomuch that the Bishops have looked upon the Parliament both as their adversaries and defenders ; and the Government has been careful, that, in spite of the quarrels of religion, the boundaries, which are easily broken down, should on neither side be infringed. It is with regard to the different bodies and companies of the State, the same as with the interest of trading towns ; to balance them is in the hand of the Legislator.

OF THE LIBERTIES OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

THIS expression of *Liberties* supposes subjection. Liberties and privileges are exemptions from general servitude. They should be stiled the *Rights*, and not the *Liberties*, of the Gallican Church. These rights are those of all the ancient churches. The Bishops of Rome never had the least jurisdiction over the Christian societies of the Eastern Empire. But on the destruction of the Western one, every thing was invaded by them.

The Church of France was, a long time, the only one

* The words are Spanish. *Roma, Council, and the Sea* ; which may be interpreted, " Respect the Holy Sec, regard good counsel, and attend to commerce." *Translat.*

that disputed against the See of Rome the antient rights that each Bishop had assumed to himself, when after the first Council of Nice the ecclesiastical and purely spiritual administration modelled itself upon the civil government, and that every Bishop had his diocese, as each imperial district had its own.

Certainly no gospel ever ordained that a Bishop of Rome should send into France his Legates *à latere*, with power to *judge, reform, dispense, and levy money from the people.*

To order the French Prelates to come and plead at Rome.

To impose taxes on the benefices of the Kingdom, under the names of vacancies, assets, successions, first-fruits, incompatibilities, commands, ninths, tenths, annates †.

To excommunicate the King's Officers, in order to forbid their exercising the functions of their employs.

To render bastards capable of succession.

To invalidate the wills of those who have died without leaving a legacy to the Church.

To permit the ecclesiastics of France to alienate their immoveable properties.

To delegate Judges for enquiring into the legitimacy of marriages.

In a word, there is an enumeration of seventy usurpations, against which the Parliaments of the Kingdom have ever supported the natural liberty of the Nation, and the dignity of the Crown.

Notwithstanding the sway which the Jesuits have possessed under Louis XIV. and whatever restraint this Monarch has imposed upon the remonstrances of the Parliaments, since he took the reins of government into his own hands, yet none of these great bodies ever let pass an occasion of suppressing the pretensions of the Court of Rome; which vigilance was always approved of by the King, because that in those instances the essential rights of the Nation were those also of the Prince.

† These are denominations of fees and impositions in his Holiness's Book of Rates, which we cannot explain, as being *happily* ignorant of. *Translator.*

The most important and delicate affair of this sort, was that of the Regale. The Kings of France have a right to present to all simple benefices of a diocese, during the vacancy of the See, and also for that time to appropriate the revenues to what use they think proper. This prerogative is peculiar at present to the Kings of France; but every State has its own privileges. The Kings of Portugal enjoy one-third of the revenues of every Bishop in their dominions. The Emperor claims the first-fruits, and disposes of all livings when they become first vacant after his accession. The rights of the Kings of Naples and Sicily are still greater. Those of the Court of Rome are founded rather upon custom, than original title.

The Kings of the Merovingian race appointed all Dignitaries and Bishops, of their own sole authority. We know, that in 742, Carloman created Archbishop of Mayence that same Boniface who afterwards consecrated Pepin in return. There still remain several monuments of the power that the Kings had of disposing of these important dignities; which the more they are so, the more they should be dependent on the ruler of the State. The retinue of a foreign Bishop appeared to be dangerous; and the nomination reserved to this foreign Bishop has been often found to be still more so. It has more than once occasioned a civil war. Since the Kings confer the Bishoprics, it appears but just they should preserve the poor privilege of disposing of the revenue, and of nominating to simple benefices, during the short space that happens between the death of one Bishop and the registering his successor's oath of fidelity.

The Bishops of several towns, reunited to the Crown under the third race, refused to acknowledge this right, which their former Lords had been too weak to maintain. The Popes sided with the Bishops, and their claims always remained enveloped in obscurity. The Parliament under Henry IV. in 1608, declared, that the Regale should take place throughout the whole Kingdom. The Clergy murmured; and that Prince, who temporised with the Bishops and the Court of Rome,

brought the affair before his Council, but took care it should not be decided.

The Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin caused several orders of Council to be issued, whereby those Bishops who held themselves exempt, were required to produce their titles. The affair remained undecided, even in the year 1673; and the King at that time did not venture to dispose of a single benefice, in almost any diocese beyond the Loire, during the vacancy of a See.

At length, in 1673, the Chancellor Michael le Tellier published an Edict, whereby all the Bishoprics in the Kingdom were declared subject to the Regale. Two Bishops, who were unluckily the most virtuous men in the Kingdom, obstinately refused to submit. These were Pavillon, Bishop of Alet, and Caulet, Bishop of Pamiers. They defended their cause at first with very plausible reasons, and were as strongly opposed. When men of understanding dispute long, it is very likely the question is far from being clear. This was indeed very obscure; but it was evident, that neither religion nor good order were interested in preventing the King from doing in two dioceses, what he did in every other. Nevertheless, the two Bishops remained inflexible. Neither the one nor the other of them had caused his oath of fidelity to be registered; and the King thought he had a right to dispose of the Prebends in their respective Sees.

The two Prelates excommunicated all those who were appointed by the Regale. Both had been suspected of Jansenism. Innocent X. was their enemy; but when they disputed against the King's prerogative, they had Innocent XI (Odescalchi) on their side. His Pope, as virtuous and obstinate as themselves, warmly espoused their cause.

The King at first contented himself to exile the principal Officers of these Bishops. He shewed more moderation than two men who piqued themselves on their sanctity. Out of respect to his old age, the Bishop of Alet was left to die in peace. The Bishop of Pamiers resisted alone, and was not to be shaken. He repeated his excommunications, and persisted in not registering

his oath of fidelity ; persuaded that by such an oath the Church was acknowledged as subservient to monarchy. His temporalities were seized upon by the King. The Pope and the Jansenists indemnified him. He gained by the privation of his revenues, and died in 1680, satisfied, that in opposing the King, he had maintained the cause of Heaven.

His death did not extinguish the quarrel. The Canons named by the King came to take possession : the Monks, who pretended to be Canons and Grand Vicars, drove them out of the Church, and excommunicated them. The Metropolitan Montpeſar, Archbishop of Toulouse, to whom it belonged to take cognizance of this matter, gave sentence, but to no purpose, against these pretended Grand Vicars. They appealed to Rome, according to the custom of referring to that Court such ecclesiastical causes as were determined by the Archbishops of France ; a custom directly contrary to the liberties of the Gallican Church : but there are contradictions in every form of human government. The Parliament issued arrets. A Monk, named Cerle, who was one of these Grand Vicars, defied the sentence of the Archbishop, as well as the decrees of the Parliament. This tribunal condemned him for contumacy, to be drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, and to lose his head. He was executed in effigy. From his asylum he insulted both the Archbishop and the King ; and was supported by the Pope. Nay, this sovereign Pontiff went farther. Persuaded, like Pamiers, that the right of the Regale was an abuse upon the Church, and that the King had no authority in the diocese of Pamiers, he repealed the ordonnances of the Archbishop of Toulouse, and excommunicated the Grand Vicars named by that Prelate, with all the ecclesiastics that held under the Regale, and their abettors.

The King convened an Assembly of the Clergy, consisting of thirty-five Bishops, and a like number of deputies of the second order. The Jansenists, for the first time, took part with the Pope ; and this Pope, an enemy to the King, favoured, without loving them. He piqued him self on opposing this Monarch, upon every occasion :
and

and afterwards in 1689, even joined with the Allies against James II. because he was protected by Louis XIV.; so that it was then a common saying, That James should become an Huguenot, and the Pope a Catholic, to terminate the troubles of Europe and of the Church.

However, the Assembly of the Clergy, in 1681 and 1682, unanimously declared for the King. Another trifling quarrel, become now important, happened to arise. The election to a priory in the suburbs of Paris inflamed the difference between the Pope and the King. The Roman Pontiff repealed the ordonnance of the Archbishop of Paris, and annulled his nomination to that priory. The Parliament adjudged this proceeding of the Court of Rome to be an abuse. The Pope, by a bull, ordered the Inquisition to burn the Parliament's decree; and the Parliament had ordered the suppression of the bull. These disputes have been for a long time the common and inevitable consequences of that ancient mixture of the natural liberty which every country claims, of governing within itself, and of its subserviency to a foreign power.

The Assembly of the Clergy took a course, which shews that men of wisdom can yield with dignity to their Sovereign, without any other power interposing. They consented that the right of Regale should extend over the whole Kingdom; but it was done in such a manner as to seem rather a concession on the part of the Clergy, relinquishing their pretensions out of regard to their protector, than a formal acknowledgment of the absolute right of the Crown.

The Assembly justified themselves to the Pope by a letter, wherein we find this passage, which alone ought to serve as a constant rule in all disputes:—"It is better to cede something of one's right, than to disturb the public tranquillity." The King, the Gallican Church, and the Parliament, were contented. The Jansenists wrote some libels. The Pope continued inflexible. He reversed by a brief all the resolutions of the Assembly, and commanded the Bishops to retract their concessions. Here was some foundation for dividing for ever the

Church of France from that of Rome. There had been some design of making a Patriarch in the times of Cardinal Richelieu and Mazarin.

It was the wish of every Magistrate, that the tribute of annates should be no longer paid to Rome; that Rome should nominate to the benefices of Brittany, only for six months in the year; and that the Bishops of France should no longer stile themselves Bishops *by permission of the Holy See*. Had it been the King's inclination, he needed only to have said the word; he was master of the Assembly of the Clergy, and the Nation was for him. Rome would have lost all by the inflexibility of a virtuous Pope, and the only one of that age who knew not how to temporise. But there are certain ancient boundaries which cannot be removed, without the most violent shocks. It required stronger ties of interest, more inflamed passions, and greater perturbations in the minds of men, to break at once with the Court of Rome; and this rupture would have been the more difficult, while the Ministry persisted in extirpating Calvinism. It was even looked upon as a bold step, to publish the four famous decisions of the same Assembly of the Clergy, in 1682, of which here follows the substance:

1. God gave no power, either directly or indirectly, in temporal matters, either to Peter or his successors.
2. The Gallican Church approves of the Council of Constance, which declares General Councils superior to the Pope, in spirituals.
3. The rules, customs, and established practices of the Kingdom, and the Gallican Church, ought to remain unchangeable.
4. The Pope's decisions, in matters of faith, are not binding, until approved of by the Church.

All the Tribunals and Faculties of Theology registered these four propositions, in their fullest sense, and forbade by edict any one to maintain the contrary. This firmness was regarded at Rome as an overt-act of rebellion, and by the Protestants of Europe as a weak essay of a Church naturally free, which had broken only four links of her chains.

These

These four maxims were at first espoused with enthusiasm by the whole Nation ; but they afterwards cooled. About the end of Louis XIV's reign, they began to be considered as problematical ; and Cardinal Fleury caused them to be in part disavowed, by an Assembly of the Clergy, without the least murmur ; because the minds of men were not then so much heated, and that during the administration of Cardinal Fleury, nothing was done very remarkable. They have since recovered their full vigour. Innocent XI. was nevertheless more than ever exasperated : he refused bulls to all the Bishops and Commendatary Abbots that had been nominated by the King ; so that when he died, which was in 1689, there were twenty-nine Sees in France without Bishops. These Prelates, notwithstanding, received their Revenues ; but they dared not either be consecrated, or perform any of the episcopal functions. The notion of creating a Patriarch was revived. The quarrel about the rights of Ambassadors at Rome, which completed the widening of these breaches, gave one reason to think that the time was come for establishing in France a Catholic Apostolic Church that was not Roman. The Attorney-General, Harlai, and the Advocate-General, Talon, made this sufficiently understood, by appealing, in 1687, from the bull against the franchises, as an abuse, and exclaiming against the obstinacy of the Pope, who left so many churches without pastors. This was a step to which the King never would agree, though it might have been easily done, notwithstanding it appeared so very difficult.

The cause of Innocent XI. became now the cause of the Holy See. The four propositions of the Clergy of France attacked the phantom of infallibility (which, though not believed in at Rome, yet was there supported), and the real power annexed to that phantom. Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII. followed the steps of the obdurate Odescalchi, not indeed with such violence. They confirmed the judgment pronounced against the Assembly of the Clergy ; they refused bulls to the Bishops ; and in fine did too much, because Louis XIV. had not done enough. The Bishops, weary of en-

joying no more than a regal nomination, without the exercise of their episcopal functions, intreated the Court of France to permit them to appease that of Rome.

The King, whose resolution was worn out, permitted their request. Each of them wrote separately to the Court of Rome, expressing themselves *grievously afflicted with the proceedings of the Assembly*; and each of them in his letter declared he did not look upon that as decided, which had there been decided; nor upon that to be established, which had there been established. Pignatelli (Innocent XII.) more mild than Odescalchi, was satisfied with this proceeding. The four propositions were yet from time to time not less taught in France. But these arms became rusty when the fight had ceased; and the dispute lay dormant without being determined; as is always the case in a State, which has not in such matters invariable and acknowledged principles. Thus we sometimes oppose, sometimes give way to Rome, according to the characters of those who govern, or the particular interests of those by whom the principal persons of the State are governed.

Louis XIV. except this, had no other kind of ecclesiastical quarrel with the Court of Rome; nor had he any opposition from the Clergy, in temporal matters.

Under him the Clergy became respectable, by a decency of behaviour unknown to the barbarous times of the two first races of our Kings, to the still more barbarous times of feudal government, and absolutely unknown during the civil wars and the troubles of Louis XIII.'s reign, and above all, during the Fronde; with some few exceptions, which will be always founded both in the vices and the virtues which prevail.

It was now only that the eyes of the people began to be opened upon the superstitions which always mingle with their religion. It was now permitted to believe that Lazarus and Mary Magdalen never were in Provence, in spite of the opinion of the Parliament of Aix, or of the Carmelites. The Benedictines could no longer persuade the people that Dionysius the Areopagite had
ever

ever governed the church of Paris. Pretended saints, false miracles, and supposed relics, began to be decried. That sound reasoning which had thrown such lights upon philosophy, made its way every where but slowly, and with difficulty.

Gaston Louis de Noailles, brother to the Cardinal, and Bishop of Chalons, in 1702, had sufficient sensible piety to throw away a relic which had been many ages carefully preserved in the church of Notre-Dame, worshipped under the name of Jesus Christ's navel. All Chalons murmured against the Bishop. Presidents, Counsellors, King's Officers, Treasurers of France, Merchants, Citizens, Canons, Curates, unanimously protested, by a juridical act, against this action of the Bishop, reclaiming the *holy navel*; alledging the garment of Christ preserved at Argenteuil, the handkerchief at Turin and Laon, one of the nails of the cross at St. Denis, and the prepuce at Rome, and many other relics that are preserved and despised, and which cause so much scandal to a religion which we revere. But the Bishop's wise resolution triumphed at length over the credulity of the people.

Some other superstitions, because united with respectable customs, still subsisted. The Protestants have therefore exulted; but they are obliged to acknowledge, that there is no Catholic Church in which those abuses are less common, or more despised, than in France.

The true philosophical spirit, which had not taken root till about the middle of this century, could not extinguish the ancient and modern disputes in theology, of which it took no cognizance. We shall now proceed to speak of these dissensions, which are a disgrace to the human understanding.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Of Calvinism, in the Time of Louis XIV.

IT is undoubtedly a melancholy consideration, that the Church has been always torn by intestine divisions, and that so much blood should have been for so many ages shed by those who proclaim the God of peace. This rage was unknown to Paganism. It covered the earth with darkness, but scarcely spilt any other blood than that of animals; and if human victims were sometimes offered up among the Jews and Pagans, such offerings, horrible as they were, never occasioned civil wars. The religion of the Pagans was composed of morality and festivals. Morality, which is common to all men and all seasons, and festivals, which are only acts of rejoicing, could never disturb mankind.

The spirit of dogmatism inspired men with the rage of religious war. I have often considered how, and by what means, that dogmatic spirit which divided the schools of Pagan antiquity, without occasioning any disturbances, should among us produce such horrible ones. It cannot be caused solely by fanaticism; for the Gymnosophists and Bramins, the most fanatic of mankind, never hurt any but themselves. Cannot then the origin of this new plague which has ravaged the earth, be found in that republican spirit which animated the primitive churches against the authority that hates resistance of every sort? Those secret assemblies which from caves and grottoes defied the authority of the Roman Emperors, by degrees formed a State within a State. It was a republic concealed in the bosom of the empire. Constantine drew it from under ground, and set it by the side of the throne.

The authority annexed to great Sees was soon found to run counter to the spirit of popularity, which had till then inspired all the Christian assemblies. It often happened, that when a Metropolitan uttered one opinion, a suffragan Bishop, a Priest, or a Deacon, maintained the
dict

direct contrary. All authority secretly hurts mankind, inasmuch as all authority is ever upon the increase. When people can find a pretext that may be deemed sacred, they soon make a duty of opposition*. Thus one party becomes persecutors, the other rebels, while on both sides they pretend to maintain the cause of God. We have seen, by the disputes supported by Arius against a Bishop, how the rage of governing souls has disturbed the peace of the earth †. To give one's own opinion as the will of Heaven, to command it to be believed under pain of death and eternal torments, was in some men deemed the utmost stretch of spiritual despotism; and to resist these two menaces, was in others the last effort of natural liberty. The *Essay on the Manners*, &c. you have passed through ‡, has shewn you a continual struggle between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, ever since the time of Theodosius; and since that of Charlemagne, the Grand Fiefs continually struggling against their Sovereigns; Bishops often rising against their Kings; and Popes at war with Bishops and with Kings. In the first ages they disputed less in the Latin Church. The continual invasions of Barbarians scarcely gave them time to think; and few of their dogmatical opinions were sufficiently clear, to secure them

* All the mischiefs of religious zeal are, we apprehend, deducible from the single doctrine of faith, implying that our eternal happiness or misery depends upon our believing or disbelieving certain tenets, concerning which the faculty of reason cannot be exercised. This it was which opened a way to every species of fanaticism and spiritual rancour: for those who adopted this tenet considered every person who differed from them in opinion, as reprobated and accursed; and mutual hatred, animosity, and persecution ensued. As the concerns of the soul were much more interesting than any that related to temporal establishments, the spiritual guides acquired such influence over the minds of the Neophytes §, as often superseded the authority of the civil magistrates; a circumstance which could not fail to arouse the jealousy of the Government under which they lived; and this jealousy was attended with severity, which served only to inflame the spirit of enthusiasm, and engender rebellion and despair. *Smollett*.

† *Essay on the Manners*, &c.

‡ In the first volumes of this work.

§ Neophyte, a convert, a proselyte, or, in the cast phraseology of fanatics, one regenerated. *Translator*,

universal

universal belief. The worship of images was almost every where rejected, in the West, in the Age of Charlemagne. A Bishop of Turin, named Claudius, inveighed against them with great acrimony, and maintained several opinions which at this time are the foundation of the Protestant religion. These opinions spread themselves in the valleys of Piedmont, Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc. They flourished in the twelfth century; soon afterwards produced the wars of the Albigenes; and having passed from thence to the University of Prague, excited the wars of the Hussites.

The interval between the troubles which arose from the ashes of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and those that were renewed by the sale of indulgences, was not more than one hundred years. The ancient opinions embraced by the Vaudois, the Albigenes, and the Hussites, revived and differently explained by Luther and Zuinglius, were eagerly adopted in Germany, as they furnished pretence for seizing on the many lands possessed by the Bishops and Abbots, and for resisting the power of the Emperors, who were then taking large strides towards arbitrary power. Those tenets triumphed in Sweden and Denmark, countries wherein people were free, under Kings.

The English, who inherit from nature a spirit of independence, adopted, qualified them, and thence composed a religion for themselves. Presbyterianism established in Scotland, during the troubles, a kind of Republic, the pedantry and harshness of which became much more intolerable than the inclemency of their climate, and even than the tyranny of the Bishops, which had excited so much clamour. It continued to be grievous in Scotland, till reason, laws, and compulsion had repressed it. The Reformation made its way in Poland; but its progress was considerable only in places where the people were not slaves. It found little difficulty in being received among the greatest and the richest part of the Swiss Cantons. From the same republican principle it was near being established at Venice; and might have perhaps taken root there, had

had not Rome been so near, and if the Government had not dreaded a democracy, to which the people in every Republic naturally aspire, and which was the chief view of most of the Reformers. The Hollanders shook off the yoke of Spain*, before they embraced this religion. Geneva became intirely a republican State, in receiving Calvinism.

The House of Austria took all possible pains to prevent these religions from getting footing in their dominions. They scarcely made any progress in Spain. They were extirpated with fire and sword in the Dukedom of Savoy, which had been their cradle. In 1655, the inhabitants of the vallies of Piedmont suffered what the people of Merindol and Cabriere had experienced under Francis I. in France. The Duke of Savoy absolutely exterminated the sect, as soon as he found it dangerous; so that there remained only some few, scarcely known, among the rocks which sheltered them.

It does not appear that the Lutherans and Calvinists caused any great troubles in France, under the resolute government of Francis I. and Henry II. But when the Administration was weak and divided, the quarrels of religion became violent. Condé and Coligni, become Calvinists because the Guises were Catholics, overwhelmed the State through strife. The levity and impetuosity of the nation, their passion for novelty and enthusiasm, changed them, for above forty years, from a most polished to a most barbarous people.

Henry IV. born of this sect, which he really loved without being bigotted to any, could not, though seconded by his victories and virtues, obtain the Crown without abandoning Calvinism. After he became a Catholic, he had not the ingratitude to consent to the destruction of a people, to whom, though enemies to monarchical government, in part he owed his Crown;

* The Dutch did not throw off the Spanish yoke, and then embrace the Protestant Religion; they were first converted to this doctrine, and finding themselves oppressed in the point of liberty of conscience, then shook off the yoke of Spain. *Smollet.*

and even had he been inclined to it, he could not now have destroyed this faction; he therefore cherished and protected, but restrained it.

The Huguenots of France, at this time, amounted to a twelfth part of the nation; and among them were many powerful Lords: whole cities were Protestants. They had made war upon their Sovereigns, who had been obliged to put some strong places into their hands for security. Henry III. had given up to them, in Dauphiné alone, fourteen; Montauban and Nismes, in Languedoc; Saumur, and above all Rochelle, which made a Republic of itself, and which the commerce and protection of the English might have rendered powerful.

At length Henry IV. seemed to act according to his inclination, his duty, and even his policy, by granting them, in 1598, the celebrated Edict of Nantes. This Edict was in reality no more than a confirmation of privileges which the Protestants had obtained, sword in hand, from preceding Kings, and which Henry the Great, after being established on the Throne, confirmed to them voluntarily. By this Edict of Nantes, which the name of Henry IV. had rendered more celebrated than any other, every Lord of a Fief vested with power of capital jurisdiction, was permitted the full exercise, within his own castle, of the pretended reformed religion. Every Lord not possessed of such power, was allowed thirty persons to be present at divine service. The full exercise of this religion was tolerated in every place under the immediate jurisdiction of a Parliament.

The Calvinists were free to print books in every place where their religion was permitted, without applying to their superiors. They were declared capable of holding all the great offices and dignities of State; and this appeared plainly, in effect, by the King's having created the Lords of Tremouille and Rohan * Dukes and Peers of France.

* Who were Huguenots.

A new Chamber was purposely formed in the Parliament of Paris, consisting of a President and sixteen Counsellors. This Court, which was called the Chamber of the Edict, determined all causes that concerned the Reformed, not only in the immense district of Paris, but likewise in that of Normandy and Brittany. Indeed there never was but one Calvinist admitted by right among the Counsellors of this jurisdiction: but as the design of it was to prevent those vexatious actions of which the party complained; and as men always value themselves upon discharging a trust by which they are distinguished; this Chamber, composed of Catholics, always rendered the most impartial justice to the Huguenots, as they themselves acknowledged.

They had a kind of lesser Parliament, at Castres, independent on that of Toulouse. They had likewise Courts of Justice at Grenoble and Bourdeaux, composed of one-half Roman Catholics, and the other Calvinists. Their Churches assembled in Synods in the same manner as the Gallican Church. These privileges, together with many others, incorporated the Calvinists with the rest of the nation. It was, in effect, suffering enemies to league together*; but the authority, the goodness, and the address of this great Monarch kept them within bounds during his life.

After the tragical and much-lamented death of Henry IV. during the weakness of a minority, and under a divided Court, it was hardly possible for the republican spirit of the Reformed not to abuse their privileges; or for the Court, feeble as it was, not to attempt to restrain them. The Huguenots had already established Circles in France, in imitation of those in Germany. The Deputies of these Circles were frequently seditious, and there were in the party itself several Noblemen of unbounded ambition. The Duke of

* No: It was, *in effect*, to make friends of enemies. 'Tis persecution, only, that creates the latter. M. Voltaire seems to have forgot his TOLERATION, here — But that was a popular subject; This a private opinion. Lyars, the proverb says, should have good memories. *Translator.*

Bouillon, and above all the Duke of Rohan, the chief who had the greatest influence among the Huguenots, soon hurried the restless spirit of the Preachers, and the blind zeal of the people, into an open revolt. The General Assembly of the party, in 1615, had the boldness to present a Remonstrance to the Court, in which, among other insolent articles, they demanded a reformation in the King's Council*. In the year 1616, they took up arms, in several places; and the audacity of the Huguenots joining with the divisions in the Court, the public hatred against the favourites, and the unsettled state of the nation, every thing was for some time in confusion. Nothing prevailed but seditions, intrigues, menaces, insurrections, treaties made in haste, and broken as speedily; which made the famous Cardinal Bentivoglio, at that time Nuncio in France, say, that he had been witness of nothing but storms.

In the year 1621, the Calvinist Churches of France offered Lesdiguières, who was afterwards made Constable, the command of their armies, with a salary of an hundred thousand crowns a-month. But Lesdiguières, more clear-sighted in his ambition, than they in their factions, and who knew them well, as having commanded them before, chose rather at that time to fight against them, than be at their head; and, instead of accepting their offers, turned Catholic. The party afterwards applied to the Marshal Duke of Bouillon, who returned for answer, that he was too old. To conclude, they conferred that unhappy post on the Duke of Rohan, who, jointly with his brother Soubise, had the hardiness to make war upon the King of France.

The same year the Constable de Luynes carried Louis XIII. from province to province. He reduced to obedience upwards of fifty cities, almost without

* This they did not do, as Huguenots, but as a select body. They were equally subjects, and had equal rights. When English Corporations or Counties address the King to relieve a grievance, they are not to be considered as distinct bodies from the rest of the people. The subject has a natural right to demand redress, and none but a Frenchman would treat the *Vex Populi* as *boldness*, or *insolence*. *Translator.*

resistance; but failed before Montauban, whence the King had the mortification of being obliged to decamp. Rochelle was besieged in vain. That city continued to defend itself, both by its own strength, and the succours it received from England; and the Duke de Rohan, a traitor to his Country, concluded a peace with his Sovereign, like one Crowned Head treating with another*.

After this peace, and the death of the Constable de Luynes, there was a necessity of renewing the war, and again laying siege to Rochelle, always in league against its Sovereign with the English and the Calvinists of the Kingdom. A woman (the mother of the Duke of Rohan) defended this city a whole year against the royal army, against the activity of Cardinal Richelieu, and the intrepidity of Louis XIII. who braved death more than once at this siege. The city suffered all the extremities of famine; and would not have been reduced at last, had it not been for the mole of five hundred feet long, which Cardinal Richelieu ordered to be made across the mouth of the harbour, in imitation of those which Alexander formerly raised before the city of Tyre. This subdued the sea and the Rochellers.

Guiton, the Mayor of Rochelle, who had formed the design to bury himself under the ruins of the place, had the boldness, after having surrendered at discretion, to appear before Cardinal Richelieu, attended by his guards, the Mayors of the principal Huguenot cities being allowed this mark of honour. Guiton's guards, however, were taken from him, and the city was divested of its privileges. The Duke of Rohan, chief of the rebellious heretics, still continued the war for his party; and finding himself abandoned by the English, though Protestants, he entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, though Catholics. But the firm behaviour

* And his Sovereign acted wisely, in making such a concession. It perhaps saved his empire. To continue to treat a people as rebels, who, by strength or success, have become too powerful to be mastered, is ignorantly to be governed by name, and not by things; *Translatum.*

of Cardinal Richelieu forced the Huguenots, at last, after being defeated on all sides, to submit.

All the Edicts granted them before this time, had been so many treaties made with their Kings. Richelieu resolved that the one granted them on this occasion, should be called *The Edict of Grace*. The King in it speaks in the style of a Prince who pardons. The exercise of the new religion was forbidden in Rochelle, the Isle of Rhé, Oleron, Privas, and Pamiers; in other respects the Edict of Nantes was suffered to remain, which, by the Calvinists, was always looked upon as their fundamental law.

It seemed somewhat strange, that Cardinal de Richelieu, who was so absolute and daring, did not totally abolish this famous Edict; but at that time he had something else in view, more difficult perhaps in the execution, but not less conformable to the extent of his ambition, and the greatness of his designs. He aimed at the glory of subduing the minds of men, which he thought himself capable of effecting by the greatness of his understanding, his power, and his politics. His project was to gain over some of the Preachers, which the Reformed then called Ministers, and are now stiled Pastors; to bring them first to acknowledge that the Roman Catholic worship was not criminal in the sight of God; to lead them, afterwards, by degrees, to give up some points of little importance; and to appear in the eyes of the Court of Rome, as if he had yielded nothing at all. He made sure of dazzling one party of the Reformed, of seducing the other by pretents and favours, and to appear at length to have united them to the Church; leaving to time to accomplish the rest, and indulging himself before hand in the glory of having effected, or prepared the way for this great work, and of being thought to have completed it. The famous Capuchin Joseph on one side, and two Ministers gained on the other, set about this negociation. But it appeared that the Cardinal had presumed too far; and that it is more difficult to adjust the differences of Divines, than to raise moles in the ocean.

Richelieu,

Richelieu, thus disappointed, resolved entirely to crush the Calvinists; but cares of another nature prevented him. He found himself obliged to combat, at the same time, the Grandees of the Kingdom, the Royal Family, the whole House of Austria, and frequently Louis XIII. himself. At length, amidst all these storms, he ended his days by a premature death, before he was able to complete his designs, leaving behind him a name more dazzling, than either loved or revered.

In the mean time, after the taking of Rochelle, and the publication of the *Edict of Grace*, the civil wars ceased, and there remained nothing but controversy. Large volumes were published on both sides, which no body reads, at present. The Clergy, and especially the Jesuits, aimed at converting the Huguenots. The Huguenot Preachers endeavoured to bring over some Catholics to their opinion. The King's Council was busied in issuing Arrets about a burying-ground, which the two parties were disputing in a village; about a chapel built on some land formerly belonging to the Church; about schools; the jurisdiction of castles, interments, and bells; in which the Reformed seldom gained their cause. These trifling disputes were all that was now left of the former devastations and ravages. The Huguenots were without a leader, since they had lost the Duke of Rohan, and that Sedan had been taken from the House of Bouillon. They even made a merit of remaining quiet, during the factions of the Fronde, and the civil wars excited by the Princes of the Blood, the Parliaments, and the Bishops, on pretence of serving the King against Cardinal Mazarin.

There were scarce any disputes about religion, during the life of this Minister. He made no scruple to bestow the place of Comptroller-General of the Finances upon a Huguenot of foreign extraction, named Hervard. The Reformed were all of them admitted into the offices of the revenue, and all the places dependent upon it.

Colbert; who revived the industry of the nation, and whom France may look upon as the founder of her commerce, employed a great number of Huguenots in arts, manufactures, and the navy. These useful objects, which fully occupied them, softened by degrees the epidemic fury of controversy; and the glory which for fifty years together surrounded the throne of Louis XIV. added to his power, and the firmness and vigour of his administration, extinguished in the Calvinist party, as well as in all orders of the State, the least idea of sedition. The magnificent feasts of a gay and galant Court threw an air of ridicule on the pedantry and reserve of the Huguenots. In proportion as good taste improved, the psalms of Marot and Beza began to inspire disgust*. These canticles, which had charmed the Court of Francis II. seemed only calculated for the populace, in the reign of Louis XIV. Sound philosophy, which began to make its way in the world towards the middle of this Age, helped still more to put men out of humour with religious disputes.

But while Reason was gradually extending her influence over men, the spirit of controversy itself became instrumental in preserving the peace of the State: for the Jansenists, beginning about this time to appear with some reputation, acquired a considerable share in the esteem of those who are fond of such subtleties. They wrote at the same time against the Jesuits and Huguenots. These latter answered the Jesuits and the Jansenists. The Lutherans, in the province of Alsace, attacked all the three. A paper-war among so many different sects, at a time when the State was engaged in great designs, and the Government was powerful, could not fail of becoming, in a few years, only an amusement for the idle part of the nation, which, sooner or later, always sinks into indifference.

Louis XIV. was exasperated against the sectaries in religion, by the continual remonstrances of his Clergy, by the Court of Rome, and especially by the Chancellor

* Like those of Sternhold and Hopkins, in our days. *Translator.*
Le Tellier

Le Tellier and his son Louvois, both enemies to Colbert, and who had resolved to root out the Reformed, as rebels, because Colbert protected them, as useful subjects. Louis, wholly a stranger to the fundamental points of their doctrine, looked upon them, not without reason, as old revolvers subdued with difficulty. He applied himself at first to undermine, by degrees, on all sides, the fabric of their religion. Their churches were taken from them on the most slender pretexts, and they were forbidden to marry the daughters of Catholics: but in this there seemed to be a want of policy, or at least an ignorance of the power of a sex, with which the Court was otherwise so well acquainted. The Intendants and the Bishops endeavoured, upon the most plausible pretences, to get Huguenot children away from their parents. Colbert had orders, in 1681, not to admit any person of this religion into places in the revenue. They were excluded as much as possible from the corporations of arts and trades. The King, however, though he kept them under the yoke, did not always make them feel the whole weight of it. Edicts appeared forbidding all violence against them; insinuations were mingled with severities; and the oppressions they laboured under, were at least covered with a shew of justice.

One very efficacious instrument of conversion was particularly used, which was money; but there was not an effectual use made of the expedient. Pellisson had the charge of this secret service; the same Pellisson who was so long a Calvinist, and who is so well known by his writings, his copious eloquence, and his attachment to the Superintendent Fouquet, whose secretary, favourite, and victim, he was. He had the good fortune to be enlightened, and to change his religion, at a time when that change opened a way to fortune and preferment. He took the ecclesiastical habit, and obtained several benefices, and the place of Master of Requests. About the year 1677, the King entrusted him with the revenues of the Abbies of St. Germain des Prez, and Cluni, together with the income arising

from the third part of the *Oeconomat* * ; the whole to be distributed amongst those who would become converts. Cardinal Le Camus, Archbishop of Grenoble, had lately tried this method. Pellisson, charged with this negotiation, sent money into the Provinces, endeavouring to make many converts with little expence. Small sums distributed to a number of indigent wretches, swelled the list which Pellisson presented, every three months, to the King ; persuading him, that every thing upon earth would at length give way to his generosity and power.

The Council, encouraged by these small successes, which time would have rendered more considerable, had ventured in 1681, to issue a declaration, permitting children to renounce their religion at the age of seven years ; and under the sanction of this decree, great numbers of children were seized in the Provinces, in order to make them abjure ; and troops were quartered upon the houses of their parents.

This precipitate step of the Chancellor Le Tellier and his son Louvois was the occasion that, in 1681, a great many families of Poitou, Saintonge, and the neighbouring Provinces, fled the Kingdom.

Foreign nations, with eagerness, took advantage of this circumstance. The Kings of England and Denmark, and the City of Amsterdam, in particular, invited the Calvinists to take refuge in their territories, promising them ample subsistence. Amsterdam alone undertook to build a thousand houses for the fugitives.

The Council soon perceived the dangerous consequences of a too speedy use of authority, and thought to find a remedy in that very authority itself. They were sensible how necessary artisans were in a country where commerce flourished, and seamen, at a time when they were establishing a naval force. The punishment of the gallees was therefore denounced against all, of these professions, who should attempt to quit the Kingdom.

* The *Oeconomat* is a term for the Stewardship appointed in every Diocese, for receiving the profits of all benefices, during their vacancies. *Translator.*

It being observed that a great number of Calvinist families were selling their estates, a proclamation immediately appeared, confiscating all those lands, in case the seller should leave the Kingdom within a year. The persecution against the Ministers was now resumed with double severity. Their churches were shut up upon the most frivolous pretences, and all the rents left by will to their consistories, were applied to the hospitals of the Kingdom.

The Masters of Calvinist schools were forbid to receive boarders. The Ministers were taxed, and Protestant Mayors were deprived of their right of noblesse. The Officers of the King's Household, and the King's Secretaries, who were Protestants, had orders to resign their places. None of this religion were any longer admitted, either among the Notaries, the Lawyers, or even in the function of Attornies.

The Clergy were strictly enjoined to use their utmost endeavours to make proselytes, while perpetual banishment was denounced against those Protestant Ministers who should attempt the same. All these ordonnances were publicly solicited by the Clergy of France, who, like children of a household, were resolved not to share their inheritance with aliens introduced by force.

Pelisson went on buying converts; but Madame Hervard, widow of the Comptroller-General of the Finances, animated with that zeal for religion which has been observed in all ages to belong to women, sent as much money to prevent conversions, as Pelisson had done to procure them.

At length the Huguenots ventured on re- 1682.
sistance in some places. They assembled in the Vivarais*, and in Dauphiny, near the places where their churches had been demolished. They were attacked, and they defended themselves. This was but a small spark of the fire of our ancient civil wars. Two

* A small Province of Languedoc, separated from Dauphiny by the River Rhone.

or three hundred 'miserable wretches, without a leader, without towns, and even without any regular plan of design, were dispersed in a quarter of an hour. Their punishment immediately followed their defeat. The Intendant of Dauphiny caused the grandson of the Minister, Chamier, who had drawn up the Edict of Nantes, to be broke upon the wheel. He is ranked among the most famous martyrs of the sect; and the name of Chamier has been long held in veneration by the Protestants.

1683. The Intendant of Languedoc caused the Minister Chomel to be broke alive upon the wheel. Three more were condemned to the same punishment, and ten to be hanged; but they saved themselves by flight, and were only executed in effigy.

All these rigorous proceedings inspired terror, and at the same time increased the spirit of obstinacy. It is but too well known, that people become more attached to a religion, in proportion as they suffer for its sake*.

At this time the King was persuaded, that, after having sent Missionaries into all the Provinces, it behoved him likewise to send dragoons. These violences seemed very ill-timed, and were the consequences of the spirit which then prevailed at Court, that every thing ought to submit to the will of Louis XIV. It was not considered that the Huguenots were no longer the same as at Jarnac, Moncontour, and Coutras; that the rage of civil war was now extinguished; that this malady, of long continuance, was now upon the decline; that every thing has but a limited duration with mankind; that if the fathers had been rebels under Louis XIII. their children were become good subjects under Louis XIV. It was seen in England, Holland, and Germany, that many sects, who had torn each

* That *persecution makes Saints*, is a vulgar, not a liberal idea. It does not attach men stronger to their religious opinions; but 'tis natural to resist oppression, let the imposition be of what kind soever it may. *Translator.*

other in pieces, during the last age, now lived peaceably together, within the walls of the same city. Every thing proved, that an absolute Prince might be equally well served by Catholics and by Protestants. The Lutherans of Alsace were unanswerable proofs of this maxim. In the end, it appeared that Queen Christina was not mistaken, in what she says in one of her letters on the subject of these oppressions and emigrations: "I look upon France as a patient whose legs and arms are cut off, to cure him of a disorder which patience and lenitives would have entirely got the better of."

Louis XIV. who, in seizing upon Strasburg, in 1681, protected Lutheranism there, might have acted in the same manner by Calvinism, which time would have insensibly abolished, as it every day diminishes the number of Lutherans in Alsace. Could it be imagined, that in putting this force upon a great number of his subjects, he would not lose many more, who, in spite of all his edicts and guards, would by flight avoid a violence which they looked upon as a horrible persecution? And, in fact, why compel a million of people to hate a name so dear and precious, and to which both Protestants and Catholics, Frenchmen and strangers, had agreed to join the epithet of Great? Policy itself seemed to require a toleration of the Calvinists, in order to oppose them to the continual pretensions of the Court of Rome. It was about this very time, too, that the King had openly broke with Innocent XI. the declared enemy of France. But Louis XIV. reconciling the interests of his religion with those of his grandeur, was resolved to humble the Pope with one hand, and crush the Calvinists with the other.

He considered these two enterprizes as productive of that lustre of glory, of which he was in all things fond, even to a degree of idolatry. The Bishops, several of the Intendants, and the whole Council, made him believe that his troops would, by their bare appearance, finish what his liberalities and missions had already begun.

He thought that in this he did no more than make use of his authority; but those to whom that power was committed, exerted it with extreme rigour *.

Towards the end of the year 1684, and in the beginning of 1685, when Louis XIV. always strongly armed, had nothing to fear from any of his neighbours, troops were sent into all the cities and castles where the Protestants were most numerous; and as the dragoons, who at that time were very ill disciplined, committed the greatest excesses, this execution was called the *Dragonade*.

All possible care was taken to guard the frontiers, in order to prevent the flight of those who were designed to be reunited to the Church. It was a kind of chase carried on within a large enclosure.

A Bishop, an Intendant, or a Sub-delegate, or a Curate, or some other person in authority, marched at the head of the soldiers. The principal Calvinist families were assembled, especially those who were deemed

* Madame de Caylus, in her *Souvenirs*, mentioning this circumstance, says, " Monsieur de Louvois first prevailed on the King to station some regiments of dragoons in the most remarkable Huguenot towns, by persuading him that the sole appearance of the troops, without any other manœuvre than merely capreooling before the inhabitant, would induce them more readily to listen to the doctrine of such orthodox teachers as might at the same time be sent among them.

" The King complied with this ministerial measure, against his own opinion, and contrary to his natural bent, which always inclined to lenity. They took advantage of his permission, and under the sanction of his orders, were guilty of much cruelty, without his knowledge, which he would have punished severely, had the report of it ever been suffered to have reached his ears. But Monsieur de Louvois contrived to amuse him, from time to time, by affirming that numbers of converts were every day made, as he had before supposed would have been the case, at the mere sight of the military on the parades.

" His Majesty had really so much candour in his own nature, that he could never imagine any person to be capable of deceiving him whom he had once placed a confidence in; and many of the unwarrantable things which have been imputed to him, in these and other transactions, were owing to the mistaken notion of probity that he used too often to compliment his Ministers with." *Lislen, Oye Kings!* says the ingenious Translator, upon this passage. *Translator.*

most

most tractable. They renounced their religion in the name of the rest, and those who continued obstinate were given up to the soldiery, who were allowed every licence but that of killing; nevertheless, many persons were so cruelly treated, that they died soon after. The posterity of the refugees in foreign countries still cry out against this persecution of their fathers, comparing it to the most violent the Church had ever sustained in the first Ages of Christianity.

It seemed a strange contrast, that such cruel and mercilefs orders should proceed from the bosom of a voluptuous Court, distinguished for softness of manners, the graces, and all the charms of social life. The inflexible character of the Marquis de Louvois appeared too plainly in this affair, and we see in it the same genius which had proposed to bury Holland under the waves, and afterwards laid the Palatinate in ashes. There are still extant letters written with his own hand, in this year of 1685, and conceived in these terms: "It is the King's pleasure, that such as refuse to conform to his religion should be punished with the utmost rigour; and that those who should affect the foolish glory of being the last to comply, should be driven to the last extremity."

Paris was not exposed to these vexations; the cries of the sufferers would have made themselves heard too near the Throne. The persecutors were willing to make victims, but did not care to have their clamours heard.

While the churches of the Reformed were thus every where demolished, and abjurations were demanded in the Provinces with an armed force, the Edict of Nantes was at last revoked, in the month of October 1685. This completed the ruin of that fabric which was already undermined on all sides.

The Chamber of the Edict had been suppressed some time before, and the Calvinist Counsellors in Parliament were ordered to resign their places. Arrets of Council followed one upon another, like thunderbolts, to extirpate the remains of the proscribed religion. That which appeared to be the most severe, was the order
for

for seizing the children of the pretended Reformed, and putting them into the hands of their nearest Catholic relations; an order against which the voice of nature cried so loudly, that it was never carried into execution.

1685. But in this memorable Edict, which revoked that of Nantes, they seemed to have paved the way to an event directly contrary to the end proposed. The intent was to procure a re-union of the Calvinists to the national Church, throughout the Kingdom. Gourville, an expert politician, whom Louvois consulted, advised him, as is well known, to imprison all the Preachers, and release such only, as being gained by private pensions, would abjure in public, and might by this means contribute more to the desired union than the Missionaries and soldiers.

Instead of following this politic advice, an Edict was issued, ordering all the Ministers who refused to renounce their religion, to quit the Kingdom in fifteen days. It was surely the utmost blindness to imagine, that in driving away the Pastors, a great part of the flock would not follow. It was presuming extravagantly upon power, and betraying a very slender knowledge of mankind, to suppose that so many exasperated minds, so many imaginations heated with the idea of martyrdom, especially in the southern parts of France, would not run all risks to go and publish their constancy, and the glory of their exile, in foreign countries, when so many nations, envious of Louis XIV. were ready to receive the fugitives with open arms.

The old Chancellor Le Tellier, when he signed the Edict, cried out in an ecstasy of joy: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.* "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." He did not imagine that he was then setting his hand to an act which would be productive of the greatest mischief to his Country*.

His

* In reading the funeral oration of this Chancellor, pronounced by Bossuet, we see him represented as a good and a great man. If we

His son, Louvois, was no less deceived, when he thought that a bare order of his would be sufficient to shut the frontier-passes and sea-ports against those who thought their duty obliged them to fly. Industry, when employed to elude the law, is always too strong for authority. The gaining over some few of the guards was sufficient to favour the flight of a number of refugees. No less than fifty thousand families quitted the Kingdom in the space of three years; and were afterwards followed by others, who carried their arts, manufactures, and riches, into foreign countries with them. Almost all the north of Germany, a country till then rude and void of industry, received a new face from the multitudes transplanted thither, who peopled whole cities. Stuffs, gold and silver lace, hats, stockings, formerly bought of France, were now manufactured in those countries by them. A part of the suburbs of London was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk. Others carried thither the art of making crystal in perfection, which was then lost in France. The gold which the refugees brought with them, is still very frequently to be met with in Germany*.

Thus France lost about five hundred thousand inhabitants, an immense quantity of specie, and, what is still more, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves. Holland gained excellent officers and soldiers. The Prince of Orange and the Duke of Savoy had entire regiments of refugees. Those same Sovereigns of Savoy and Piedmont, who had exercised so much cruelty against the Reformed of their own countries, enrolled those of France among their troops; and it cer-

we look into the Annals of the Abbé de St. Pierre, we shall find him a mean-spirited and dangerous court-sycophant; one skilful in the art of calumniating, of whom the Count de Grammont said, "on seeing him come out from a private conference with the King, 'Methinks I see a fox that has just been devouring a brood of chickens, and is licking his lips stained with their blood.'" *Voltaire*,

* The Count d'Avaux, in his Letters, says he was informed, that at London there were sixty thousand guineas coined with the gold which the refugees had sent over thither; but this account is too much exaggerated. *Ibid*,

tainly

certainly was not through any religious zeal that the Prince of Orange enlisted them also. Some of them went even as far as the Cape of Good Hope to settle. The nephew of the famous Du Quesne, Lieutenant-General of the Marine, founded a small Colony at that extremity of the globe; but it did not prosper, for most part of those who went on board perished by the way. However, the remains of this Colony yet subsist in the neighbourhood of the Hottentots. The French have had a farther dispersion than the Jews.

In vain were the prisons and galleys filled with those who were stopt in their flight: what could be done with such a multitude of wretches whom sufferings had but more strengthened in their faith? How could members of the law, and infirm old men, be left to perish in the galleys! Some hundreds were sent over to America. At length the Council began to think, that if they were no longer prohibited leaving the Kingdom, the minds of the people being no longer instigated by the secret pleasure of disobeying, emigrations would become less frequent. But here they were again mistaken; and after leaving the passages open, they were a second time defended, to no purpose.

In 1685 the Calvinists were interdicted to employ Catholic servants in their families, lest the master might pervert the domestics; and the year after another Edict commanded them to hire none but Huguenots*. There was nothing steady in the method of persecuting them, except the design of *compelling them to come in*.

After all the churches of the Reformed were demolished, and their Pastors banished, nothing more remained but to retain in the Roman Communion such as, through fear or persuasion, had quitted their religion. There were about four hundred thousand of these in the Kingdom*. These were obliged to go to mass, and to communicate:

* These Edicts appear to be in effect the same; and so are Calvinists and Huguenots; though M. Voltaire seems to mark distinction here, in both. *Translator*.

† It has been several times asserted in print, that there still remained three millions of the Reformed in France. This is an insupportable

municate: some who refused the Host, after having once received it, were burnt alive. The bodies of such as refused to receive the sacrament at their death, were drawn upon a hurdle, and cast upon a dunghill*.

• Persecution always makes proselytes †, especially when it happens to encounter a heat of enthusiasm. The Calvinists assembled every where to sing their psalms, though the penalty of death was denounced against all such as should hold these assemblies. Ministers returning into the Kingdom were likewise to suffer death, and a reward of five thousand five hundred livres was promised to whomsoever should inform against them. Several returned, and were either hanged or broke upon the wheel.

The sect, however, still subsisted, though in appearance crushed. It vainly hoped in the year 1689, that King William, who had dethroned his father-in-law, a Roman Catholic, would support Calvinism in France; but in the war of 1701, fanaticism and rebellion again blazed out in Languedoc, and the adjacent Provinces.

This rebellion was excited by prophecies. Predictions have ever been the means made use of to seduce the ignorant, and to inflame fanatics. Among a hundred events that imposture pretends to foretell, if chance shall coincide with one, the rest are forgotten, and that single incident is credited as a token of the favour of God, and a proof of inspiration. If none of the predictions are fulfilled, they are explained; a new sense is given to them to accommodate the artifice; enthusiasts embrace it, and fools are credulous.

The Minister Jurieu was one of their most vehement Prophets. He began by setting himself above one Cot-

terable exaggeration. Mr. Baviile reckoned but one hundred thousand in Languedoc, and his account is exact. There are not above fifteen thousand in Paris; and there are several cities, and even whole provinces, in which there is not one. *French Editor.*

* This was not done by *Papists*, but by *Priests*. *Translator.*

† A few pages before M. Voltaire only took upon him to assert, that persecution *confirms*; but here he is so extravagant as to say it *converts*. Pains and penalties are strange persuasions, surely! They may not deter, but can never allure. *Ibid.*

terus,

terus, some never-before-heard-of Christina, one Justus Velsius, and a certain Drabitus, whom he enumerated as persons inspired of God. Afterwards, he placed himself on a level with the Author of the Apocalypse, and of St. Paul. His followers, or rather his enemies, had a medal struck in Holland, with this exergue, *Jurius propheta*: "Jurius the Prophet." He promised the deliverance of the people of God, in eight years. His School of Prophecy was established in the mountains of Dauphiny, of the Vivarais, and the Cevennes; countries very proper for favouring predictions, being inhabited by ignorant peasants, with hot brains, baked by the heat of the sun, and still more inflamed by their Preachers.

The first School of Prophecy was opened at a glass-house, on a mountain in Dauphiny, called Peira, where an old Huguenot, named De Serre, foretold the destruction of Babylon, and the re-establishment of Jerusalem. He shewed the children the words of Scripture which say, "When three or four are gathered together in my name, my Spirit is in the midst of them;" and, "With a grain of faith one may remove mountains;" after which he received the Spirit, which was communicated to him by blowing into his mouth; because it is said in St. Matthew, that Jesus breathed upon his Disciples before his death. He then appeared distracted, fell into convulsions, his voice altered, he became immoveable, looked wild, with his hair standing on end, according to the ancient usage of all the nations, and agreeable to the rules of prophetic phrenzy, handed down from generation to generation. The children thus received the gift of prophecy; and if they did not remove mountains, it was because they only possessed faith enough to deserve the Spirit, but not sufficient to work miracles; and so they redoubled their ardour to obtain this latter capacity.

Whilst the Cevennes was thus the school of enthusiasm, some of the Ministers, called Apostles, returned secretly to preach among the people.

Claude Brousson, of a considerable family in Nîmes, a man of eloquence, of great zeal, and in the highest esteem

esteem among strangers, returned into his own country, in 1698. He was convicted, not only of acting in his Ministry contrary to the Edicts, but of having, about ten years before, held private correspondence with the enemies of the State. In fine, he had formed the project of introducing English and Savoyard troops into Languedoc. This scheme, written with his own hand, and addressed to Duke Schomberg, had been a long while before intercepted, and remained in the possession of the Intendant of the Province. Brousson, wandering from town to town, was at last seized at Oléron*, and transmitted to Montpellier.

The Intendant and his Judges interrogated him. He answered that he was the Apostle of Jesus Christ, that he had received the Holy Spirit, that he ought not to betray the trust of the faith, and that his duty was to distribute the bread of the *Word* to his Brethren. He was asked if the Apostles had written plans for inducing the Provinces to revoke? They then shewed him his fatal manuscript, and the Judges unanimously sentenced him to be broke alive upon the wheel.

He died after the manner of the first martyrs. 1698. All those of his own sect, far from considering him as a criminal of State, saw in him only a saint, who had sealed the faith with his blood, and printed the Martyrdom of Mr. De Brousson.

After this, prophets began to start up every where, and the spirit of phrenzy redoubled. Unhappily, in 1703, an Abbé of the family of Châla, an Inspector of the Missions, obtained an order from the Court to shut up in a Convent two daughters of a gentleman lately converted. Instead of conveying them to the Convent, he carried them first to his own castle. The Calvinists assembled, broke open the doors, and set the two young ladies at liberty, with other persons they found confined there. They afterwards seized upon the Abbé, to whom they made an offer of his life, on condition he would change to their religion. He refused; upon which one of

* A town in Guicony.

their prophets cried out, "Die, then! The Spirit condemns thee; thy sin be upon thine own head!" and he was immediately shot to death. Soon after, they seized the receivers of the capitation-tax, and hanged them with their rolls about their necks: they then fell upon all the Priests they met, and massacred them. Finding themselves pursued, they retired amidst the woods and rocks. Their number daily encreased. Their prophets and prophetesses announced to them, as from God, the establishment of Jerusalem, and the fall of Babylon. The Abbé de Boullie appeared unexpectedly among them, in the midst of their wild lurking-places, and brought them money and arms.

He was a son of the Marquis de Guiscard, the King's Sub-governor, who was one of the wisest men in the Kingdom. The son was unworthy of such a father. Having taken refuge in Holland, on account of some crime, he now came to excite a revolt in the Cevennes. Some time after, he went to London, where he was arrested in 1711, for betraying the English Ministry, as he had before betrayed his own country. Being brought before the Council, in order to be examined, he snatched up from the table a long pen-knife, which seemed a proper instrument for murder, and with it stabbed the Lord-Treasurer Harley. Upon this, he was sent to prison loaded with irons. He prevented the punishment prepared for him by a voluntary death. This was the man then, who, in the names of the English, the Dutch, and the Duke of Savoy, came to encourage the fanatics, and promise them powerful succours.

Great part of the country favoured them secretly. Their war-cry was "Liberty of conscience, and no taxes!" This cry seduced the populace every where; and these frenzies justified Louis XIV. in his design of extirpating Calvinism. But had not the Edict of Nantes been revoked, there would have been no such frenzies to quell.

The King, at first, sent Marshal de Mont Revel with some troops, who made war upon these wretches as they deserved. Those who were taken prisoners were broken upon

upon the wheel, or burnt at the stake. But then the soldiers, who fell into their hands, were made to expire by the most cruel tortures. The King, who was engaged in war on all sides, could only spare a few troops to send against them. It was difficult to surprise them amidst rocks almost inaccessible, in caverns, and in woods, whither they retired by unfrequented paths, and whence they sallied again, like wild beasts from a forest. They even defeated a body of marine troops in a pitched battle. Three Marshals of France were employed against them successively.

Marshal de Mont-Revel was, in 1704, succeeded by Marshal Villars, who, finding it more difficult to come at them, than to defeat them, after he had infused terror into them, proposed an amnesty. Some amongst them gladly accepted of it, finding themselves disappointed of the succours they expected from the Duke of Savoy, who, after the example of so many sovereigns, persecuted them in his own dominions, and would support them against his enemies.

The most considerable of their Chiefs, and indeed the only one who deserves to be mentioned, was Cavalier. I have seen him since in Holland and in England. He was a little, fair man, and of a mild and agreeable countenance. His Party gave him the name of David. From a baker's boy, he, at the age of twenty-three, became the Chief over a great multitude of people, through his own courage and the assistance of a Prophetess, who got him acknowledged Chief by an express order of the Holy Ghost. He was found at the head of eight hundred men, whom he had formed into a regiment, at the time the amnesty was proposed. He demanded hostages, which were sent him. He then came to Nîmes, accompanied by one of the Chiefs, where he concluded a treaty with the Marshal.

He promised to form four regiments of the revolted, who were to serve the King under four Colonels, of which he was to be the first himself, and to have the naming of the other three. These regiments were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion,

religion, like the foreign troops in the pay of France; but this indulgence was to be permitted no where else.

These conditions were accepted, when emissaries from Holland arrived, with presents and promises, to prevent their being carried into execution. They drew off the principal fanatics from Cavalier: but he, having given his word to Marshal Villars, was resolved to keep it. He accepted a Colonel's commission, and began to form his regiment with one hundred and thirty men, who continued faithful to him.

I have frequently heard, from Marshal Villars's own mouth, that he asked this young man how, at his years, he could have acquired so great authority over men so savage and so undisciplined. His answer was, that whenever they disobeyed him, his Prophets, whom they termed the Great Mary, became immediately inspired, and condemned to death the refractory, who were immediately executed, without any further argument *. Having myself since that time put the same question to Cavalier, he returned me the same answer.

This singular negotiation happened after the battle of Hochstet. Louis XIV. who had so haughtily proscribed Calvinism, concluded a peace, under the name of an amnesty, with a baker's boy; and Marshal Villars presented him with a Colonel's commission, and a pension of twelve hundred livres.

The new Colonel went to Versailles, to receive his orders from the Secretary at War. The King, when he saw him, shrugged up his shoulders. Cavalier, finding himself closely observed by the Ministry, was apprehensive of some foul play, and withdrew into Piedmont, from whence he afterwards passed into Holland and England. He served in Spain, and commanded a regiment of French refugees, at the famous battle of Almanza.

* This circumstance should be met with in the true Memoirs of Marshal Villars. The first volume I know to be of his writing, because it agrees with a manuscript that I have seen; the two other volumes are by another hand, and differ widely in many respects.—
Voltaire.

A circumstance which happened to this regiment, shews to what a pitch the rage of civil war may be carried, especially when heightened by religion. The regiment commanded by Cavalier happened to be opposed to one of the French. As soon as the men knew each other, they began a bloody fight with their bayonets, without firing a single musket. I have already observed, that the bayonet is of very little use in a battle. The appearance of the front line of three deep, after having thrown in their fire, usually decides the fate of the day; but here rage and fury exceeded the brightest deeds of valour; there were not above three hundred men left alive out of these two regiments. Marshal Berwick was wont to relate this adventure with astonishment.

Cavalier died a General Officer, and Governor of the Island of Jersey, with a great reputation for valour, retaining nothing of his former transports but courage, and having by degrees substituted prudence in the place of a fanatic fury, which was no longer supported by any example †.

Marshal Villars, being recalled from Languedoc, was succeeded in command by Marshal Berwick. The ill success of the King's arms had emboldened the fanatics of Languedoc, who expected succours from Heaven, and received them from the Allies. Money was sent to them by the way of Geneva. They waited for Officers to be sent them from Holland and England, and they had intelligence in all the towns of the Province.

We may rank in the number of the greatest conspiracies, that which they formed to seize the Duke of Berwick and the Intendant Baille at Nîmes, to make Languedoc and Dauphiny revolt, and to introduce the enemy into those Provinces. The secret was kept by above a thousand conspirators. The indiscretion of a single person discovered the whole. Above two hundred persons

† Matters are here a little too much exaggerated. Cavalier was always reckoned an honest man in England; but his understanding was ever held in contempt. He was only Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey, a place of no great consequence. *Smollet.*

died by the hands of the executioner. Marshal Berwick destroyed by fire and sword all these unhappy wretches that came in his way. Some died with their arms in their hands; others upon the wheel, or amidst the flames; some, more addicted to prophecy than the use of arms, found means to escape into Holland.

The French refugees there received them as messengers from Heaven. They went forth to meet them singing psalms, and strewing their way with boughs of trees. Many of these Prophets went afterwards to England; but finding that the Episcopal Church there had too much resemblance with that of Rome, they strove to establish their own; and so strong was their confidence, that, not doubting but with a great share of faith they should be able to perform miracles, they offered to raise a person from the dead; and even any one that should be pitched on. The populace are every where the same, and the Presbyterians joined these fanatics against the Church of England. Who would believe that one of the greatest Mathematicians of Europe, *Fatio De Duil-lier*, and another very learned man, whose name was *Dandé*, were at the head of those possessed madmen! Fanaticism renders even Science an accomplice, and stifles Reason.

The English Ministry therefore took that course which should be always taken with your workers of miracles. They were allowed to take up a dead body, in the church-yard of the Cathedral. The place was surrounded with guards: every thing passed in a juridical manner, and the scene ended with sentencing the Prophets to stand in the pillory.

These excesses of fanaticism could meet with but little encouragement in England, where Philosophy had begun to establish its reign. They had ceased to disturb Germany, after the Treaty of Westphalia had given equal protection to the three religions, the Catholic, the Evangelic, and the Reformed. The Republic of the United Provinces, by a political toleration, admitted into its bosom all religions whatsoever. In short, towards the end of this century, France was the only State that experienced

perienced any violent ecclesiastical disputes, notwithstanding the progress of reason.

This reason, which is so slow in introducing itself among the disciples, could as yet hardly make its way to the teachers themselves; and still less among the generality of the people. It requires to be first established among those of superior rank and capacity, from whence it descends lower by degrees, till at length it comes to govern the people, even though they are unacquainted with it; but who seeing their superiors behave with moderation, learn to do the same themselves. This, however, is one of the great works of time, and that time was not yet arrived*.

H A P. XXXVII.

Of Jansenism.

CALVINISM from its very nature necessarily produced civil wars, and shook the foundations of States. Jansenism could only raise theological disputes and paper wars; for the Reformers of the sixteenth century having destroyed all the ties by which the Romish Church held mankind in subjection, having treated what she held most sacred as idolatry, having set open the doors of her cloisters, and given her treasures into the hands of the Laity, it necessarily followed that one of the two parties must be subdued by the other; and indeed the religion of Luther and Calvin never appeared in any country, without being the cause of bloodshed and persecution†.

But the Jansenists did not attack the Church, nor did they strike at her fundamental tenets, or her wealth;

* Mr. De Voltaire cannot be too much commended for the spirit of independence, candour, and moderation, so sensibly and elegantly displayed in this Chapter. *Smollet.*

† This is one of M. Voltaire's *ipse dixit*. History does not support his assertion; except its having suffered persecution itself, be admitted as an example. *Translator.*

but by writing upon abstracted questions, sometimes against the Calvinists, sometimes against the Pope's decrees, they at length fell into general contempt; and their sect is now despised by almost all Europe, notwithstanding it has been supported by several persons of distinguished characters and abilities.

While the Huguenot party was an object of the most serious attention, Jansenism rather perplexed, than disturbed the State. This controversy, like many others, had its rise from abroad. It was begun in 1552, by a certain Doctor of Louvain, named Michael Baius, or Baius, according to the pedantry of those times. This man took upon him to maintain certain propositions concerning Grace and Predestination. This question, like almost all others in metaphysics, had its foundation in the labyrinth of fatality and free-will, in which all Ages have been bewildered, and where man has no clue to direct his steps.

The spirit of enquiry which has been implanted in us by the Creator, and is a necessary incitement to guide us to instruction, too often carries us beyond the proper bounds, in the same manner as many other movements of the soul, which if not strong enough to transport us too far, would perhaps want power to excite us even far enough.

Thus mankind have run into disputes upon what is understood, and what is not understood: but the ancient Philosophers always carried on their controversies peaceably; whereas those of our Divines are frequently bloody, and always turbulent.

The Franciscans, who understood as little of these points as Michael Baius himself, looked upon the doctrine of free-will as overthrown, and the tenets of Scotus in danger. They had before been irritated against Baius, on account of a dispute of much the same nature; so they referred seventy-six of his propositions to Pius V. and Sixtus Quintus, then General of the Franciscan Order, was the person who drew up the bill of condemnation, in the year 1567.

Whether

Whether through the fear of exposing themselves, a dislike to entering into a disquisition on such subtleties, or an indifference and contempt for the theses of Baius, the Pope and Council condemned his seventy-six propositions in general, as heretical, obscure, rash, and suspicious, without specifying any thing in particular, or entering into a detail. This method of proceeding is rather arbitrary, and leaves little room for disputation. The Doctors of Louvain were greatly confounded when they received the bull.

There was one particular sentence, however, in which, by the change of a comma, certain opinions of Michael Baius were either condemned or admitted. The University sent a deputation to Rome, to know of his Holiness where the comma was to be placed. The Court of Rome, which had other business upon its hands, sent the Deputies back with no other answer than a fresh copy of the Bull, in which there was no comma at all. This was deposited in the Archives. The Grand Vicar, whose name was Morillon, insisted that the Bull ought to be received, "even though it should be erroneous." Morillon was certainly right, in a political sense; for undoubtedly it is much better to receive an hundred erroneous bulls, than to reduce as many towns to ashes, as the Huguenots and their adversaries have done. Baius took Morillon's advice, and quietly retracted his opinion.

Some years afterwards, Spain, which was as fruitful in scholastic Writers, as it was barren in Philosophers, produced the Jesuit Molina, who thought he had clearly discovered the manner in which God acts upon the creature, and how the latter resists his operations. He distinguished between natural and supernatural orders, predestination to grace and predestination to glory, preventing and co-operating grace. He was the first who invented the doctrine of concomitant concurrence, of intermediate knowledge, and congruism. The two latter in particular were curious notions. God, by his intermediate knowledge, skilfully consults the will of man, to know what man would do if he was assisted with his grace; and then, according to the use which he

foresees a free agent would make thereof, he takes his measures for determining man; and these measures are what is called congruism.

The Spanish Dominicans, who understood no more of this explanation than the Jesuits, but were jealous of them, declared in their writings that "Molina's book was the forerunner of Antichrist."

The Court of Rome took cognizance of this dispute, which was then under the consideration of the Grand Inquisitor, and with great prudence imposed silence upon both parties, which however was observed by neither.

At length the affair came to be seriously pleaded before Clement VIII. and, to the disgrace of human understanding, all Rome took part in the cause. A Jesuit, by name Achilles Gaillard, assured the Pope, that he had hit on a certain method to restore the peace of the Church; and then very gravely proposed to allow of free predestination, provided the Dominicans would admit the mediate knowledge, and reconcile the two systems as well as they could. The Dominicans refused to accept of Gaillard's expedient. Their famous brother Lemos maintained preventive concurrence, and the completion of active virtue. Numberless sects started up, on this occasion, without knowing any thing of what each other meant.

Clement VIII. died before he was able to reduce the arguments on each side to a clear sense. Paul V. renewed the trial: but as he was engaged in a contest of greater importance with the Venetian State, he put a stop to all those meetings, then known by the name *De Auxiliis*. This name, by which they are still known, and which is equally obscure with the disputes in question, was given them because it signifies *assistance*, and that this controversy related to the *assistance* which God gives to the weak will of mankind. Paul V. terminated the affair, by enjoining the two parties to live in peace.

Whilst the Jesuits were thus establishing their doctrine of mediate knowledge and congruism, Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, revived some of Banius's notions,

notions, in a large volume which he wrote on St. Augustine, and which was not printed till after his death ; so that he became the head of a sect without once dreaming of it. This book was scarcely read by any one, notwithstanding the disturbance it has occasioned. But Du Verger De Haurane, Abbot of St. Cyran, a friend to Janfenius, a man as violent in his temper as he was prolix and obscure in his writings, came to Paris, and gained over some young Doctors and old women.

The Jesuits applied to the Court of Rome to have Janfenius's book condemned, as a supplement to that of Baius ; and this they obtained in the year 1641. But at Paris the Faculty of Divines, and all those who dealt in controversy, were divided in their opinions. There did not seem much to be gained by adopting the sentiments of Janfenius, that God commands impossibilities. This doctrine is neither philosophical nor consolatory. But the secret pleasure of being of a party, the general odium which the Jesuits had incurred, the desire of being singular, and a restlessness of mind, formed a sect.

The Faculty condemned five propositions of Janfenius, by a plurality of voices : these five propositions were extracted from his book with great fidelity, as to the sense, but not in his own words. Sixty Doctors appealed to Parliament for an abuse, and the parties were summoned to appear before the Chamber of Vacations.

The parties themselves, however, did not make their appearance. But, on the one hand, a Doctor named Habert stirred up the minds of the people against Janfenius ; while, on the other side, the famous Arnauld, the disciple of St. Cyran, defended Janfenism with all the force of his eloquence. He hated the Jesuits even more than he loved efficacious grace ; and was held in still greater hatred by them, as being born of a father who, having applied himself to the Bar, had pleaded with great vehemence for the University against their establishment. His family had acquired great credit, both in the army and long robe. His genius, and the circumstances in which he then was, determined him to engage in a paper war, and to set up for the head of a party ;

party; a kind of ambition which annihilates every other.

He continued to wage war against the Jesuits till he was eighty years of age. There are an hundred and four volumes of his writing, of which hardly one is at present to be found among the classical books which are the ornaments of the Age of Louis XIV. and are justly esteemed the Library of all Nations. His works were all of them in great vogue at the time he lived, both on account of the reputation of the Author, and the warmth of disputation. But that warmth is now cooled, and the books themselves are forgotten. None of them now remain, but those which relate simply to reasoning, his geometry, his rational grammar, and his logic; in all of which he was deeply read. No one was ever born with a more philosophical turn of mind; but his philosophy was corrupted by a spirit of faction, which hurried him away, and for above sixty years involved a genius formed to enlighten mankind, in wretched school disputations, and in those evils incident to obstinacy of opinion.

The University was divided with relation to the five famous propositions, as were likewise the Bishops. Eighty-eight of the French Bishops wrote in a body to Pope Innocent X. requesting him to give his decision, and eleven others besought him not to do any thing at all in the matter. Innocent X. proceeded to sentence, and condemned each proposition apart, but without once quoting the pages from whence they were extracted, or those which preceded or followed.

This omission, which would not have been done in civil matters in the meanest Courts of Judicature, was done by the Sorbonne, the Jansenists, the Jesuits, and the Supreme Pontiff. The purport of the five condemned propositions is evidently to be found in Jansenius: you have nothing more to do than to open Vol. III. of the Paris edition, printed in 1641, where in page 138, you will find these very words:—"Tout cela démontre pleinement & évidemment, qu'il n'est rien de plus certain & de plus fondamental dans la doctrine de *St. Augustin*, qu'il y a certains commandemens impossibles,

“ possibles, non-seulement aux infidèles, aux aveugles,
 “ aux endurcis, mais aux fidèles & aux justes, malgré
 “ leurs volontés & leurs efforts, selon les forces qu’ils
 “ ont ; & que la grace, qui peut rendre ces commande-
 “ mens possibles, leur manque.” We also read in
 page 165, “ que JESUS CHRIST n’est pas, selon *St. Au-*
gustin, mort pour tous les hommes.”

“ All this plainly and evidently demonstrates, that
 “ there is nothing more certain and fundamental in the
 “ doctrine of *St. Augustine*, than that there are certain
 “ commands impossible, not only to the unbelieving,
 “ the blind, and the hardened, but even to the faithful
 “ and righteous, notwithstanding their will and efforts,
 “ according to the strength they are endued with ; and
 “ that they fail of grace, which can alone render these
 “ commands possible.” We also read in page 165,
 “ That, according to *St. Augustine*, Jesus Christ did not
 “ die for all men.”

Cardinal Mazarin obliged the Assembly of the Clergy to receive the Pope’s bull unanimously. He was at that time upon good terms with his Holiness ; he did not love the Jansenists, and with good reason hated all factions.

The French Church seemed now restored to peace ; but the Jansenists wrote so many letters, quoted *St. Augustine* so often, and got so many female converts to engage in their interests, that Jansenism prevailed more than ever, after the bull was received.

A Priest of *St. Sulpice* thought proper to refuse absolution to *M. De Liancourt*, because it had been said he did not believe the five propositions to be in *Janfenius’s* book, and that he harboured heretics in his house. This was a fresh subject of scandal, and occasioned a new paper war, in which *Dr. Arnould* distinguished himself ; and, in a letter which he wrote to a real or imaginary Duke or Peer, he maintained that the propositions which had been condemned, were not in *Janfenius*, but were actually to be found in the writings of *St. Augustine*, and several other Fathers. He moreover added, that “ *St. Peter* was a righteous man, in
 “ whom

“ whom grace, without which we can do nothing, was
“ wanting.”

It is true, that St. Augustine and St. John Chrysostom had asserted the same thing ; but time and circumstances, which change all things, rendered Arnauld culpable. It was said on this occasion, that the Holy Fathers should have their wine mixed with water ; as the most serious subject to one party, is generally an object of pleasantry to another. The Faculty met, and Chancellor Seguier appeared at the Assembly, on the part of the King. Arnauld was condemned, and excluded the Sorbonne, in 1654. The appearance of the Chancellor among the Divines wore an air of despotic power, which displeased the Public ; and the care taken to fill the Hall with a crowd of mendicant Monks, who were not wont to be seen there in such numbers, gave occasion to Pascal to say, in his *Provincial Letters*, “ That it was
“ easier to find Monks than arguments.”

The greatest part of these Monks did not admit of congruism, intermediate knowledge, nor the necessitating grace, of Molina ; but they maintained a sufficient grace, to which the human will may consent, but never does ; an efficacious grace, which it may resist, and does not ; and this they explained clearly, by saying, that this grace might be resisted in the divided, but not in the compound, sense.

If these idle matters are not very agreeable to human reason, the opinion of Arnauld and the Jansenists seems too much to agree with pure Calvinism. This was exactly the ground of the quarrel between the Gomarists and Arminians, which divided Holland, as Jansenism had done France ; but in Holland it became a political faction, rather than a dispute between a parcel of idle persons. It stained the scaffold with the blood of the Pensionary Barneveldt ; a deed of atrocious violence, which is now held in detestation by the Dutch, after having had their eyes opened upon the absurdity of these disputes, the horror of persecution, and the happy necessity of toleration, the resource of wise Governors against the short-lived enthusiasm of those who delight
in

in controversy. In France this dispute produced only a few edicts, bulls, lettres de cachet, and pamphlets, because the State was at that time employed in quarrels of more importance.

Arnauld then was only excluded the Faculty. This small persecution gained him a great number of friends : but both himself and the Jansenists had still the Church and the Pope against them. One of the first steps taken by Alexander VII. on his succeeding Innocent X. in the papal chair, was to renew the censures against the five propositions. The French Bishops, who had readily drawn up one formulary, now framed a new one, which concluded in this manner : " I condemn, both
" with heart and voice, the doctrine of the five propo-
" sitions contained in the book of Cornelius Jansenius,
" that doctrine not being of St. Augustine, whom Jan-
" senists has badly explained."

This formulary was to be subscribed ; and the Bishops presented it to all those in their dioceses, who were suspected by them. They required the Nuns of Port-Royal of Paris, and Port-Royal-des-Champs to sign it. These two Houses were the sanctuaries of Jansenism, as being governed by Arnauld and St. Cyran.

There was an House set apart near the Monastery of Port-Royal-des-Champs, whither several learned and pious, but inratiated men, and linked together by conformity of opinion, had retired. Here they instructed a select set of young persons. From this school came the celebrated Racine, a Poet the best acquainted with the human heart of any in the world. Paschal, the chief of French Satirists, for Boileau was but the second, was intimately connected with these illustrious and dangerous recluses. The formulary was presented to the Sisters of Port-Royal of Paris, and Port-Royal-des-Champs, to sign ; but they made answer, that their consciences would not permit them to acknowledge, with the Pope and Bishops, that the five propositions were in Jansenius's book, which they had never read ; that his meaning had certainly been mistaken ; and that though
the

five propositions might be erroneous, yet Jansenius himself was not to blame.

This obiternity of theirs incensed the Court. D'Aubray, the Lieutenant-Civil (for at that time there was no Lieutenant de Police) went to Port-Royal-des-Champs, and obliged the religious recluses to quit the place of their retirement, together with the young people whom they educated: at the same time they threatened to destroy the two Monasteries; but they were saved by a miracle.

Mademoiselle Perrier, a boarder in the Monastery of Port-Royal of Paris, and niece to the celebrated Paschal, was afflicted with a disorder in one of her eyes. At Port-Royal they had a ceremony of kissing one of the thorns of the crown which had been formerly put on the head of our Saviour. This thorn had been a long time preserved at Port-Royal. It would not be very easy to prove how it was preserved and transported from Jerusalem to the suburbs of St. James. The patient kissed the thorn, and appeared to be cured of her disorder, a short time afterwards. Upon this occasion, they did not fail to declare and affirm, that she had been cured in an instant of a dangerous fistula lachrymalis. This young woman died in the year 1728. Several persons who had lived a considerable time with her, assured me, that her cure had been very tedious; which is indeed very probable. But it is very unlikely, that God, who has not wrought any miracles to bring over to our religion the nineteen-twentieths of the earth who are either strangers to it, or hold it in abhorrence, should have interrupted the order of Nature, in favour of a young girl, in order to justify a dozen Nuns, who pretended that Cornelius Jansenius did not write ten or twelve lines which were ascribed to him, or that he wrote them with a different intention to that imputed to him.

The miracle, however, made so great a noise, that the Jesuits wrote against it. One Father Annat, Confessor to Louis XIV. published "The Disappointment of the Jansenists, on account of the miracle said
" to

“ to have been performed at Port Royal, *By a Catholic Doctor.*”—Now Annat was neither *Doctor* nor *doctus*. He meant to demonstrate, that if a thorn had come from Judea to Paris, to cure the little Perrier, it was a sufficient proof that Christ had died for *all*, and not for *many*. Father Annat was laughed at. The Jesuits, therefore, fell upon the scheme of working miracles, on their side; but they did not become popular: the miracles of the Jansenists were the only ones in fashion at that time. A few years afterwards these latter performed another miracle. One Sister Gertrude of Port-Royal was cured of a swelling in her leg. This prodigy, however, met with no success: the time for those things was past, and Sister Gertrude had not a Paschal for her uncle.

The Jesuits, though they had both Popes and Kings on their sides, were entirely sunk in the opinion of the people. They revived against them the old stories of Henry the Great, whose assassination was plotted by Barriere, and executed by Chânel, who had been educated in their schools; the execution of Father Guignard; the banishment of their Society from France and Venice; the conspiracy of the powders; and the bankruptcy of Seville. Every method was practised to render them odious. Paschal went still further; he rendered them ridiculous. His *Provincial Letters*, which made their appearance at that time, were models of eloquence and raillery. The best Comedies of Moliere have not more wit in them than the first part of those Letters, nor the writings of Bossuet more sublimity than the latter.

It is true, that the whole of this book is founded upon a false principle. He has artfully charged the whole Society with the extravagant opinions of some few Spanish and Flemish Jesuits, which he might with equal ease have detected among the casuists of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders; but the Jesuits alone were the persons he wanted to attack. In these Letters, he endeavoured to prove that they had a settled design to corrupt the morals of mankind; a design which

which no sect or society ever had, or ever could have. But his business was not to be right, but to entertain the Public.

The Jesuits, who at that time had not one good writer amongst them, could not wipe off the scandal cast upon them by this book, which was one of the best written that had yet appeared in France. But nearly the same thing happened with regard to them, in their disputes, as did formerly to Cardinal Mazarin. The Blots, the Marignis, and the Barbançons, had diverted all France at his expence, but he still continued master of the Kingdom. In like manner, these Fathers had sufficient interest to procure an Arret of the Parliament of Provence, ordering the *Provincial Letters* to be burnt; but this did not render them less ridiculous, and only served to make them become the more odious to the nation.

The principal Nuns were carried away from the Abbey of Port-Royal, by a guard of two hundred men, and dispersed into other Convents, none being allowed to remain, but such as would sign the formulary. The dispersion of these Nuns interested all Paris. Sister Perdreau and Sister Passart, who subscribed this formulary, and prevailed on some others to do the same, became the subjects of lampoons and humorous songs, with which the town was over-run by a sort of idle persons, who seeing nothing but the ridiculous side of things, divert themselves with every occurrence, while devotees lament, malecontents declaim, and Government pursues its own measures.

The Jansenists became stronger by persecution. Four Prelates, Arnould Bishop of Angers, brother to the Doctor, Buzenval of Beauvais, Pavillon of Alet, and Caulet of Pamiers, the same who afterwards opposed Louis XIV. on the subject of the Regale, declared themselves openly against the formulary. This was a new formulary, framed by Pope Alexander VII. alike, in every thing essential to the former received in France by the Bishops, and even by the Parliament. Alexander, incensed at this opposition, named nine French Bishops
to

to commence a process against their four refractory brethren. Upon this the spirit of animosity grew more outrageous than ever.

But just at the time that the flame of disputation was at the highest, to know whether five propositions were, or were not, in Janſenius, Roſpigliofi became Pope, under the name of Clement IX. and made every thing quiet, for ſome time. He prevailed on the diſſenting Biſhops to ſign the formulary *ſincerely*, inſtead of *purely* and *ſimply*. Thus it ſeemed permitted to believe, that tho' the five propoſitions were condemned, they might not be extracted from Janſenius. The four Biſhops gave ſome ſmall explanations of their own, and Italian complaiſance thus allayed French vivacity. One word ſubſtituted in the place of another, brought about this peace, which is called *The Peace of Clement IX.* and even *The Peace of the Church*; though the whole affair had been only about a diſpute, either unknown to, or deſpiſed by the reſt of the world. It had been evident, ever ſince the time of Baius, that the Popes had always had in view to ſuppreſs theſe unintelligible controverſies, and to bring the two parties, to teach that morality which every one underſtands. Nothing could be more reaſonable. But they had to deal with men.

The Government ſet at liberty the Janſeniſts who had been confined in the Baſtile, and, amongſt the reſt, Sacy, author of a verſion of the Teſtament. Several Nuns were recalled from their exile, who all ſigned the formulary *ſincerely*, and thought they triumphed by this expreſſion. Arnauld now came forth from his retreat, and was preſented to the King, kindly received by the Nuncio, and looked upon by the Public as a Father of the Church. From that time he promiſed to enter the liſts only againſt the Calviniſts, for he muſt neceſſarily be engaged in ſome kind of diſpute. In this time of tranquility he ſent into the world his book entitled *The Perpetuity of Faith*, in which he was aſſiſted by Nicole; and this gave birth to the great controverſy betwixt them and Claude the Miniſter; a controverſy

in which each party, according to custom, claimed the victory.

The Peace of Clement IX. having been given to restless minds that were perpetually in movement, proved but a short truce. Secret cabals, intrigues, and insults, continued on both sides.

The Duchess of Longueville, sister to the Great Condé, so well known by the civil wars, and by her amours, now grown old, and without any employment, became a devotée; and as she hated the Court, and loved intrigue, she turned Jansenist. She added a wing to the Abbey of Port-Royal-des-Champs, whither she retired sometimes with the Recluses. They were then in their most flourishing state. Arnauld, Nicole, Le Maitre, Herman, Saci, and several other persons, who, though less famous, had nevertheless considerable merit and reputation, assembled at her house. In the room of that sprightly wit to which the Duchess had been accustomed at the Palace de Rambouillet, they substituted conversations of a more solid kind, and that masculine and animated sense, which so remarkably distinguished their compositions and conversations. They continued not a little to diffuse good taste and true eloquence through France; but unhappily they were still more anxious to spread their opinions. They seemed to be themselves a proof of that doctrine of fatality with which they were reproached. It might be said, that they were carried away by an irresistible determination to draw down upon themselves persecutions for mere chimerical notions, when they might have acquired the most solid reputation, and have enjoyed their lives in a happy tranquility, by only renouncing these frivolous disputes.

The Jesuitical faction, which still smarted from the satire of the *Provincial Letters*, stirred heaven and earth against its adversaries. Madame de Longueville, being no longer able to form cabals for the Fronde, formed them in support of Jansenism. There were frequent meetings at Paris, sometimes at her house, and sometimes at Arnauld's. The King, who had already
resolved

resolved to extirpate Calvinism, would not suffer a new sect. He threatened them; and, at last Ar-
 nauld, dreading to encounter enemies armed 1679.
 with sovereign authority, and being deprived of the support of the Ducheſs of Longueville, whom death had lately robbed him of, determined to quit France for ever, and go to live in the Netherlands, unknown, without fortune, and even without domestics; he whose nephew had been Minister of State, and who might himself have been a Cardinal: but the pleasure of writing with freedom, outweighed every other consideration with him. He lived till the year 1694, in obscure retirement from the world, and known only to his friends, continually employed in writing, always the philosopher, superior to ill fortune, and to his last moments giving an example of a pure, resolute, and unshaken soul.

His party was always persecuted in the Catholic Netherlands, called the *Land of Obedience*, where the Pope's Bulls are sovereign laws; and it was still more harassed in France.

One thing very extraordinary is, that the question, "Whether the five propositions were really in Janſenius?" was always the sole pretext for these little intestine broils. The distinction of *de facto* and *de jure* now occupied the minds of many. At length, in 1701, they proposed a theological question, which was called *Le Cas de Conscience par Excellence*, The Case of Conscience by Excellence: "Whether the sacraments should be given to a person, who, though he subscribed to the formulary, believed in his heart that the Pope, and even the Church, might be mistaken in facts?" Forty Doctors gave it under their hands that absolution might be given to such a man.

Immediately the controversy was renewed; the Pope and Bishops insisted on being believed upon facts. Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, decreed that belief was to be given to divine faith, *de jure*; and to human faith, *de facto*. Others again, among whom was Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, who was not well pleased with

Noailles, demanded divine faith for the fact. It would have been better, perhaps, to have cited the passages in the book itself; but this was never done.

Pope Clement XI. published a bull in 1705, called *Vineam Domini*, by which he enjoined a belief *de facto*, without explaining whether it was of a divine or human faith.

It was a new custom introduced into the Church to make women sign these bulls. This respect was again shewn to the Sisters of Port-Royal-des-Champs, and Cardinal de Noailles was obliged to cause it to be carried to them by way of trial. They signed it, without detracting any thing from the Peace of Clement IX. and confining themselves to a respectful silence with regard to the case *de facto*.

It can hardly be said which is the most extraordinary, either the confession insisted on from women, that five propositions were contained in a Latin book, or the obstinate refusal of these Nuns.

The King applied to the Pope for a bull for the suppression of their Monastery. Cardinal de Noailles deprived them of the sacraments, and their Advocate was confined in the Bastile. All the Nuns were removed into separate Convents, that were more obedient. The Lieutenant de Police, in 1709, ordered their house to be razed to the foundation; and lastly, in 1711, all the bodies that were buried in the church, and in the church-yard, were removed from thence, and carried elsewhere.

The troubles, however, were not suppressed with this Monastery. The Jansenists were still for caballing, and the Jesuits for making themselves appear necessary. Father Quénel, a Priest of the Oratory, a friend of the celebrated Arnauld, and who accompanied his retreat to his last moments, had, in 1671, composed a book of pious reflections on the text of the New Testament. This book contains some maxims which seem to favour Jansenism; but these are blended with such a number of pious sentiments, and are so replete with that soft persuasion which wins the heart, that
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the work was received with universal approbation. The good tendency of this book manifests itself in almost every line, and it requires the minutest search to discover the faults. Several Bishops bestowed the highest encomiums upon it, even when imperfect, which they confirmed when the author had put the finishing hand to it. I myself know, that the Abbé Renaudot, one of the most learned men in France, being at Rome, the first year of Clement XI.'s pontificate, and going one day to wait upon this Pope, who loved men of letters, and was himself a man of learning, found him reading Father Quénel's book; "This is," said the Pope, "a truly excellent work; we have no one at Rome capable of writing in such a manner. I should be glad to bring the author to my Court." This very Pope afterwards condemned the book.

We must not, however, consider these encomiums of Clement XI. and his subsequent censure, as a contradiction. A person may be touched with the shining beauties of a work, at the first reading, and afterwards condemn faults which had then escaped his notice. Of all the French Prelates, Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, gave the most sincere commendations to this book. He declared himself its patron when Bishop of Chalons, and the work was dedicated to him. This Cardinal was a person equally eminent for virtue and learning, of the most mild and amiable disposition, and a sincere friend to peace. He protected some of the Jansenist party, though not of their persuasion; and, though he had no great affection for the Jesuits, he neither injured nor feared them.

This order began to acquire great influence when Father La Chaise had the government of Louis XIV.'s conscience, and, in consequence, was the head of the Gallican Church. Father Quénel, dreading their power, had retired to Brussels with the learned Benedictine Gerberon, a Priest named Brigode, and several others of the same party, of which he became the chief, after the death of the famous Arnauld; and, like him, enjoyed the flattering glory of establishing to himself

a sovereignty independent of Princes, of reigning over consciences, and of being the soul of a party composed of the brightest Geniuses. The Jesuits, more universal and more powerful than his faction, soon found out Quénel in his retirement, and accused him to Philip V. who was still master of the Netherlands. Persecuting him as they had done his master Arnould with Louis XIV.

1703. they obtained an order from the Spanish King to seize the person of these religious recluses. Quénel was thrown into prison in the Archbishopric of Mechlin. A gentleman, who thought the Jansenist party would make his fortune if he could compass the deliverance of their Chief, broke through the walls, and helped Quénel to make his escape, who returned to Amsterdam, where he died in 1719, in an extreme old age, after having contributed to establish some Jansenist churches in Holland: but this weak flock soon dwindled away.

When Quénel was taken into custody, they at the same time seized upon his papers, in which were found evident proofs of a formed party. There was a copy of an ancient contract made by the Jansenists with Antonietta Bourignon the celebrated fanatic, a woman of great fortune, who in the name of her spiritual director had purchased the Island of Nordstrand, near Holstein. as an asylum for those whom she pretended to associate into a mystical sect, which she proposed to establish.

This Bourignon had printed, at her own expence, nineteen large volumes of pious meditations, and had spent the half of her fortune in making proselytes. However, she succeeded only in rendering herself ridiculous; and had even suffered all the persecutions which are the consequences of such innovations. At length, despairing of settling in her Island, she sold it again to the Jansenists, who, like herself, were incapable of making any establishment there.

Amongst the manuscripts of Quénel, there was likewise found a project of a more criminal nature, had it not been so very foolish. Louis XIV. having sent the
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Count D'Avaux, in 1684, with full powers to grant a truce of twenty years to all the Powers who were willing to accept of it, the Jansenists, under the title of "The Disciples of St. Augustine," had formed the idle scheme of getting themselves included in this truce, as if they had been really a formidable party, as the Calvinists had so long been. This ridiculous project, however, was not executed; but the propositions of a peace between the King of France and the Jansenists had been actually drawn up in writing. They had certainly a view in this scheme to render themselves too considerable, and this was sufficient to make them culpable, and Louis XIV. was easily persuaded to look upon them as dangerous.

He wanted discernment, or he would have known, that empty and speculative notions will fall of themselves, if left to their own insignificancy. It was giving them a degree of consequence to which they were not intitled, to make the matter an affair of State. It was no difficult matter to make Quénel's books appear culpable, after the author had been treated as a seditious person. The Jesuits prevailed upon the King to petition himself for a condemnation of this book at Rome. This was, in fact, condemning Cardinal de Noailles, who had been one of its most zealous patrons. They flattered themselves, and not without reason, that Clement XI. would be glad to mortify the Archbishop of Paris.

It will be necessary to observe, that when Clement XI. was Cardinal Albani, he published a book written intirely on Molinist principles, by his friend Cardinal de Sfondrati, and that Noailles had censured it. It was natural then to think, that now Albani was become Pope, he would, at least, oppose the encomiums given to Quénel, as those bestowed on Sfondrati had been before censured.

This expectation proved to be well grounded: Pope Clement XI. in 1708, issued a decree against Quénel's book. But the situation of temporal affairs, at that time,

time, hindered this spiritual business, so warmly solicited, from succeeding. The Court was piqued at Clement XI. for having acknowledged the Archduke Charles as King of Spain, after having before acknowledged Philip V. The decree was found in some places not valid, and was rejected in France; and the controversy lay dormant till the death of Father La Chaise, the King's Confessor; a man of a mild disposition, who was always ready to adopt pacific measures, and who always kept up a good understanding with Cardinal de Noailles, as the relation of Madam de Maintenon.

The Jesuits had a right to appoint a Confessor for the King of France, as well as almost all the other Catholic Princes in Europe. They enjoy this privilege in virtue of their institution, by which they renounce all ecclesiastical dignities: so that what their founder established through humility, is become the means of grandeur. In proportion as Louis XIV. advanced in years, the office of Confessor became more important. This post was given to Father Le Tellier, son of an Attorney of Viré, in Lower Normandy; a gloomy, hot-headed, and inflexible man, concealing his turbulence under an apparent phlegm. He did all the mischief that could be done in his office, where there are but too many opportunities of inspiring such sentiments as one pleases, and of destroying those one hates; and he had many private injuries to revenge.

The Jansenists had got one of his books on the Chinese ceremonies condemned at Rome. He had likewise a personal dislike to Cardinal de Noailles, and he was not of a disposition to restrain his passions. He soon raised disturbances in the whole Church of France. In 1711, he drew up letters and mandates to be signed by the Bishops, and sent them several articles of accusation against Cardinal de Noailles, to which they were allowed only to sign their names. Such practices meet with proper punishment in secular
affairs.

affairs; but here, though they were discovered, they succeeded, notwithstanding *.

The King's conscience was alarmed by his Confessor, as much as his authority was hurt by the idea of a rebellious faction. Cardinal de Noailles in vain demanded justice of his Majesty, for these mysteries of iniquity. The Confessor persuaded him, that he made use of human means to bring about divine matters; and as in effect he defended the Pope's authority, and the unity of the Church, he seemed, in the main, to have right on his side. The Cardinal applied to the Dauphin, Duke of Burgundy, but found him prepossessed by the letters and friends of the Archbishop of Cambray. Human frailty finds an entrance into every breast: Fénelon was not then philosopher enough to forget that Cardinal de Noailles had been instrumental in getting him censured; and Quénel now suffered for Madam Guion.

The Cardinal found no greater support from the interest of Madame de Maintenon. This affair is alone sufficient to shew the character of that woman, who had no sentiments of her own, and placed her whole study in conforming to those of the King. The few following lines of her's to the Cardinal de Noailles, will enable us to form a true judgment of her, of Father La Tellier's intrigues, of the King's sentiments,

* It is said in the Life of the Duke of Orleans, that the Cardinal de Noailles having accused Father Le Tellier of selling church-livings, that Jesuit expressed himself thus to the King: "I freely consent to be burnt alive, if this accusation can be proved, on condition that the Cardinal shall suffer the same punishment, if he does not prove it."

This story is taken from some of the pieces that were handed about on the affair of the Constitution, and these pieces are as full of absurdities as the Life of the Duke of Orleans. Most of them were written by a set of wretches, merely for the sake of getting money. These sort of people do not know, that a person who has his credit to maintain with a Prince whose Confessor he is, would hardly propose to him to condemn his Archbishop to the flames for his vindication. All the idle stories of this nature may be found collected in the *Memoirs of Maintenon*. We should be careful to distinguish between facts and hearings. *Voltaire*.

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and of the conjuncture. "You are sufficiently acquainted with me, to know what my thoughts are on the late discovery; but I have many reasons to be cautious how I say any thing. It is not my business to judge or condemn: I have only to be silent, and to pray for the Church, for the King, and for you. I have delivered your letter to his Majesty, who has read it: this is all I can say to you about it, being oppressed with sorrow*."

The Cardinal Archbishop, being thus insulted by a Jesuit, took away the power of preaching and confessing from all the Jesuits in France, excepting only a few of the most moderate and discreet. By his place he had likewise the dangerous right of hindering Le Tellier from confessing the King; but he did not dare to irritate his Sovereign to such a degree; and therefore left him respectfully in the hands of his enemy †. "I am apprehensive (said he, writing to Madame Maintenon) that I shew too mean a submission to the King, in thus leaving power in the hands of one so unworthy of it. I pray God that he will open his eyes to the danger he is in by entrusting his soul to a man of such a character ‡."

We read in several memoirs, that Tellier declared either he must lose his place, or the Cardinal his. It is

* This woman had no soul, but what was to be saved by huckstering. *Translator.*

† Consult Madame de Maintenon's Letters. It may easily be perceived that the Author of this Work was well acquainted with these Letters before they were published, and that he has taken nothing upon trust. *Voltaire.*

‡ When we are provided with letters of such good authority, we may boldly venture to quote them, as being the most valuable materials in history; but what trust can be put in a letter which is supposed to have been written by Cardinal de Noailles to the King? "I was the first who laboured to ruin the Clergy, in order to save your State and support your Throne. It is not allowable for you to demand an account of my conduct." Is it probable that a wise and discreet subject should write so insulting and daring a letter to his Sovereign? This is but an ill-judged imputation. It is to be found in page 141. Vol. V. of the *Memoirs of Maintenon*, and as it is destitute of all authority and probability, ought not to meet with the least credit. *Ibid.*

not improbable he might think so, but very unlikely that he should declare it.

When two parties are exasperated against each other, both frequently take steps which prove fatal to them. The partizans of Father Le Tellier, and those Bishops who aspired at a Cardinalship, made use of the royal authority to blow up those sparks which might have been extinguished. Instead of imitating the conduct of Rome, which had several times imposed silence on both parties; instead of curbing the insolence of the Jesuit, and soothing the Cardinal; instead of prohibiting these controversies, in the same manner as duels, and making the Clergy, as well as the Nobility, useful without being dangerous; in a word, instead of crushing the two parties by the weight of the supreme power, supported by reason and by all the magistrates, Louis XIV. thought he acted right in soliciting Rome, himself, for a declaration of war, and procuring that famous Constitution *Unigenitus* which embittered the remainder of his life.

Father Le Tellier and his party sent an hundred and three propositions to Rome, to be censured, of which the Holy Office condemned one hundred and one. This bull, which was published in the month of September 1713, raised a murmur throughout almost the whole Kingdom of France. The King had applied for it, as a means to prevent a schism, and it was likely to produce one. The clamour was general, because, among those hundred and one propositions, there were several which appeared to every one to carry the most innocent meaning, and the purest morality. A numerous Assembly of Bishops was convoked at Paris: forty accepted the bull, for the sake of peace, but at the same time they added certain explanations, to quiet the scruples of the people. The direct and unreserved acceptance was sent to the Pope, and the modifications were reserved for the people. By this means, they thought at once to satisfy the Pope, the King, and the People; but Cardinal de Noailles, and seven other Bishops of this Assembly, who joined with him, refused both

both the bull and its modifications: they wrote to the Pope, requesting to have these modifications from his Holiness himself. This was affronting him, with the appearance of respect.

The King would not permit it to be done, hindered the letter being sent, remanded the Bishops back to their Dioceses, and forbade the Cardinal to appear at Court. This persecution procured the Archbishop an additional share of credit with the Public. Seven other Bishops now joined with him: there was a real division in the Episcopacy, among all ranks of the Clergy, and all religious orders. Every one allowed, that the fundamental points of religion were not concerned in this dispute, and yet a civil dissention was raised in the minds of the people, as if Christianity itself was in danger of being subverted; and as many political resources were employed on both sides, as in the most profane affairs.

These resources were chiefly employed to get the Constitution received by the Sorbonne; and it was registered there, notwithstanding the majority
1714. of votes was against it. The Ministry could hardly supply a sufficient number of lettres de cachet to imprison or banish those who opposed it.

This bull had been registered in Parliament, with a proper reservation of the ordinary rights of the Crown, the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the power and jurisdiction of the Bishops; but the public clamour got the better of obedience. Cardinal de Bissi, one of the most zealous defenders of the bull, acknowledged in one of his letters, that it could not have been received with greater indignity at Geneva, than it was at Paris.

The people were particularly incensed against Father Le Tellier. Nothing is more apt to excite indignation than a Priest exalted to power; it seems a violation of his vows; but if he abuses this power, he is held in execration. All the prisons had been a long time crowded with natives accused of Jansenism. Louis XIV. too ignorant in these matters, was made to believe that
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It was the duty of a Most Christian King, and that he could not expiate his sins, without persecuting the heretics. But what was most shameful was, that the copies of the interrogatories exhibited to these unhappy people were put into the hands of the Jesuit Le Tellier. Never was justice so basely betrayed, and never did meanness more unworthily sacrifice to power. In 1768 were found, in the professed house of the Jesuits, these monuments of their tyranny, after they had suffered the penalty of their excesses, and that they were chased out of the Kingdom by all the Parliaments of France, by the wishes of the Nation, and, finally, by an Edict of Louis XV. Le Tellier presumed so much on his influence, that he even proposed the deposing of Cardinal de Noailles, in a national Council. Thus did this Priest make his prince, his penitent, and his religion, subservient to his revenge. 1715.

In order to prepare this Council, which was to depose a man become the idol of Paris, and of the whole Kingdom, for the purity of his manners, the amiableness of his character, and still more by the persecution he suffered; they prevailed on Louis XIV. to order a Declaration to be registered in Parliament, by which every Bishop who had not received the bull *purely and simply*, should be obliged to subscribe it, or be prosecuted as a rebel by the Advocate-General. Chancellor Voisin, Secretary at War, a rigid, arbitrary man, was the person who drew up this Edict. D'Aguesseau, who understood the laws of the realm much better than Voisin, and had all that resolution of mind which youth naturally inspires, peremptorily refused to be concerned in such an affair. De Mesme, President of the Council, demonstrated to the King the consequences likely to ensue. Thus the affair was protracted. The King was drawing towards his end; and these unhappy disputes greatly disquieted him, and contributed not a little to hasten his last minutes. His merciless Confessor was continually teasing him, though in this weak condition, by repeated exhortations to consummate a work

work which would have been far from endearing his memory. The King's domestics, filled with indignation at the Confessor's behaviour, twice refused him entrance into his chamber, and at last earnestly conjured him not to speak to the King about the Constitution. The King died, and a total change ensued.

The Duke of Orleans, Regent of the Kingdom, having immediately upon his assuming the reins of power, changed the whole arrangement of Louis XIV's government, and having substituted Councils in the room of the offices of the Secretaries of State, erected a Council of Conscience, of which Cardinal de Noailles was made President. They banished Father Le Tellier, loaded with the hatred of the Public, and very little beloved by his own fraternity.

The Bishops who opposed the bull appeared to a future Council, *sine die*. The Sorbonne, the Clergy of the diocese of Paris, and whole bodies of religious orders, appealed likewise; and at length Cardinal de Noailles made his appeal, in 1717, but would not publish it at first; however, it was printed, as is said, contrary to his inclination. The Church of France remained divided into two factions, the Acceptants and the Recusants. The Acceptants consisted of an hundred Bishops, who had adhered under Louis XIV. to the Jesuits and Capuchins. The other consisted of fifteen Bishops, and the whole Nation. The Acceptants had the Court of Rome for their defender; the Recusants were supported by the Universities, the Parliament, and the People. Volume upon volume, and letter upon letter, was printed; and each party treated the other as schismatics and heretics.

An Archbishop of Rheims, named Mailly, a great and successful partizan of Rome, had subscribed his name to two papers which the Parliament ordered to be burnt by the hangman. The Archbishop, when he heard it, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, and returned God thanks for having been thus ignominiously treated by schismatics. God rewarded him, and he was made a Cardinal. The Bishop of Sions having been dealt
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with in the same manner by the Parliament, signified to that Assembly, "That it did not belong to them "to judge him, even in cases of, high-treason." For this he was mulcted in the sum of ten thousand livres : but the Regent remitted the fine, lest, as he said, Soissons should be made a Cardinal also.

The Court of Rome broke out into loud reproaches ; much time was spent in negotiations, in appealing and re appealing, and all this about a few passages, now forgotten, of a book written by an old Priest of fourscore, who lived on charity at Amsterdam *.

The extravagant project of the Funds † contributed more than one would imagine to restore the peace of the Church. The madness of the nation for stock-jobbing, and the greediness of every one to snap at the bait, was, in general, that those who talked about Jansenism of the bull could find no one to listen to them. The people of Paris paid as little regard to these matters, as to the war that was carrying on upon the frontiers of Spain. The sudden and immense fortunes made at that time, the excess to which luxury and voluptuousness of every kind was carried, put a stop to all ecclesiastical disputes. Thus pleasure and dissipation brought about that which Louis XIV. could not effect.

The Duke of Orleans laid hold of this occasion to unite the Church of France. In this his policy was interested ; for he dreaded to see the time when Rome, Spain, and an hundred Bishops, should be all united against him ‡.

And now he had to prevail on Cardinal Noailles, not only to receive the Constitution, which he looked upon as scandalous, but also to withdraw his appeal, which he considered as lawful. He was to obtain more

* Nothing, certainly, could be more ridiculous, in a rational and civilized Nation. *Translator.*

† *Lazari's System* ; such another bubble as the South-Sea Scheme in England. *Ibid.*

‡ In the Age of Louis XV. will be seen what were the vices and the conduct of the Regent, *Voltaire.*

of him than his benefactor Louis XIV. had in vain demanded. The Duke of Orleans, with reason, expected great opposition from the Parliament, which he had banished to Pontoise. Nevertheless he gained all his points. *A Body of Doctrine* was composed, which partly satisfied both parties; and the Cardinal was prevailed upon to give his promise, that he would at last accept it. The Regent went himself to the Great Council, with the Princes of the Blood, and the Peers, to get an Edict registered, enjoining the acceptance of the bull, the suppression of all appeals, and the restoration of peace and unanimity. The Parliament, which had been mortified by seeing Edicts carried to the Great Council which it was their right to receive, and being likewise threatened to be removed from Pontoise to Blois, registered what had been entered by the Great Council; but always with the customary reservations, viz. the preservation of the rights and liberties of the Gallican Church, and the laws of the Realm.

The Cardinal-Archbishop, who had given his word to withdraw his appeal whenever the Parliament should obey, now saw himself necessitated to keep his promise; and the instrument of his recantation was posted up the 20th of August 1720.

Du Bois, the new Archbishop of Cambray, son to an apothecary of Brive-la-Gaillarde, afterwards Cardinal and Prime Minister, was the person who had the greatest share in bringing about this business, in which the power of Louis XIV. had failed. No one is a stranger to the conduct, sentiments, and morals, of this Minister. The licentious Du Bois got the better of the pious Noailles. It is still remembered with what contempt the Duke of Orleans and his Minister spoke of the disputes which they opposed, and what ridicule they threw upon the controversial war. This contempt and ridicule contributed not a little to bring about a peace. People grew at length weary of such contests as afforded a subject of laughter to the rest of the world.

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From this time all that was known in France by the name of Jansenism, Quietism, bulls, and theological disputes, sensibly declined; but some Bishops, who had appealed, still continued obstinately attached to their opinions.

Under the administration of Cardinal de Fleury, an attempt was made to extirpate the remains of the party, by deposing one of the most stubborn Prelates. To this end, Old Soanin, Bishop of the little town of Senés, was fixed on for an example; a man equally pious and inflexible, but of no family nor influence.

He was condemned by the Provincial Synod of Ambrun, in 1728, suspended from his episcopal and clerical functions, and banished by the Court to Auvergne, when above eighty years old. This treatment occasioned a few murmurings, which proved of no consequence. There is not at present any Nation which murmurs more, obeys better, and forgets sooner, than the French.

Some remains of fanaticism still continued, among a small number of people of Paris. Certain enthusiasts imagined, that a Deacon named Paris, brother to a Counsellor of Parliament, one who had appealed and re-appealed, and who lay buried in the church-yard of St. Medard, was to perform miracles. Some of the party, who went to pray at his tomb, had their imaginations so heated, that their disordered organs produced slight convulsions. Upon this the tomb was surrounded by swarms of people, who continued to flock thither, both day and night: some got upon the tomb, and took the motions they gave their bodies in mounting, for miraculous convulsions. The secret abettors of the party encouraged this phrenzy. They prayed at the tomb in the vulgar language; nothing was now talked of but the deaf hearing certain words, the blind having had glimpses, and the lame walking upright for some moments. These pretended miracles were even attested upon oath by a crowd of witnesses, who thought they had beheld them, because they came thither, fully prepossessed that they should do so.

The Government left this epidemical madness to itself

self for a month ; but the concourse of people became so great, and the miracles so frequent, that they were at last obliged to shut up the church-yard, and place a guard round 'it. These enthusiasts then went to work their miracles in houses. This tomb of the Deacon Paris proved in effect the grave of Jansenism, in the opinion of all sensible people. Such farces might have had serious consequences, in the more ignorant times ; but those who encouraged them seemed to have mistaken the Age they lived in.

The superstition, however, was carried so far, that a Counsellor of Parliament had the folly to present the King, in 1736, with a collection of these miracles, supported by a considerable number of attestations. This madman, the instrument and victim of others as mad as himself, says, in the memorial presented to the King, " That credit ought to be given to witnesses who suffered death in support of their evidence." If all other books were to be lost, and this only was to remain, posterity would imagine our Age to be the æra of ignorance and barbarism.

These extravagances were in France the expiring sighs of a sect, which, being no longer supported by an Arnauld, a Paschal, nor a Nicole, and composed only of a few convulsionaries, is fallen into utter contempt ; and we should hear no more mention of those disputes which disgrace reason, and do injury to religion, were it not for some busy minds, who are continually raking in these extinguished ashes, for a remaining spark of fire, which they endeavour to blow up into a new flame. But even should they succeed, the dispute concerning Molinism and Jansenism will never again be the object of dissension. What has once become ridiculous, can never more be dangerous. The dispute will change its nature ; for mankind never want a *pretext* to injure each other, though they may be without a *cause*.

Religion may still whet its poignards. There are always in the Nation a set of people who hold no communication with honest men, who are not of this Age, who are inaccessible to the progress of reason, and over whom the

the atrocity of fanaticism preserves its empire, like certain diseases which attack only the meanest of the vulgar.

The Jesuits seemed involved in the fall of Jansenism; their arms grew edgeless for want of adversaries to whet them on; they lost that credit at Court which Le Tellier had so grossly abused; their *Journal de Trevoux* gained them neither the esteem nor friendship of the learned world. The Bishops, over whom they had formerly domineered, confounded them with the other religious orders; and these, who had been kept under by them, now humbled them, in their turn. The Parliament made them sensible, more than once, of the opinion they entertained of them, by condemning some of their books, which would otherwise have been forgotten. The University, which now began to make a shining figure in literature, and had an excellent method of educating youth, deprived them of most of their pupils; and they were obliged to wait with patience till time should furnish them with men of genius, and a favourable opportunity, to regain their former ascendancy.

But they were much deceived in their hopes; their fall; the abolition of their order in France; their banishment from Spain, from Portugal, and from Naples, have shewn the world, at last, how wrong it was in Louis XIV. to place so much confidence in them.

It would be very useful for those who are infatuated with these kinds of disputes, to look into the general history of the world; for in observing the multitude of different nations, manners, and religions, they will see how very insignificant a figure a Molinist and a Jansenist makes on the theatre of the world. They will then blush at their mad fondness for a party which is lost in the common crowd, and swallowed up in the immensity of things.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Of Quietism.

AMIDST the factions of Calvinism and the disputes of Jansenism, there happened yet another division in France, about Quietism. It was an unhappy consequence of the progress of human understanding, in the Age of Louis XIV. that it excited efforts to go beyond the limits prescribed to our knowledge ; or rather, it was a proof that this progress had not yet been extended far enough.

The controversy about Quietism is one of those extravagant sallies of the imagination and theological subtleties, which would never have left any impression on the memory of mankind, had it not been for the names of two illustrious rivals in the dispute. A woman, without any credit, or even real understanding, who had only an overheated imagination, set at variance two of the greatest men in the church. Her name was Bouvieres de la Motte. Her family was originally of Montargis. She had been married to the son of Guion, the Contractor for the Canal of Briarie : being left a widow when very young, with a considerable fortune, beauty, and every way fitted for the converse of the world, she became possessed with what is called *Spirituality*. She had for her Confessor a Barnabite Monk, of the country of Annecy, near Geneva, named La Combe. This man, noted for what is common enough, a medley of passions and religion, and who died mad, plunged the mind of his penitent in mystical contemplations, to which she was already but too much inclined. The desire of being a St. Theresa, in France, prevented her from discerning the great difference between the genius of the French and Spaniards, and carried her even to greater lengths than St. Theresa. The ambition of having disciples, the strongest perhaps of every other species of ambition, took entire possession of her mind.

Her Confessor La Combe conducted her into that small territory of Annecy, where the titular Bishop of Geneva holds his residence. It was then thought a
great

great indecency in a Monk to lead a young widow out of her country ; but this was the general practice of all those who had a mind to establish'a sect. They always engaged the women on their side. The young widow at first acquired great authority in Annecy, by her extensive charities, and held several conferences. She preached up an entire self-renunciation, the tranquil state of the soul, and the annihilation of all its faculties, inward worship, and pure and disinterested love, which is neither debased by fear, nor exalted by the hope of reward.

Tender and flexible imaginations, especially those of women, and some young ecclesiastics, who loved, more than they believed, the word of God, proceeding from the mouth of a fine woman, were easily led away with an eloquence of delivery, the only thing calculated to persuade minds already favourably disposed. She made profelytes ; but was soon driven away from thence by the Bishop of Annecy, with her Confessor. They next went to Grenoble. There she published a little piece, entitled, *Le Moyen Court, The Short Way* ; and another called, *Les Torrents, The Torrents*, both written in the same stile she preached ; but, in a short time, she was likewise obliged to leave Grenoble.

Flattered already with being ranked among the Confessors, she began to prophesy. This prophecy she sent to Father La Combe : " All Hell (said she) shall rise up to stop the progress of the inward spirit, and the formation of Christ Jesus in souls. And so great shall be the storm, that not one stone shall remain upon another ; and I foresee that throughout the whole earth, there shall be troubles, wars, and great overthrows. The woman shall be pregnant with the inward spirit, and the dragon shall stand up before her."

The prediction was in part verified : Hell indeed did not rise up against her ; but on her return to Paris with her Confessor, where both endeavoured to spread their doctrine, in 1687, the Archbishop Harlai de Chanvalon obtained an order from the King to confine La Combe as a seducer, and to shut up in a convent Ma-

dame Guion, as a person disordered in her senses, and who stood in need of a cure. But before this blow, Madame Guion had engaged protections which now proved of service to her. In the convent of St. Cyr, then only in its infancy, she had a cousin named Madame de la Maison-Fort, a favourite with Madame de Maintenon. She had likewise insinuated herself into the mind of the Dutchesse of Chevreuse and Beauvilliers. These, her good friends, exclaimed loudly against Archbishop Harlai, that he, who was well known to be too fond of the fair sex, should persecute a woman only for discoursing on the love of God.

Madame de Maintenon, by her powerful influence, procured Guion her liberty, and got the Archbishop of Paris silenced. She went to Versailles, and introduced herself into the convent of St. Cyr, where she assisted at the devout conferences held by the Abbé de Fenelon, after having dined with Madame de Maintenon and him. The Princess of Harcourt, and the Dutchesse of Chevreuse, Beauvilliers, and Charôt, were of this mystical society.

The Abbé Fenelon, then Preceptor to the Children of France, was the most engaging man about the Court. He had naturally a tender heart, a mild and lively imagination, and had embellished his mind with all that was elegant in the Belles Lettres. Possessed of taste and refinement, he preferred the affecting and sublime in divinity, to the gloomy and abstruse. Joined to all these, he had a certain romantic turn, which inspired him, not with the reveries of Madame Guion, but with a sentiment of spirituality, which was not very unlike the notions of that lady.

His imagination was heated with candour and virtue, as others are inflamed by their passions. His passion was to love God purely for himself. He saw in Madame Guion a spotless mind, inspired with the same affection as his own, and therefore made no scruple to associate with her.

It was strange that he should be led away by a weak woman, who pretended to revelations, to prophecies, and such idle stuff; who was ready to be choaked with in-

ward grace, and was obliged to be unlaced, that she might empty herself (according to her own expression) of a superabundance of grace, in order to communicate it to the body of the chosen person who sat next her. But Fenelon, in his friendship and mystical notions, was like a person in love: he excused the errors, and attached himself only to that conformity of sentiment with which he had been first captivated.

Madame Guion, elevated and emboldened by the acquisition of such a disciple, whom she called her son, and depending on Madame de Maintenon's favour, propagated her notions in St. Cyr. Godet, Bishop of Chartres, in whose diocese St. Cyr is, was alarmed, and made complaints. The Archbishop of Paris likewise threatened to renew his former prosecution.

Madame de Maintenon, who intended St. Cyr wholly for a peaceable retreat, who knew how much the King was an enemy to all novelty, and who had no occasion to put herself at the head of a sect to acquire influence, and had besides her own credit and repose only in view, broke off all correspondence with Madame Guion, and forbade her to appear again at St. Cyr.

The Abbé de Fenelon saw the storm gathering, and was apprehensive of being disappointed of the great preferment to which he aspired. He therefore advised his female friend to put herself into the hands of the famous Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, who was regarded as a Father of the Church. She accordingly submitted herself to the decisions of this prelate, received the sacrament from him, and delivered up all her writings to his examination.

The Bishop of Meaux, with the King's permission, chose for his assistants in this affair the Bishop of Châlons, afterwards Cardinal de Noailles, and the Abbé Tronson, superior of St. Sulpice. They had a private meeting at the village Issi, near Paris. Chanvalon, Archbishop of Paris, jealous that any other persons should set themselves up as judges in his diocese, immediately posted up a public censure on the books they had under their examination. Madame Guion retired to the city of Meaux, subscribed to all that Bishop Bossuet re-

quired of her, and promised to dogmatize no more, for the future.

In the mean time Fenelon was promoted to the Archbishopric of Cambray in 1695, and consecrated by the Bishop of Meaux. It might have been presumed, that an affair now dormant, and that had been from the beginning only a subject of ridicule, would never have been revived. But Madame Guion, being accused of continuing to preach her doctrines after she had promised silence, was seized by order of the King in the same year 1695, and confined prisoner at Vincennes, as if she had been a person dangerous to the State. She could not possibly be so; and her pious follies did not merit the attention of the Sovereign. During her confinement at Vincennes, she composed a large volume of mystic poetry, more wretched even than her prose. She wrote parodies upon verses of operas, and would often sing the following lines :

L'Amour pur et parfait va plus loin qu'on ne pense :

On ne fait pas, lorsqu'il commence,

Tout ce qu'il doit coûter un jour.

Mon cœur n'auroit connu Vincennes ni souffrance,

S'il n'eût connu le pur amour.

Pure perfect love leads farther than we think ;

At first we do not see the dangerous brink

On which we stand ; nor ever fear to prove,

Those evils under which I suffering sink,

When chains and tears repay pure perfect love.

The opinions of mankind depend on time, place, and circumstances. While Madame Guion was confined in prison, who in one of her phrensies had imagined herself married to Jesus Christ, and from that time would never invoke the Saints, saying, that it was not for the mistress of the family to address herself to her servants; at this very time, I say, there was application made to Rome for the canonization of Mary d'Agreda *, who

* This enthusiast, who was Abbess of a convent at Agreda, pretended to have received divine orders to write the Life of the Virgin Mary, which was accordingly published, under the title of The Mystic City of God, and appears to be a strange medley of madness and fanaticism. *Smollet,*

had pretended to more visions and revelations than all the mystical tribe put together ; and as an unanswerable instance of those contradictions with which the world abounds, at the Sorbonne they presented as an Heretic this very d'Agreda, whom they wanted to make a Saint of in Spain. The University of Salamanca condemned the Sorbonne, and was in return condemned by it. It is difficult to say on which side lay the greatest portion of folly and absurdity ; but there is certainly a great deal of both in suffering any of these extravagances to attain such a weight of consequence as they even yet sometimes preserve †.

Bossuet, who had long looked upon himself as the father and master of Fenelon, beheld with jealous eyes the rising reputation and credit of his disciple ; and desirous of preserving that ascendant which he had over all the rest of his brethren, he required the new Archbishop to join with him in the condemnation of Madame Guion, and to subscribe to his pastoral instructions. Fenelon refused to sacrifice to him either his sentiments or his friend. A medium was proposed, and mutual promises made. The one accused the other of a breach of faith. The Archbishop of Cambray, when he departed for his diocese, caused his book, entitled, *The Maxims of the Saints*, to be printed at Paris ; a work in which he endeavoured to palliate the charge brought against his friend, and to reveal the orthodox notions of devout contemplatists, who raise themselves above the senses, and aim at a state of perfection, to which ordinary souls seldom aspire. The Bishop of Meaux and his adherents rose up in arms against this

† It may be here remarked, that Quietism is to be met with in Don Quixote. The Knight-errant says there, that Dulcinea should be served without any other reward than merely that of being her knight. To which Sancho replies, " Con esta manera de amor he oydo yo predicar que se ha de amar a nuestro senor por si solo, sin que nos mueva speranca de gloria o temor de pena ; aunque yo le querria amar y servir por lo que puede ser." " I have heard it preached so that God is to be loved after this manner, without hope or fear ; though, for my part, I am inclined to love and serve him for what he does to serve me." *Voltaire.*

book. They complained of it to the King, as if it had been as dangerous, as it was unintelligible. The King spoke of it to Bossuet, of whose reputation and understanding he had a great opinion. This Prelate, throwing himself on his knees before his Prince, implored his pardon for not having before informed him of the fatal heresy of the Archbishop of Cambray.

This enthusiasm appeared not to be sincere, to the numerous friends of Fenelon. The Court supposed it to be but a stroke of courtly address. It was scarcely possible, in reality, that such a man as Bossuet should consider as a dangerous heresy the chimerical piety of loving God for his own sake. It is possible that he was sincere in his reprobation of this mystical devotion, and still more so in his secret jealousy of Fenelon; and that, confounding one with the other, he most cordially preferred this accusation against his ecclesiastical brother and old friend; imagining, possibly, that the office of an Informer, which would have disgraced a soldier, might be honourable in a Priest; and that a zeal for religion was sufficient to sanctify the basest actions †.

The King and Madame de Maintenon immediately consulted Father de la Chaize; and the Confessor made answer, that the Archbishop's book was a very good one; that it had greatly edified all the Jesuits; and that the Jansenists only disapproved of it. The Bishop of Meaux was not a Jansenist, but he had profited of their best writings. He did not like the Jesuits, nor they him.

The Court and the City were divided; and the attention of every one being engrossed by this contention, the Jansenists had a little respite. Bossuet wrote against Fenelon; and both sent their works to Pope Innocent XII. submitting themselves to his decision. Circumstances did not appear favourable to Fenelon; for not long before, the Court of Rome had strongly con-

* How shockingly invidious must this reflection appear to every man who has not been conversant in religious controversy! —
Translator.

demned, in the person of Molinos, the Spaniard *, the Quietism of which the Archbishop of Cambray was now accused.

Cardinal d'Etrées, the French Ambassador at Rome, was the person who had prosecuted Molinos. This Cardinal, whom we have seen in his old age more engaged in the pleasures of society than theology, had proceeded against Molinos merely to please the enemies of that unfortunate Priest; and had even prevailed upon the King to solicit his condemnation at Rome, which he obtained but too easily: so that Louis XIV. proved, unknown to himself, the most formidable enemy of the pure love of the mystics.

In matters of this nice nature, nothing is more easy than to discover passages in a book under consideration, resembling those in one already condemned. The Archbishop of Cambray had on his side the Jesuits, the Duke of Beauvilliers, the Duke of Chevreuse, and Cardinal de Bouillon, lately Ambassador from France to Rome. The Bishop of Meaux had his own great name, and the principal Prelates of France for his adherents. He presented to the King the subscribed declarations of many of the Bishops, and a great number of Doctors, who all condemned *The Maxims of the Saints*.

So great was the authority of Ossuet, that Father de la Chaise durst not vindicate the Archbishop of Cambray to his royal penitent, and Madame Maintenon entirely abandoned her friend. The King wrote to Pope Innocent XII. that having had the Archbishop of

† Michael Molinos, a Spanish Priest, and Founder of the Sect of Quietism. He published his book on spiritual conduct at Rome, and was much followed for a series of years; but his reputation having at length awakened the jealousy of the Jesuits, they employed all their art and influence for his destruction. A process was instituted against him in the general congregation of the Inquisition of Rome, held in the presence of the Pope and the Cardinal Inquisitor. Sixty-eight of the propositions were condemned as false and pernicious, scandalous, blasphemous, and heretical. He was compelled to abjure them publicly in the habit of a penitent, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in which he died. His real character was that of an insensitive enthusiast, who aspired at a sublime communication with God, by means of abstracted contemplation. *Smollet*,

Cambray's book laid before him as a dangerous work, he had put it into the hands of the Nuncio, and earnestly requested his Holiness to give judgment upon it *.

It was insinuated, and even publicly affirmed at Rome, nor are there wanting those who still believe the report, that the Archbishop of Cambray was thus persecuted for no other reason but his having opposed the publication of the private marriage of the King with Madame Maintenon. The anecdote-makers pretend that this Lady had engaged Father de la Chaise to press the King to acknowledge her for Queen; that the Jesuit had artfully thrown this dangerous commission upon the Abbé Fenelon; but that this Preceptor of the Children of the Blood had preferred the honour of the Nation, and that of his royal pupils, to his own interest, and had thrown himself at the feet of Louis XIV. to prevent a declaration, which, from its unaccountable strangeness, would have injured that Monarch more with posterity, than all the transitory gratifications of his life could have recompensed †.

It is very certain, that Fenelon, having continued the education of the Duke of Burgundy, after his promotion to the Archbishopric of Cambray, the King, during this interval, had heard some confused talk about Fenelon's connection with Madame Guion and Madame de la Maison-Fort; and was apprehensive also that he might inspire his pupils with maxims too austere, with such principles of government and morality as would perhaps one day become an indirect censure upon that air of grandeur, upon that thirst for glory, on those wars too inconsiderately engaged in, and on that taste for feasts and pleasures, which had characterised his reign.

He was desirous of having some conversation with the new Archbishop on his political principles. Fenelon, full of his ideas, discovered to the King some part

* What a groupe of precious fools are here described! *Translator.*

† This tale is still to be found in the History of Louis XIV. printed at Avignon. Those who have had access to this Monarch, and to Madame Maintenon, know how far this is from the truth. *Voltaire.*

of the principles which he afterwards unfolded in those passages of his *Telemachus* where he treats of Government; principles which better suit with Plato's republic, than the manner in which mankind are to be governed. The King, after this conversation, said, that he had been discoursing with the finest and most chimerical genius in his kingdom. The Duke of Burgundy was made acquainted with what his Majesty had said, and repeated it afterwards to Mr. de Malezieux, his master for geometry. I had this from Mr. de Malezieux himself, and it was afterwards confirmed to me by Cardinal Fleury. From this conversation the King readily believed Fenelon to be as romantic in his religious, as in his political notions.

'Tis certain that the King was personally animated against the Archbishop of Cambray. Godet Desmarêts, Bishop of Chartres, who governed Madame Maintenon and St. Cyr with the despotism of a spiritual director, envenomed the mind of the King. This Monarch made a principal business of this ridiculous dispute, of which he understood not a single word. It had been doubtless a very easy matter to have let it drop to the ground, since it did so, of itself, a short time after: but it caused such a bustle at Court, that he was more afraid of the cabal than the heresy. This was the true origin of the persecution raised against Fenelon.

The King commanded the Cardinal de Bouillon, then his Ambassador at Rome, by his letters in the month of August (which we so absurdly call *August*) 1697, to procure the condemnation of a man whom they were absolutely resolved to have considered as a heretic; and also wrote to Pope Innocent XII. with his own hand, pressing him to decide in this matter.

The Congregation of the Holy Office named a Dominican, a Jesuit, a Benedictin, two Cordeliers, a Feuillant*, and an Augustin, to take cognizance of the affair. These are what they call at Rome the Consultors†. The Cardinals and Prelates generally

* A set of begging White Friars of the Order of St. Bernard.

† Somewhat like our Law-Lords in Parliament. *Translator.*

leave to these Monks the study of theology, to be more at leisure to follow politics, intrigues, or the pleasures of an indolent life*.

The Consultors, in thirty-seven sittings, examined as many propositions, and declared them erroneous by a majority of voices; and the Pope, at the head of a congregation of Cardinals, condemned them by a brief, published and fixed up at Rome, the thirteenth day of March 1699.

The Bishop of Meaux triumphed; but the Archbishop of Cambray gained a more glorious victory from his defeat. He submitted without restriction or reserve. He even mounted the pulpit himself at Cambray, to condemn his own book; and afterwards forbade his friends to defend it. This singular instance of condescension in a man of learning, who might have raised a considerable party to himself, even from his persecution; this candor, or this art†, gained him the good-will of every one, and rendered his antagonist almost hated for his victory.

He ever afterwards continued to reside in his diocese, like the good Archbishop and the man of letters. That sweetness of manners which shewed itself in his conversation as well as in his writings, made all who were acquainted with him his affectionate friends. The persecution he underwent, and his *Telemachus*, gained him the veneration of all Europe. The English in particular, though they carried the war into his diocese, were eager to shew him respect. The Duke of Marlborough took particular care that his lands should be spared. He was always held dear by the Duke of Burgundy, who was his pupil; and had that prince lived, he would have had a share in the Administration.

In his philosophical and honourable retreat, we may see how difficult it was for a person to disengage himself from such a Court as that of Louis XIV.; for there

* The Nuncio Roberti said, *Bisogna infarinarsi di Teologia e fare un fondo di Politici*. "One should be well grounded in Theology to make a good Politician." *Voltaire*.

† † A Voltairiana. *Translator*.

are others that many great men have quitted without regret. He always spoke on this head in such a feeling manner, as broke through all his appearance of resignation. Several pieces upon philosophy, divinity, and polite literature, were the fruits of the leisure-hours of his retirement. The Duke of Orleans, afterwards Regent of the kingdom, consulted him on certain difficult points which concern all mankind, and yet are seldom thought of by them. He asked him, whether the existence of a Deity could be demonstrated? whether this Deity required worship of us? what worship he most approved? and whether a mistaken choice was offensive to him? He proposed many questions of a like nature, as a philosopher who sought instruction; and the Archbishop answered him like a philosopher and a divine.

After having been worsted in scholastic disputes, it would have been more becoming, had he not inter-meddled in the controversy of Jansenism; nevertheless, he engaged in it. Cardinal Noailles had formerly joined with the strongest side against him. The Archbishop of Cambray did the same in his turn. He was in hopes of being recalled to Court, and consulted; so hard is it for the mind of man to disengage itself from any business it has ever been anxious about. His desires, nevertheless, were as moderate as his writings; and even towards the latter part of his life, he at last despised all disputation; resembling, in this one particular, Huer, Bishop of Avranches, one of the most learned men in Europe, who in his latter days acknowledged the vanity of almost all sciences, and of the human understanding itself.

The Archbishop of Cambray (who would believe it!) thus parodied an air of Lulli:

Jeune, j'étois trop sage,
Et voulais trop savoir;
Je ne veux en partage
Que badinage,
Et touche au dernier âge,
Sans rien prévoir.

When

When young, I was exceeding wise,
 And piled up knowledge in a heap:
 Now nothing I prize,
 But trifles and toys,
 And creep to the grave without noise;
 Nor wish to look before I leap.

He composed these verses in the presence of his nephew, the Marquis de Fenelon, afterwards Ambassador at the Hague, from whom I had them, and can warrant the truth of this fact*. It is a circumstance of very little importance in itself, only as it is a proof that in the grave tranquillity of old age, we often view in a different light what appeared so great and interesting to us, at a time of life when the active mind is the sport of its own desires and delusions.

These disputes, so long the object of attention to France, as well as many others fostered in idleness, are

* The above verses are to be met with in the poetical works of Madame Guion: but the Archbishop's nephew having assured me, more than once, that they were his uncle's, and that he heard him repeat them, the very day he made them, I thought I was in justice bound to restore them to their real Author. They have been printed in fifty copies of the edition of *Telemachus* published by the Marquis de Fenelon, in Holland, but suppressed in the rest of the impression.

I am obliged to repeat here, that I have in my possession the Letter of Monsieur Ramsay, a pupil of Mr. de Fenelon, in which he says to me, "If he had been in England, he would have displayed his genius, and have spoken his principles without reserve, which were never thoroughly known."

The Author of the *Dictionary Historica, Literary, and Critical*, published at Avignon in 1759. says, on the article of Fenelon. That he was artful, supple, flattering, and dissembling. He has founded his authority for this aspersion on his memory, upon a libel of the Abbé Phelipeaux, who was an enemy to this great man. He afterwards assures us, that the Archbishop of Cambray was but a slight theologian, because that he was not a Jansenist. We are overwhelmed of late with dictionaries which are but defamatory libels. Never was Literature so much dishonoured, or Truth so much scandalized.

The same Author denies that Mr. Ramsay ever wrote me the Letter I speak of here, and denies it with an insulting grossness, though he has borrowed a great number of his articles from this Age of Louis XIV. The Jansenist plagiarists are not very well bred. I, who am neither a Quietist, a Jansenist, nor a Molinist, shall return him no other answer, but this, that I have the Letter to produce. His words are the very same I have quoted above. *Voltaire.*

now

now vanished. We are astonished in these days what could have excited so much animosity. That philosophic spirit which gets strength every day, seems to assure the public tranquillity; and even the fanatics that rise up in arms against the Philosophers, are obliged to them for the very peace they enjoy, and which they are endeavouring to forfeit.

The affair of Quietism, so unfortunately important under Louis XIV. now so despised and forgotten, ruined at Court the Cardinal de Bouillon, though he was nephew to the famous Turenne, to whom the King owed his safety in the civil war, and the aggrandizement of his kingdom afterwards.

United by friendship to the Archbishop of Cambray, and charged with the command of the King against him, he endeavoured to reconcile these two obligations. It is obvious from his Letters, that he never betrayed his ministerial character in being always faithful to his friend. He solicited the decree of the Pope, according to the order from his Court, but at the same time exerted himself to reconcile both the parties.

An Italian Priest named Giori, who was placed as a spy upon him, by the opposite faction, insinuated himself into his confidence, and traduced him in his letters; and carrying his perfidy to the extreme pitch, had the baseness to borrow a thousand crowns from him, upon some pretence, and after he got them never saw him again.

These letters of this wretch were what ruined the Cardinal de Bouillon at his Court. The King loaded him with reproaches, as if he had betrayed the State. It appeared, however, from all his dispatches, that he had conducted himself with as much wisdom as dignity.

He obeyed the orders of the King, in soliciting the condemnation of some piously ridiculous notions of the mystics, who are the alchemists of religion. But he was faithful to his friendship in eluding the blows that were aimed at the person of Fenelon. Even supposing it to be a matter of importance to the Church that people

should not love God for his own sake, it was of no consequence that the Archbishop of Cambray should be stigmatized.

But, unhappily, the King was inclined to have Fenelon condemned; whether through private enmity towards him, which seemed to be below a great King; or in compliance with the opposite party, which appears still more below the dignity of the Throne. Whatever it was, he wrote to Cardinal de Bouillon, March 16, 1699, a letter full of the most mortifying reproaches, in which he declares his wish for the condemnation of the Archbishop of Cambray; and seems there to speak as a man who was piqued. The *Telemachus* then made a great noise throughout Europe; and *The Maxims of the Saints*, which he had never read, were punished for the maxims cultivated in *Telemachus*, which he had.

The Cardinal de Bouillon was immediately recalled. He set out; but having heard, when he was got a few miles from Rome, that the Cardinal Dean was dead, he was obliged to return back to take possession of that dignity, which devolved upon him of right, being, though yet young, the senior of the Cardinals.

The station of Dean of the Sacred College conferred great privileges in Rome; and, according to the manner of thinking in those times, was a lucky circumstance for France to have it filled by a Frenchman.

It was not, besides, any neglect of duty to the King, to take possession of his rights and then proceed on his journey. However, this little circumstance provoked the King beyond forgiveness. The Cardinal, on his arrival in France, was sent into exile, and his sentence of banishment subsisted for ten years.

At length, tired out with so long a disgrace, he took the resolution of quitting France for ever, in 1710, at the time that Louis XIV. seemed to be overpowered by the Allies, and that the Kingdom was threatened on all sides.

Prince Eugene and the Prince d'Auvergne, his relations, received him on the frontiers of Flanders, where they

they were conquerors. He sent back to the King the Cross of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and a resignation of his office of Great Almoner of France, with a letter containing these words :—“ I recover that liberty which I am entitled to by my birth, as a foreign Prince, son of a Sovereign dependant only on God, and my dignity of Cardinal of the Holy Church of Rome, and of Dean of the Sacred College. I shall dedicate the remainder of my days to the service of God and the Church, in the first station next to the supreme,” &c.

His pretension of independent Prince appeared to him to be founded not only on the axiom of many Civilians, who say, that *whoever renounces every connection is not bound by any* ; and that every man is free to choose his own residence ; but upon this also, that the Cardinal was born at Sedan, at the time his father was still Governor of the place, and he considered the quality of an independent Prince as an indelible character. And as to the title of Cardinal Dean, which he called the first place after the supreme, he justified himself from the example of all his predecessors, who undoubtedly marched before the Kings, in all the processions of Rome.

The Court of France and the Parliament of Paris had quite different notions upon this matter. The Attorney-General D'Aguesseau, afterwards Chancellor, accused him before the Assembly of the Chambers, who granted a decree against him of arret and confiscation. He lived at Rome honoured, though poor, and died a victim to Quietism which he despised, and to a friendship which he had nobly reconciled with his duty.

It should not be omitted, that when he retired from the Low-Countries to Rome, the Court was alarmed, lest he should be made Pope. I have in my hands the King's letter to Cardinal de la Trimouille, of May 26, 1710, in which he betrays that fear. “ Every thing may be presumed (said he) of a subject possessed of a notion that he depends solely on himself. It suffices, that the place which the Cardinal de Bouillon is at

“ present dazzled with, appears to him inferior to his birth and talents. He will think every means justifiable to obtain the first place in the Church, when he contemplates the splendor nearer.”

Thus while they were sentencing the Cardinal de Bouillon, and giving orders to have him thrown into the prison of the *Conciergerie* *, if he could be laid hold of, they were in dread of his mounting a throne which is considered as the first in the world, by those of the Catholic religion ; and which, at that time, uniting with the enemies of Louis XIV. might revenge itself still more than Prince Eugene. The arms of the Church could do little of themselves, but could do a great deal then, with the assistance of Austria.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Disputes upon the Ceremonies of the Chinese. How these Quarrels contributed to have the Christian Religion proscribed in China.

IT was not sufficient for the disquiet of our minds, that we disputed at the end of seventeen hundred years upon the articles of our own religion, but we must likewise introduce into our quarrels those of the Chinese. This dispute, however, was not productive of any great disturbances ; but it served more than any other to characterise that busy, contentious, and jarring spirit, which prevails in our climates.

The Jesuit Matthew Ricci had been one of the first missionaries to China, at the end of the seventeenth century. The Chinese were then, and still are, almost the same in philosophy and literature, that we were two hundred years ago. The veneration they have for their ancient masters makes them afraid of passing certain bounds. A progress in the sciences is the work of time

* The Parliament Gaol.

and a daring genius : but morality and policy being more easy to comprehend than the sciences, and these being brought to perfection amongst them before the other arts; it has happened that the Chinese, who have continued above two thousand years within the same limits they had at first attained, have continued but middling proficient in the sciences ; and are the first people in the world in morals and policy, as well as the most ancient.

After Ricci, many other Jesuits found the way into this vast empire; and by the help of the European sciences, they secretly scattered some seeds of Christianity amongst the children of that people, whom they took care to instruct whenever they had an opportunity. Some Dominicans, who were joined in this mission, accused the Jesuits of permitting idolatry, whilst they preached up Christianity. This was a delicate point, as well as the conduct to be observed in China.

The laws and tranquillity of this great empire are founded on the most natural, and, at the same time, the most sacred of all rights, the respect of children to their parents. To this respect they join that which they owe to their first masters in morality, and especially to Con-fut-zee, or Confucius, as we call him, an ancient Philosopher, who had taught them the principles of virtue six hundred years before the founding of Christianity.

Every family assembles itself in private on certain days, to honour their ancestors ; and the learned meet publicly to honour Con-fut-zee. They prostrate themselves according to their manner of saluting their superiors, which was formerly called adoration throughout all Asia. They burn wax tapers and frankincense. The Colaos, to whom the Spaniards have given the name of Mandarins, twice a-year kill animals, near the hall where Con-fut-zee is honoured, and afterwards feast upon them. Are these ceremonies idolatrous, or are they merely civil institutions ? Do they hereby acknowledge their parents and Con-fut-zee for deities, or are they even invoked only as our saints ? Is this, in short, a political custom, which some superstitious Chinese abuse ?

These were questions that could not be easily cleared up in China by strangers, and which we are unable to decide in Europe.

The Dominicans laid an account of the customs of the Chinese before the Inquisition of Rome, in 1645. The Holy Office, from their representation, forbade the use of these ceremonies till the Pope should give his decision.

The Jesuits defended the cause of the Chinese and their ceremonies, which, in their opinion, could not be forbidden, without for ever barring the entrance against Christianity in an empire so jealous of its customs. They presented their reasons on this head. The Inquisition in 1656 permitted the literati to reverence Confucius, and the Chinese children to honour their ancestors; but protested at the same time against all superstition, if there was any.

While the affair remained thus undecided, the missionaries always divided, and the cause soliciting at Rome from time to time, the Jesuits at Pekin insinuated themselves so far into the esteem of the Emperor Camhi, by their mathematical knowledge, that this Prince, renowned for his virtue and goodness, permitted them at length to exercise their office of missionaries, and teach Christianity publicly. But here it may be necessary to observe, that this Monarch, so despotic, and grandson to the Conqueror of China, was nevertheless so subject by custom to the laws of the empire, that he could not by his own authority alone permit the exercise of Christianity, but was obliged to solicit one of the Tribunals on that head; and he himself drew up two petitions, in the name of the Jesuits. At last, in 1692, Christianity was permitted in China, through the indefatigable pains and address of the Jesuits alone.

There is at Paris a house established for foreign missionaries. Some Priests of this Society were then in China. The Pope, who sends apostolic vicars into all the countries which they call the regions of infidelity, made choice of a Priest of this fraternity, named Magrot, to go and preside as vicar in the Chinese mission, and gave

gave him the Bishopric of Conon, a little Chinese Province in Fo-kien. This Frenchman, thus become a Bishop in China, declared not only the rites performed for the dead, superstitious and idolatrous, but also pronounced their learned men Atheists. This was the opinion of all the French Puritans. The same men, who so much exclaimed against Bayle, who blamed him so much for having said that a republic of Atheists might subsist, and who had written so much to prove such a Commonwealth impossible, coolly asserted, that this very establishment flourished at China, in the wisest of Governments : so that the Jesuits had now more to do to struggle against their brother-missionaries, than against the mandarins and the people.

They represented to the Court of Rome, that it was not consistent that the Chinese should be at once atheists and idolaters. It was urged against these learned men, that they admitted only matter ; but then the difficulty was to account for their invoking the souls of their deceased ancestors, and that of Con-fut-zee. One of those charges evidently destroyed the other, unless it was pretended that they admitted contradictions in China, as is so frequently done among us. But it was necessary to be well acquainted with their language and manners, to reconcile this seeming contradiction. The process of the empire of China remained a long time before the Court of Rome ; and in the mean time the Jesuits were attacked on all sides.

Father Le Comte, one of their most learned missionaries, had said in his *Memoirs of China*, " That this people had preserved for two thousand years, the knowledge of the true God ; that they sacrificed to the Creator in the most ancient temple of the world ; and that China had practised the purest lessons of morality, when Europe remained in error and corruption."

We have seen that this Nation goes up, by an authentic history, and by a succession of thirty-six calculated eclipses of the sun, even beyond the æra in which we generally place the deluge. The learned men of that Nation have never had any other religion than the

adoration of a Supreme Being. Their worship was justice. They could not be acquainted with the successive laws which God gave to Abraham and to Moses; nor the more perfect law of the Messiah, which remained so long unknown to the nations of the West and North. It is certain that Gaul, Germany, England, and all the North, was plunged in the most barbarous idolatry, when the tribunals of the vast empire of China cultivated morality and the observance of laws, at the same time acknowledging one sole God, the simple worship of whom had never varied among them. These evident truths were sufficient to justify the expressions of the Jesuit Le Comte; but as there was somewhat in these assertions which seemed to militate against the received notions, they were attacked in the Sorbonne.

The Abbé Boileau, brother to Despréaux, as great a critic as his brother, and a greater enemy to the Jesuits, declared, in 1700, this encomium on the Chinese a direct blasphemy. This Abbé Boileau was a man of a lively and peculiar genius, who wrote on the most serious and important subjects in a humorous style. He was Author of a book entitled *The Flagellants* *, and some other pieces of the like kind. He said he wrote them in *Latin*, for fear of being censured by the *Bishops*. His brother said of him, "That if he had not been a Doctor of the Sorbonne, he would have been a Doctor of the Italian Comedy." He declaimed violently against the Jesuits and the Chinese, and began by saying, "That the encomiums on that people had shook his Christian brain." The brains of the rest of that Assembly seemed to be not much less disordered. There were some debates on the subject. A Doctor, named Le Sage, was of opinion that twelve of their brethren, of the most robust constitutions, should be sent upon the spot to instruct themselves in every particular. The debate grew warm; but at length the Sorbonne declared the encomiums given to the Chinese, false, scandalous, rash, impious, and heretical.

* A translation of this work has been published in London.—
Translator.

This dispute, which was carried on with great warmth, inflamed ~~that~~ about the ceremonies; and at length Pope Clement XI. the year after, sent a Legate to China. He chose Thomas Maillard de Tournon, titular patriarch of Antioch, who could not arrive in China till 1705. The Court of Peking were, till that time, wholly ignorant that they had been under trial at Rome and Paris. The Emperor Camhi at first received the Patriarch de Tournon with great kindness. But how great was his surprize, when he understood by the Legate's interpreters, that the Christians who preached their religion in his empire, did not agree amongst themselves, and that this Legate was come to decide a dispute, of which the Court of Peking had never heard the least mention. The Legate gave his Majesty to understand, that all the missionaries, except the Jesuits, condemned the ancient customs of his empire, and even suspected his Chinese Majesty, and all the learned men of his Kingdom, to be Atheists, who admitted only of a material heaven. He added, that he had in his dominions the learned Bishop of Conon, who would explain these matters more fully, if his Majesty would condescend to give him a hearing. The Monarch found his surprize encrease, when he was informed that he had Bishops in his empire; but the Reader will not be less so, when he finds this Prince carried his indulgence so far as to permit the Bishop of Conon to come to speak to him against his religion, the customs of his country, and even against himself. The Bishop of Conon was admitted to an audience. He was very little acquainted with the Chinese language. The Emperor began by asking him the meaning of four characters which were inscribed in gold over his throne. Maigrot could read only two; but he maintained that the words *ling-tien*, which the Emperor had written in his pocket-book, did not signify *Adore the Lord of Heaven*. The Emperor had the patience to explain to him, that it was the precise meaning of these words; and even condescended to enter into a long argument, in which he vindicated the honours paid to the dead. The Bishop remained inflexible;

flexible; and it may well be believed that the Jesuits had more interest at Court than he.

The Emperor, who, by the laws, might have put him to death, contented himself with only banishing him; and passed an ordinance, that all the Europeans willing to remain in his Empire, should, for the future, be obliged to take his letters of protection, and undergo an examination.

As for De Tournon, the Legate, he had orders to quit the capital. As soon as he got to Nankin he published a mandate, entirely condemning all the Chinese rites in regard to the dead, and forbidding the using that expression which the Emperor used to signify *the God of Heaven*.

The Legate upon this was banished to Macao*, of which the Chinese always retain the sovereignty, though they permit the Portuguese to have a Governor there. Whilst the Legate was in his confinement here, the Pope sent him a hat; but this only served to make him die a Cardinal, for he ended his days there in 1710. The enemies of the Jesuits laid his death to their charge. It was sufficient if they imputed his banishment to them.

These divisions among strangers who came into the Empire, on pretence of instructing it, greatly discredited the religion they preached. It suffered still more when the Court, who began to study the Europeans more nearly than heretofore, discovered, that not only the Missionaries were thus divided, but that likewise among the Merchants who traded from Canton, there were several sects sworn enemies to each other.

The Emperor Camhi died in 1724. He was a Prince fond of all the Arts of Europe. The most learned Jesuits had been sent to him, who by their services merited his affection, and obtained from him, as has been already observed, the permission to exercise and publicly teach the Christian Religion.

* A City in China, in the Province of Canton, where the Portuguese have been in possession of a Settlement for above two centuries.
Translator.

His fourth son, Yont-ching, nominated by him to the empire, in prejudice of his elder brothers, took possession of the throne without a murmur from the disinherited Princes. Filial piety, which is the basis of this empire, renders it a crime and a reproach in all the ranks of life, to complain of the last will of a father.

The new Emperor Yont-ching surpassed his father in a love for the laws, and of the public good. No Emperor encouraged agriculture more. He carried his attention to this first of arts so far, as to raise to the rank of Mandarin of the eighth order, in each Province, those husbandmen who should be judged by the Magistrates of their Cantons, the most diligent, the most industrious, and the honestest men: not that such ploughmen were to relinquish a vocation in which they had succeeded, to exercise the functions of judicature, which they were ignorant of; they still remained husbandmen, but with the title of Mandarin; they had a right to sit in the presence of the Viceroy of the Province, of eating at the same table with him; and their names were written in gold letters in the public hall. 'Tis said that this regulation, so different from our manners, and which, perhaps, reproaches them, still subsists.

This Prince made an order, that throughout the whole extent of the empire no person should be put to death before the criminal process had been transmitted to him, and even presented thrice. Two reasons which were the motives of this edict, are as respectable as the rule itself. One was, the consideration that should ever be had of a man's life; and the other, the tenderness that a King should have of his people.

He had large magazines of rice established in all the Provinces, upon such a plan of œconomy as prevented them from being a charge upon the people, and secured them for ever against famine. The whole empire manifested their joy by new sports and pastimes, and their gratitude raised triumphal arches in honour of him. But he exhorted them by a proclamation to
give

give over their expensive exhibitions, which broke in upon that œconomy he was endeavouring to establish, and forbade them to construct any monuments to him. "*When I have done good*" said he in his Rescript to the Mandarins, "*it was not in order to acquire a vain reputation. I would have my people happy, I would have them better, that they should fulfil all their duties. These are the sole monuments I will accept* *."

Such was this Emperor, and unfortunately it was he who proscribed the Christian religion. The Jesuits had already several public churches in China, and even some of the Princes of the royal blood had received baptism. The Government began to fear some dangerous innovations in the State. The troubles which happened in Japan made a greater impression on their minds, than the purity of Christianity, too generally unknown, could possibly do. It was known, that exactly at that very time, the disputes which exasperated the Missionaries of the different orders against each other, had caused the extirpation of the Christian religion in Tonquin; and the same disputes, which made greater disturbances in China, set all the tribunals against those who coming abroad to preach their law, were not agreed among themselves about the law itself. Finally, it was discovered, that at Canton there were Dutch, Swedes, Danes, and English, who, though Christians †, did not allow themselves to be of the same religion with the Christians ‡ of Macao.

All these considerations united, determined the Supreme Tribunal of the Rites to forbid the exercise of Christianity. The arret was carried January 10, 1724, but without any stigma, without annexing severe penalties, or without the least offensive word thrown out against the Missionaries; nay, the very arret recommended it to the Emperor to retain at Peking those of them who could be useful in the mathematics. The

* While I was translating this character, my mind was running on the present Emperor of Germany, who is undoubtedly the pick of Yont-ching of Europe. *Translator.*

† Protestants.

‡ Papists.

Emperor

Emperor confirmed the arret, and ordered, by his edict, that the Missionaries should be sent back to Macao, attended by a Mandarin, who should accommodate them on the way, and prevent them from receiving any insult. These were the very words of the edict.

He kept some of them with him; among others the Jesuit called Parennin, whose praise I have already spoken*; a man distinguished for his knowledge and the good sense of his character, and who spoke the Chinese and Tartarian languages perfectly. He was necessary, not only as an interpreter, but as a mathematician. He is principally known among us, by the wise and instructive answers upon the sciences of China, to the learned difficulties of one of our greatest philosophers.

This Monk possessed the favour of the Emperor Camhi, and still preserved that of Yont-ching. If any one could have saved the Christian religion, it was he. He obtained, along with two other Jesuits, an audience of the Prince who was brother to the Emperor, and was appointed to examine the arret, and to make a report. Parennin related candidly the answer they received. The Prince, who protected them, said, "Your business embarrasses me. I have read the accusations brought against you. Your continual disputes with other Europeans on the Rites of China have done you infinite harm. What would you say should we go over to Europe, and act the same part that you have done here? Speak honestly, would you suffer it?"

It was difficult to reply to such a speech. However, they prevailed on the Prince to speak to the Emperor in their favour; and when they were admitted to the foot of the throne, the Emperor told them, in short, that he should send back all those who stiled themselves Missionaries. We have already reported his words: "*Though you have been able to impose upon my father, expect not to impose upon me.*"†

* See the *Essay on the Manners, &c.*

† See the *Essay on the Manners, &c.*

Notwithstanding the wise orders of the Emperor, some Jesuits returned secretly into some of the Provinces, under the successor of the celebrated Yohtching, and were condemned to death for having so manifestly violated the laws of the empire; just as we execute in France the Huguenot Preachers who come to make disturbances in the Kingdom, in spite of the orders of the King. This rage for making Proselytes is a disease peculiar to our climates, as has been already remarked; it has ever been unknown in the Upper Asia. These people never sent Missionaries into Europe, and our nations are the only ones who are for extending their opinions as well as their commerce to the two extremities of the globe.

The Jesuits even occasioned the deaths of many Chinese, and particularly of two Princes of the Blood who favoured them. Were they not very unhappy to travel from the end of the world to sow discord in the Royal Family, and cause two Princes to undergo an ignominious death? They thought to render their mission respectable in Europe, by pretending that Heaven had declared itself on their side, and had made four crosses appear in the clouds, above the horizon of China. They have got the figures of these crosses engraven in their *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*: but if God had a mind to convert China to Christianity, would he think it sufficient to send crosses into the air, or would he not rather have imprinted them on the hearts of the Chinese?

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

E R R A T A.

- Page 4. The signature, r. *French Editor*.
P. 23. l. 30. prefix *to*.
P. 24. l. 4. for *bore*, r. *born*; and l. 9. dele first *r*.
P. 25. first note, the signature, r. *French Editor*.
P. 28. l. 12. put an aiterisk after first word, and prefix the same to second note.
P. 32. l. 4. r. *broken*.
P. 129. l. 11. transfer the comma after *certain*, to the end.
P. 162. l. last but sixth, r. *continued*, and l. last but one, r. *them*.
P. 253. l. last but seven, for *to*, r. *of*.
P. 265. l. 27, for *a*, r. *this*.
P. 315. last, put a comma after *strikes*.
P. 327. l. 9. after *Notre Dame*, r. *and*.
P. 341. l. 17. first word, r. *even*.
P. 348. the note, l. second, after *mark*, r. *a*.
P. 378. second note, the signature, r. *French Note*.
P. 399. l. 5. prefix *r*, to the first word.

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S E Q U E L
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TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST GENEVA EDITION OF
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A
S U M M A R Y
OF THE
A G E
OF
L O U I S X V.

C H A P. I.

The State of Europe, on the Death of Louis XIV.

WE have given to some extent an idea of the Age of Louis XIV.; an Age of great men, of the fine arts, and of politeness. It was marked, 'tis true, like all others, by calamities both public and private, which are inseparable from human nature; but all that could console men in the misery of this feeble and perishable state, seemed to be lavished on this æra.

Let us now see what followed this reign; tempestuous in the commencement; shining with the greatest lustre during fifty years; blended afterwards with great adversities, and some good fortune; and concluding in a sadness gloomy enough, after having begun in factious turbulence.

Louis XV. was left an orphan, at a time s. i. e. when it would have been too tedious, difficult, 1715. and dangerous, to assemble the general estates of the
Vol. III. B Kingdom,

Kingdom, to regulate the pretensions made to the regency. The Parliament of Paris had formerly given it to two Queens *; they gave it now to the Duke of Orleans. They had set aside the testament of Louis XIII.; they now set aside that of his successor Louis XIV. Philip, Duke of Orleans, grandson of France, was declared absolute master, by the very Parliament he soon after sent into exile †.

* Mary de Medicis, and Anne of Austria *Translator*:

† The author of the pretended Memoirs of Madame Maintenon, and of the notes inserted by Beaumelle in his edition of the Age of Louis XIV, published at Frankfort, has boldly advanced that the great hall of the palace was, on this occasion, filled with officers, who had arms concealed under their clothes. This is not true; I was myself there, and saw many more lawyers than either officers or other people. There was not the least appearance of party, much less of tumult. It had indeed been the greatest folly to introduce partizans with concealed arms, to irritate the minds of the people, who were then universally disposed in favour of the Duke of Orleans. There was only a detachment of French and Swiss guards on duty about the palace.

This story of the great hall's being filled with armed officers, is taken from the Memoirs of the Regency and the Life of Philip Duke of Orleans; contemptible productions printed in Holland, and replete with falshood.

The author of de Maintenon's Memoirs tells us, that "The President Lubert, the first President de Maisons, and many other Members of the Assembly, were ready to declare against the Duke of Orleans." It is true, there was at that time a President de Lubert; but he was only a President aux Enquetes; an office which does not intermeddle with public affairs. He had never been first President de Maisons. It was Claude de Mesmes, by name d'Avaux, who then enjoyed that department. M. de Maisons, brother-in-law to Marshal Villars, was President à mortier, and strongly attached to the Duke of Orleans. It was at his very house that the Marquis de Canillac and some other confidants of the Prince, had settled the plan of the regency. To him also was promised the place of Keeper of the Seals; but he died soon after. These are known facts, to which I myself was witness, and which are recorded in the manuscript Memoirs of Marshal Villars. The compiler of the Memoirs of Maintenon observes on this occasion, that in the treaty of Rastadt, entered into by Marshal Villars and Prince Eugene, "there were certain secret articles by which the Duke of Orleans was excluded the throne." This is false and absurd; there was no secret article in the treaty of Rastadt, which was an authentic treaty of peace. Such secret articles are inserted only in treaties among confederates, who are desirous of concealing the tenor of their conventions from the public. To exclude the Duke of Orleans from the throne, would have been to give,

The better to comprehend by what blind fatality the affairs of this world are governed, it is necessary to remark, that the Ottoman Empire, which might have attacked that of Germany, during the tedious war of 1701, waited for the conclusion of the general peace, to make war on Christendom. In 1715, the Turks easily made themselves masters of Peloponnesus, which the celebrated Morosini, surnamed the Peloponnesiac, had taken from them, toward the end of the seventeenth century, and which was left in the possession of the Venetians at the peace of Carlowitz. The Emperor, who was guarantee of that treaty, was hence obliged to declare himself against the Turks. Prince Eugene, who had formerly beaten them at Zante *, passed the Danube, and gave battle, near Peterwaradin, to the Grand Vizir Ali, favourite of Sultan Achmet the Third, and obtained a most signal victory.

Though the relation of particular circumstances does not enter into a general plan of history, we cannot omit here an account of the signal bravery of a French officer, celebrated for his remarkable adventures. Count Bonneval, who, upon some disagreement with the Ministry, had quitted the service of France, was then a Major-General under Prince Eugene, and happened in this battle to find himself surrounded by a numerous body of Janissaries. With the assistance only of two hundred men of his own regiment, he withstood the attack of the Turks, above an hour; and being disabled by the stroke of a lance, was carried off by ten soldiers, all that remained of his corps, to the victorious army.

The same man, at that time banished from France, returned afterwards, and was publicly married at Paris;

in case of accident, the Crown of France to Philip V. of Spain, competitor of the Emperor Charles VI. with whom that treaty was made. This had been to destroy the whole fabric of the peace of Utrecht, to which France had given the finishing stroke; it would have been an insult to the Emperor, and the destruction of the balance of power in Europe. Nothing can be more absurd than this suggestion. *Voltaire.*

* An island of the Mediterranean.

some years after which he repaired to Constantinople, turned Mussulman, and died a Bashaw.

The Grand Vizir Ali was mortally wounded in this battle ; and as the manners of the Turks were not then civilized, he gave orders before his death for the massacre of one of the Emperor's generals, who had been taken prisoner *.

1717. Prince Eugene besieged Belgrade the following year, in which place was a garrison of near fifteen thousand men. At the same time he found himself besieged by an innumerable body of Turks, who advanced towards his camp and entrenched themselves around him. Finding himself in the same situation as Cæsar at the siege of Alesia, he extricated himself in the same manner, by first beating the enemy in the field, and then taking the town. His army was in the most imminent danger of destruction ; but military discipline triumphed over superior numbers and undisciplined valour.

This Prince carried his glory to the highest pitch by the peace of Passarowitz, which gave Belgrade and Temeswar to the Emperor ; but the Venetians, for whose sake the war originally commenced, were abandoned, and irretrievably lost their possessions in Greece.

The face of affairs underwent as great a change among the Christian potentates. The union and good understanding between France and Spain, which had appeared so formidable, and had so much alarmed the several States of Europe, was destroyed as soon as the eyes of Louis XIV. were closed. The Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, though irreproachable with regard to his solicitude for the service of his ward, behaved as if he himself was to succeed to the throne. He entered into a strict alliance with England, the reputed natural enemy of France, and came to an open rupture with the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon. On the other hand, Philip the Fifth, who had renounced the Crown of France by the peace, excited, or rather lent his name

† His name was Breuner.

for exciting, seditions in France, which might possibly procure him the regency of a country where he could not reign. Thus, after the death of Louis XIV. all the views, all the negotiations, and all the system of politics became changed in his own family, and among all the other Princes.

Cardinal Alberoni, first Minister of Spain, took it into his head to overturn all Europe, and was very near accomplishing his end. He had in a few years re-established the finances and troops of the Spanish monarchy, and formed the project of recovering Sardinia, then in the hands of the Emperor; and Sicily, of which the Dukes of Savoy had been in possession, ever since the peace of Utrecht. He was going to change the constitution of England, in order to prevent any opposition to his design; and was on the point of raising a civil war in France, with the same view. At one and the same time, he negotiated with the Porte, the Czar Peter the Great of Russia, and Charles XII. He was on the point of engaging the Turks to renew the war against the Emperor; while Charles XII. seconded by the Czar, was in person to conduct the Pretender to England, and restore him to the throne of his ancestors. This Cardinal effected an insurrection in Britany, and had already caused a number of troops, disguised like salt-smugglers, to march secretly under the conduct of one Colmeri, to join the insurgents. The conspiracy of the Dukes of Maine, Cardinal Polignac, and several others, was ripe for execution. The intention was, if possible, to seize the person of the Duke of Orleans, to deprive him of the regency, and to give it to Philip V. King of Spain. Thus Cardinal Alberoni, formerly the curate of a petty village near Parma, would have been at once Prime Minister of France and Spain, and have given an entire new face to all Europe.

An accident disappointed all these vast projects. A simple courtesan at Paris betrayed the conspiracy, which the moment it was discovered became impracticable.

This affair deserves a detail, which may shew how the most trifling incidents become often deciding actions.

The Prince de Cellamare, Ambassador from Spain to Paris, had the whole conduct of this conspiracy. He had in his train the young Abbé de Porto-Carrero, who was serving his apprenticeship in politics and pleasure. A common woman, named *Lillon*, formerly a girl of the town in the lowest class, become since a noted procuress, supplied girls to this young man. She had long served Abbé du Bois, then Secretary of State for foreign affairs, afterwards Cardinal and Prime Minister, in the same capacity. But he employed her now in a new department. She instructed one of her nimble fingered pupils, who stole some important papers, along with a few Bank bills, out of Abbé Carrero's pockets. The bills she kept herself, but the letters were carried to the Duke of Orleans, and afforded light sufficient to detect the conspiracy, tho' not enough to discover the entire plan.

The Abbé Porto-Carrero having missed his papers, and not being able to find the girl, instantly set out for Spain; but was pursued, and arrested near Poitiers. The scheme of the plot was found in his portmantua, with some letters from the Prince de Cellamare. The design was to cause a part of the Kingdom to revolt, and excite a civil war; and what is very remarkable, the Ambassador, while he talks of setting fire to magazines of gunpowder, and the springing of mines, speaks also of the *divine mercy*. And to whom was he addressing himself? To Cardinal Alberoni, a man as much penetrated with the *divine mercy*, as Cardinal du Bois his competitor.

Alberoni, at the same time that he was to overthrow France, meant to place the pretended son of King James on the Throne of England, by the assistance of Charles XII. Charles was killed in Norway, but Alberoni was not discouraged. He had provided himself with so many resources, that some part of his projects had begun already, to take effect. The fleet he had fitted out made a descent on Sardinia, in the year 1717, and in a few days reduced it under subjection to Spain; and soon after he got possession of almost all Sicily.

* He has told us so a very few paragraphs before. Mr. Voltaire forgets himself often, as Cervantes does. He has not his *art*, but his *memory*. *Translator.*

But

But Alberoni not being able to succeed, either in preventing the Turks concluding a peace with the Emperor Charles VI. or in exciting the intended civil wars in France and England, saw all at once the Emperor, the Regent of France, and King George I. united against him.

The Regent of France, in concert with the English, made war on Spain : so that the first war undertaken by Louis XV. was against his uncle, whom Louis XIV. had, at the expence of so much blood, established on his throne. This was in fact a kind of civil war.

The King of Spain had taken care to have the three flowers-de-luce painted on all the colours of his army. The same duke of Berwick who had won so many battles to establish his throne, now commanded the French army. The Duke of Liria, his son, was a general¹⁷¹⁹. officer in the Spanish service. The father exhorted his son, in a very pathetic letter, bravely to discharge his duty against himself. The Abbé Dubois, afterwards Cardinal, a child of fortune like Alberoni, and equally singular in his character, directed the whole enterprize. It was La Motte Houdart who drew up the manifesto, which was never signed.

The English fleet obtaining a victory over that of Spain near Messina, the schemes of Cardinal Alberoni were all disconcerted ; and this Minister, who but six months before was admired as the greatest statesman in the world, was looked upon, ever after, as a rash and inconsiderate projector. The Duke of Orleans would not make peace with Philip V. but on condition that he should dismiss his Minister ; and he was delivered by the King of Spain to the French troops, which conducted him to the frontiers of Italy.

• This same man being afterwards legate at Bologna, and having no power to subvert Kingdoms, employed his leisure in attempting to ruin the little Republic of St. Marino.

The result of all his great designs, however, proved to be, that Sicily was agreed to be given to the Emperor

1720. Charles VI. and Sardinia to the Dukes of Savoy, who have possessed that Island ever since, and now bear the title of Kings of Sardinia. But the House of Austria has lost the Island of Sicily.

These public events are sufficiently known; but what is not, and yet is very certain, is, that when the Regent wanted to make it a condition of peace, that his daughter, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, should marry the Prince of the Asturias, Don Louis, and that the Infanta of Spain should be given in marriage to the King of France, he could not effect his design without applying to the Jesuit d'Aubanton, Confessor of Philip V. This Jesuit prevailed on the King of Spain to consent to this double marriage; but it was on condition that the Duke of Orleans, who had declared himself against the Jesuits, should become their protector, and cause the Constitution to be registered. He promised it, and kept his word. Such are often the secret springs of great revolutions, both in church and state.

This affair was managed solely by the Abbé Dubois, intended Archbishop of Cambray, and in effect procured him his Cardinal's hat. He caused the bull to be implicitly registered, as has been already said, by the grand Council, or rather in spite of the grand Council, by the Princes of the blood, the Dukes and Peers, the Marshals of France, the Countessors of State, the Masters of the Requests; and particularly by the Chancellor d'Aguesseau himself, who had so long opposed its acceptance. The Abbé Dubois obtained even a recantation from Cardinal de Noailles. The Regent of France found himself by this intrigue connected for some time in the same interests with the Jesuit d'Aubanton.

Philip V. began to be attacked by a melancholy, which, joined to his devotion, led him to renounce the cares of a throne, and to resign his crown to his eldest son, Don Louis; a design which he afterwards put in execution, in the year 1724. This secret he imparted to d'Aubanton, who trembled to think he should lose all his power when his penitent would be no longer master; and

and that he should be reduced to follow him into solitude.

He revealed to the Duke of Orleans the confession of Philip V. not doubting but that Prince would exert himself to the utmost, to prevent the King of Spain's abdication. The Regent had different views; and was satisfied with the prospect of seeing his son-in-law a King; and that a Jesuit, who had so much controuled his inclinations in the affairs of the Constitution, should be no longer in a situation to prescribe conditions to him. He sent d'Aubanton's letter to the King of Spain. That Monarch very coolly shewed it to his Confessor, who fainted at the sight, and died in a short time after *.

C H A P. II.

Continuation of the State of Europe. Regency of the Duke of Orleans. The System of Law, or Laws †.

NOTHING could be more astonishing to the several Courts of Europe, than to see, some time after, in the years 1724 and 1725, Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly so much at enmity with each other, now strictly united; the course of political affairs taking so different a turn from their natural channel, that the Spanish Ministry governed the Court of Vienna for the space of a whole year. This Court, whose intention had ever been to prevent the Spanish branch of the House of

* This fact is attested in the civil history of Spain, written by Belando, and printed by express commission of the Spanish Court. It may be found in the Library of the Cordeliers at Paris. The reader may turn to page 366, part the fourth. I have now the copy before me. This perfidy of d'Aubanton, † a species more common than is generally imagined, is well known to more than one of the Spanish grandes, who confirm it. *Voltaire.*

† I do not know from what authority M. Voltaire has given us this synonyma; but as it is inserted in the text, I have let it stand in the translation. *Translator.*

Bourbon having access to Italy, suffered itself to be so far diverted from its former views, as to receive a son of Philip V. and of Elizabeth of Parma, his second wife, into the very country, from which it had been hitherto desirous of excluding every Frenchman and Spaniard. The Emperor conferred on this youngest son of his competitor, the investiture of Parma, Placentia, and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany ; and though there was no vacancy in the succession to those estates, Don Carlos took possession of them, with six thousand Spaniards ; and it cost Spain but two hundred thousand pistoles given to Vienna.

This error in politics committed by the Emperor, was not one of those which may be called fortunate ; on the contrary, it cost him very dear in the sequel. Every thing was strange in this coalition ; it was an union between two Houses at mutual enmity, who placed no confidence in each other ; it was the English, who had done every thing in their power to dethrone Philip V. and had taken from him Gibraltar and Minorca, who were the mediators of this treaty ; it was a Dutchman, Ripperda, now become a Duke, and all-powerful in Spain, that was the person who signed it ; for which he was afterwards disgraced, and retired to end his days in the Kingdom of Morocco, where he attempted to establish a new religion.

In the mean time, in France, the regency of the Duke of Orleans, which his secret enemies, and the general disorder of the finances, might have rendered the most factious and turbulent of all regencies, had proved on the contrary the most peaceable and happy. That habit of obedience which the French Nation had been used to under Louis XIV. was at once the security of the Regent, and of the public tranquillity. The conspiracy, projected at a distance by Cardinal Alberoni, and badly conducted in France, was suppressed almost as soon as formed. The Parliament, which, in the minority of Louis XIV. had caused a civil war about the disposal of a dozen places in the Court of Requests, and had annulled the testaments of Louis XIII. and
Louis

Louis XIV. with less formality than they would have done the will of a private person, had scarcely the liberty of making remonstrances when the nominal value of the coin was raised to thrice its former standard. The solemnity of their walking from the great hall to the Louvre, afforded only matter of raillery to the people. The most unjust edict that ever was made, that of restraining every inhabitant in the Kingdom from keeping above five hundred livres in cash by him at a time, excited not the least commotion. The total want of current specie for the uses of the public; a whole people pressing in crowds to an office, to receive the money necessary to procure the conveniencies of life, in exchange for notes cried down, with which France was overwhelmed; a number of citizens pressed to death in this crowd, and their dead bodies carried by the populace before the royal palace; produced not the least appearance of sedition. Finally, the famous project of Law, which seemed calculated to ruin at once the Regency and the State, was, in fact, the support of both the one and the other; and that by consequences which nobody had foreseen.

The covetousness which it excited among persons of all conditions, even from the lowest of the people up to Magistrates, Bishops, and Princes, diverted their minds from all attention to the public good, or to any political or ambitious view, by possessing them wholly with the fear of loss, and the hope of gain. It was a new and extraordinary kind of game, in which the whole people were betting one against another. The gamblers were too eager to lay down their cards to disturb the repose of government. It happened, by means of an illusion, the springs of which could be only visible to the most clear and experienced eyes, that this scheme, chimerical as it was, gave birth to a real commerce, and was the cause of the revival of the East-India Company, which had been set on foot by the celebrated Colbert, and ruined by the succeeding wars. In a word, though a number of private fortunes were sacrificed, the Nation presently became

became more rich and commercial. This project enlightened minds, as the civil wars whetted courage.

It was an epidemical distemper that spread itself from France into Holland and England, and is well deserving the attention of posterity. For it was not the political interests of two or three princes that involved whole kingdoms in confusion; it was the people themselves, who ran precipitately into a folly, that enriched so many families at the expence of others, whom it reduced to beggary. The origin of this phrenzy, preceded and followed by so many others, was this.

A Scotchman, named John Law*, whom we name John Law†, a man who had no other profession than that of a gamester and calculator of chances, having been obliged to fly from England for a murder, had long since formed the plan of a Company, that might pay off the debts of a nation by notes, and reimburse itself by its profits. This plan was very complicated, but, confined within proper bounds, might have been made very useful. It was an imitation of the Bank of England, and its East-India Company. He proposed its establishment first to Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, afterwards the first king of Sardinia; who rejected it, saying, he was not powerful enough to ruin himself. He proposed it next to the Comptroller-general Demarets; but this was during an unsuccessful war, when public credit, which was the basis of the system, was destroyed.

At length, he found every circumstance favourable under the regency of the duke of Orleans: the French nation had a debt of two hundred millions to discharge, the peace had left the government at leisure, and both prince and people were fond of novelties.

In 1715, he established a bank in his own name. It soon became the general Exchequer-office for the revenue of the kingdom. It was united with the Mississippi Company; a trading Company, from which were

* He is said to have been the son of a Goldsmith, in the false rumours of the Regency. *Voltaire.*

† See the note at the argument of this chapter. *Translator.*

expected great advantages. Seduced by the allurements of gain, the public bought up the joint stock of the Company and bank with great avidity.

The wealth of the kingdom, which had been long confined in private hands, in distrust of public credit, now circulated in great profusion; the notes increasing that wealth in a double, a quadruple degree. France was in fact enriched by credit; while all ranks of people indulged themselves in a luxury, which extended even to her neighbours, who took a part in this kind of commerce.

The bank was declared the king's bank, in 1718, and took upon it the management of the trade to Senegal. It acquired also the privileges of the old East-India Company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had since fallen to decay, and given up its trade to the merchants of St. Malo. At length, it engrossed the farming of the national taxes. Every thing was now in the hands of the Scotchman Law, and the finances of the whole Kingdom depended on a trading Company.

This Company appeared to be established on such large foundations, that a share in its stock rose to above twenty times its original value. The Duke of Orleans undoubtedly committed a great fault in leaving the public thus to itself. It would have been easy for Government to have given a check to this phrenzy; but the avarice of the courtiers, and the hopes of profiting by this disorder, prevented the putting a stop to it. The frequent rise and fall of the Company's stocks, afforded an opportunity for obscure persons to make immense fortunes; many of them becoming in a few months richer than several princes.

Even Law himself, deceived by his own scheme, and intoxicated with the public folly as well as his own, had fabricated so many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds, in 1719, exceeded, fourscore times, the real value of the current coin of the kingdom. The Government paid all its annuitants in paper.

But

But the Regent found himself incapable of managing so immense and complicated a machine, the rapidity of whose motion hurried him away, in spite of himself. The late financiers and the great bankers, in conjunction, exhausted the royal bank, by drawing on it for considerable sums. Every one wanted to convert his notes into specie; but the disproportion was enormous. Public credit dropt all at once. The Regent made an attempt to recover it by issuing arrets, that effectually crushed it. Nothing was offered in payment but paper; so that a real poverty began to succeed a profusion of imaginary riches.

It was just at this crisis that the office of comptroller of the finances was given to Law; a crisis at which it was impossible he should fulfil the duties of it. This was in the year 1720; the æra of the ruin of all the private fortunes of individuals, and of the finances of the Kingdom.

In a short time after, he was converted from a Scotchman into a Frenchman, by naturalization; from a protestant to a catholic; from a mere adventurer into a lord possessed of the finest landed estate in the kingdom; and from a banker into a minister of state.

I saw him myself pass through the galleries of the palace royal, followed by dukes and peers, marshals of France, and bishops.

Disorder and confusion were at the utmost height. The parliament of Paris made what opposition it could to these innovations, and was banished to Pontoise.

But Law himself, loaded with the public execration, was the same year obliged to fly the country he had attempted to enrich, and had entirely ruined. He went off in a post chaise that was lent him by the duke of Bourbon Condé, taking with him only about two thousand louis-d'ors, almost the whole that remained of his transitory opulence.

The libels of those times accuse the Regent of having engrossed all the money of the Kingdom, to serve the purposes of his ambition; though it is certain he died above seven millions of livres in debt.

Law

Law was accused of having sent the French specie out of the Kingdom, for his own emolument ; yet it is certain that he lived somewhere in London, on the liberality of the Marquis de Laffay, and died at Venice in a state little removed from indigence. I saw his widow at Brussels, as much reduced and humbled, as she had formerly been proud and haughty at Paris. Such instances of reverse of fortune are not the least useful objects in history.

During these transactions the plague had desolated Provence ; there was a war with Spain ; Britany was on the point of rebellion ; conspiracies were formed against the Regent ; notwithstanding all which he carried every point he aimed at, with scarcely any trouble, both at home and abroad. The kingdom was in such a state of confusion, that every thing was to be dreaded ; and yet this was the reign of pleasure and luxury.

It was necessary, after the failure of Law's project, to reform the state. An account and valuation were taken of the private fortunes of individuals ; an enterprise not less extraordinary than the project itself. This was indeed the greatest and most difficult achievement in the finances, as well as of public justice, that was ever attempted in any nation. It was begun toward the end of the year 1721 ; being planned, digested, and conducted, by four brothers *, who had never before had any connection with public affairs, but whose genius and application deserved to be intrusted with the wealth of the nation.

They established a sufficient number of offices for the Masters of Requests and other Judges ; they then laid down a clear and precise method of clearing up the chaos. Five hundred eleven thousand and nine persons, most of them fathers of families, brought their whole fortunes in paper to this tribunal. All these numerous debts were liquidated at the sum of near sixteen hundred and thirty-one millions in specie, with the payment of which the Government charged itself. Thus

* Named Paris.

ended this astonishing game of chance, which an unknown foreigner had played against a whole nation*.

After the demolition of this vast edifice, which Law had so daringly erected, and which crushed its architect, there remained, however, among its ruins, an East-India Company, which became, for some time, a rival to those of London and Amsterdam.

The madness of gaming in the stocks which had seized the French, laid hold also of the Dutch and English. Those who had observed the methods by which so many private persons in France had rapidly raised immense fortunes on the credulity and ruin of the public, carried to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and to London, the same artifice and the same phrenzy. It is with astonishment we still speak of those mad times and that political plague. And yet this was trifling, in comparison of the civil and religious wars which had for so many years made a scene of blood in Europe; or of those wars of nation against nation, or rather of king against king, which have desolated so many countries!

There were not wanting a number of sharpers, at Rotterdam and London, to make dupes of the public. Companies were formed, and imaginary commerce struck out. Amsterdam, indeed, was soon undeceived. Rotterdam was for some time hurt; but London was totally undone, in the year 1720†.

* The author of the History of the Regency and of the Life of the Duke of Orleans, talk of this great affair just as ignorantly as they do of all others. They say M. de la Houfflaie, comptroller-general, was chamberlain to the duke of Orleans. Again, they mistake an obscure writer named La Jonchère, for La Jonchère Treasurer at War. Such are the books fabricated in Holland! You may find in the continuation of Benignus Bossuet's Universal History, printed in 1738, by Honoré, at Amsterdam, that the Duke of Bourbon-Condé, first Minister after the Duke of Orleans, built the castle of Chantilly with the profits he made by the Mississippi funds. You will find there also, that Law had twenty millions in the Bank of England. Just as many lies as lines! *Voltaire.*

† Here the author makes use of a latitude of expression not unusual with him, but which sometimes leads him aside from strict truth. In fact, many of the principal citizens of London suffered by the South-sea project, here meant, but not a tenth part were ruined.

Translator.

From

From this phrenzy which prevailed in France and England, followed a prodigious number of bankruptcies, frauds, robberies, public and private; with every kind of depravation of manners, the natural result of unlimited avarice.

C H A P. III.

Continuation of the State of Europe. Cardinals Dubois and Fleury. Abdication of Victor Amadeus, &c.

WE must not pass over in silence the ministry of Cardinal Dubois. He was the son of an apothecary of Brive-la-gaillard, in the remotest part of the Province of Limosin. He set out in life with being tutor to the Duke of Orleans; in which capacity, by administering to the pleasures of his pupil, he gained his confidence. A small share of wit, a strong turn for debauchery, great flexibility, and, above all, a taste like his master's for singularity, raised his immense fortune. Had this Cardinal Prime Minister been a person of a serious character, his opulence would have excited indignation; but he was only a ridiculous one. The Duke of Orleans diverted himself with his Prime Minister*, after the manner of that Pope who made his monkey-bearer a Cardinal. All was mirth and pleasantries during the regency of the Duke of Orleans. The same spirit prevailed as in the time of the Fronde, the

* The Regent made Cardinal Dubois Prime Minister in 1722.—The compiler of Maintenon's Memoirs tells us, that Louis XIV. having given a small benefice in 1692, to this Abbe Dubois, then an obscure person, said of him, that "though he loved women, he formed no connections with them; that though he tipped, he never got drunk; and though he gamed, he never lost his money." Extraordinary reasons these for giving him a benefice!—But where did this compiler come by this story?—Who but himself would make Louis XIV. talk in such a manner?—Did that Monarch ever set eyes on Dubois in his life?—Besides, the Abbé Dubois was neither a tippler, nor a gamester. *L'esprit.*

civil war excepted ; it was the true spirit of the Nation, which the Regent revived after the deep gloom of the last years of Louis XIV.

Cardinal Dubois finished his career in a course of debaucheries. On his death-bed, he thought of an expedient to prevent his being fatigued with religious ceremonies, on which it was well known he set but little value. He pretended there was a particular ceremonial with regard to Cardinals, who did not receive the sacrament and extreme unction in the same manner as ordinary penitents. The Curate of Versailles went to make enquiry, and in the mean time Dubois died. We laughed at his death, as we did at his ministry—such was the character of the Nation.

At this time the Duke of Orleans took on 1723. himself the title of Prime Minister, because the King being now out of his minority, the regency was at an end ; but he presently after followed his friend the Cardinal. The character of this Prince, however, was irreproachable, except for his extravagant thirst after novelty and pleasure.

Of all the descendants of Henry IV. Philip of Orleans was the one that resembled him most ; he had courage, good-nature, indulgence, gaiety, frankness, and ease, with an understanding better cultivated. His countenance, though incomparably more pleasing, bore a strong resemblance nevertheless to that of Henry IV. He took a fancy sometimes to put on a ruff, and then he was the handsome likeness of Henry.

The Duke of Bourbon-Condé succeeded immediately to the ministry. The only political manœuvre he performed, was that of having the patent made out without delay, and getting the King to sign it, the moment he was informed of the Duke of Orleans' death. But it was always the fate of the Condés to be oppressed by priests. Henry de Condé was borne down by Cardinal de Richelieu, the great Condé was imprisoned by Cardinal Mazarin, and the Duke of Bourbon was banished by Cardinal de Fleury.

If there ever was a happy man upon earth, it was certainly Cardinal de Fleury. Till he arrived at the age of seventy-three, he was esteemed a man most amiable and agreeable in social life; and when at that age, at which so many old men retire from the world, he took upon him the cares of government, he was regarded as the most sagacious. From 1726 to 1742, every thing prospered with him; still preserving, to almost ninety years of age, a clear head, and an unimpaired capacity for business.

When one reflects that out of a thousand contemporaries scarcely one arrives at this age, one must confess the destiny of Cardinal de Fleury to have been singular. If his elevation was extraordinary, that commencing so late, it should continue so long without a cloud, his moderation, and the gentleness of his manners, were no less so.

The riches and magnificence of Cardinal d'Amboise, who aspired to the Popedom, are well known; as well as the arrogant simplicity of Ximenes, who raised armies at his own expence, and, dressed in the habit of a Monk, boasted that he led about the grandes of Spain by his hempen girdle. The royal pomp of Richelieu, and the prodigious wealth accumulated by Mazarin, are likewise known. It remained for Cardinal de Fleury to be distinguished by modesty; by a constant and invariable rule of œconomy and simplicity. A want of dignity was the only thing wanting in his character; a defect that sprung from his virtues, which were candour, equanimity, and the love of peace and regularity. He proved that mild and conciliating spirits are formed to govern the rest.

He resigned as soon as he could his bishoprick of Frejus, after having by his œconomy cleared it of its debts, and done a great deal of good by his disposition of peace-making. These were the two distinguishing parts of his character. The reason he gave to his diocesans was, that his ill state of health prevented his paying due attention to the care of his flock. But happily he had never been ill.

The see of Frejus, lying in a disagreeable country, and at a distance from Court, had always displeased him. He used to say, that the moment he saw his *wife*, he was disgusted at his *marriage* *; and subscribes a letter of pleasantry to Cardinal Quirini, *Fleury*, by the *divine indignation*, *Bishop of Frejus*.

He resigned his Bishopric about the beginning of the year 1715. Marshal de Villeroy, after many solicitations, prevailed upon Louis XIV. to appoint the Bishop of Frejus Preceptor †, in the codicil of his will. The new Preceptor expresses himself, nevertheless, in a letter to Cardinal Quirini, in the following terms:

“ I have more than once regretted the solitude of Frejus. On my arrival here, I heard the King was at the point of death, and that he had done me the honour to appoint me Preceptor to his grandson. Had his Majesty been in a situation to have given me audience, I should have entreated him to spare me the weight of a burthen I tremble to bear. But after his death I could not be heard: I am sick of it, and find no consolation for the loss of my liberty.”

He found comfort in forming the mind of his pupil insensibly to business, to secrecy, and probity; preserving, amidst all the agitations of the Court during the minority, the good-will of the Regent, and the esteem of the public; seeking no occasions of displaying his consequence; making no complaints of others; laying himself open to no refusals, nor entering into any of the Court intrigues; but secretly informing himself as well of the internal administration of the Kingdom, as of its foreign politics. He made it the wish of France, from his circumspect conduct and amiable temper, to see him at the head of affairs.

This was the second Preceptor that governed France. He assumed not the title of Prime Minister, but contented himself with being absolute. His ministry was less opposed and less envied than that of Richelieu or of

* Scripture phraseology. *T. translator.*

† To his grandson, afterwards Louis XV.

Mazarin, in the most happy times of their administration. His promotion made no manner of change in his behaviour. It was astonishing to see the first Minister the most amiable and disinterested person about the Court. The welfare of the State corresponded a long time with his moderation; there was a necessity for those pacific measures he naturally approved, and all the foreign ministers were firmly persuaded no rupture would happen in his time.

He quietly left the Kingdom to repair its losses, and enrich itself by an immense commerce, without making any innovations; treating the State like a strong and robust body, which recovers by the strength of its own constitution*.

Political affairs returned insensibly into their natural channel. Happily for Europe, the first Minister in England, Robert Walpole, was of a like peaceable character; and these two men continued to maintain that repose which almost all Europe enjoyed from the peace of Utrecht to the year 1733; a repose that was disturbed but once by the transitory hostilities of the year 1718. This was an happy interval for all the European nations; who, cultivating arts and commerce with emulation, soon forgot all their past calamities.

During this interval, there arose two Powers unknown in Europe before the present century. The first was that of Russia, which had just emerged from barbarism under the Czar Peter the Great. This Power consisted only, before his time, of immense deserts, and of a people without laws, without discipline, and without knowledge; such as at all times have been the Tartars. It was so little known to France, that when Louis XIV. received the Muscovite Ambassador, in the year 1668, that event was celebrated by the publication

* In some foreign books the Cardinal de Fleury is mistaken for Abbé Fleury, author of the History of the Church, and of those excellent Sermons which so far surpass his History. This Abbé Fleury was Confessor to Louis XV.; but he lived at Court unknown, and in obscurity. He was possessed of genuine modesty; the other Fleury had the modesty of an artful ambition. *Voltaire.*

of a medal, in the same manner as was that of the embassy of the Siamese.

This new empire began to have an influence upon all political affairs, and even to give laws to the North, after having humbled the power of Sweden.

The second Power, established by the force of art, but on less extensive foundations, was that of Prussia; whose forces had been long preparing, but had not yet been displayed.

The House of Austria was nearly in the same situation as that in which the peace of Utrecht had left it. England preserved its power at sea, while Holland insensibly lost her's. This little State, powerful only by the less industry of other Nations, fell to decay, because her neighbours carried on that trade themselves of which she had been mistress. Sweden languished. Denmark flourished. Spain and Portugal subsisted by America. Italy, always weak, was divided into as many different States as it had been at the beginning of the century, excepting Mantua, become now the patrimony of Austria.

Savoy at this time exhibited a remarkable example to the world, and an interesting lesson to Sovereigns. Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia and Duke of Savoy, the same who had been sometimes the ally, and at others the enemy of France and of Austria, and whose inconstancy had passed for policy, tired of business and of himself, in the year 1730, at the age of sixty-four, capriciously abdicated his crown, though the first of his family that had worn it; of which abdication he as capriciously repented a year afterwards. The society of a mistress now become his wife, devotion and repose, could not satisfy a mind that had been for fifty years past engaged in the affairs of Europe. He displayed fully the weakness of human nature, and how difficult it is to gratify the heart either with or without a throne.

No less than four Sovereigns have in this Age abdicated their thrones; Christina, Casimir, Philip V. and Victor Amadeus. Philip V. resumed the government against his inclination. Casimir never thought of it. Christina

was

was inclined to it for some time, on account of some disgust she had conceived at Rome. Amadeus alone took the resolution of remounting by force that throne which his disquiet had occasioned him to quit. The consequence of this resolution and attempt is well known. His son, Charles-Emanuel, would have acquired a glory far above that of crowns, in restoring to his father the one he received at his hands, if it had been his request alone, and if the circumstances of the times had permitted; but it was said that an ambitious mistress was desirous of reigning: so that to prevent the fatal consequences, the whole Council were compelled to cause the very man to be arrested who had been their Sovereign. He died soon after in prison.

It is false, that the Court of France would have sent twenty thousand men to protect the father against the son, as was reported in the memoirs of those times. Neither the abdication of this King, his attempt to regain the sceptre, his imprisonment, nor his death, caused the least emotion in the neighbouring Nations. It was an extraordinary event attended with no consequences.

A general peace prevailed even from Russia to Spain, when the death of Augustus II. King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, replunged Europe in those dissensions and misfortunes from which it is seldom exempt.

C H A P. IV.

Stanislaus Leskinski twice King of Poland, and twice dethroned. The War of 1734. Lorrain re-united to France.

KING Stanislaus, father-in-law to Louis XV. nominated to the throne of Poland in 1704, was elected King in 1733, in the most legal and solemn manner. The Emperor Charles VI. however, assisted by his arms, and those of Russia, compelled the Poles to a new election. The son of the late King of Poland, Elector of

Saxony, who had married a niece of Charles VI. carried it against his opponent. Thus the House of Austria, which had not the power to preserve Spain and the West-Indies, nor even to establish a trading Company at Ostend, had the credit of depriving the father-in-law of Louis XV. of the Crown of Poland. France saw renewed what had happened to the Prince de Conti, who was in a similar manner solemnly elected; but having neither money nor troops, and being better recommended than supported, lost the throne to which he had been invited.

King Stanislaus went to Dantzick, in order to support his election; but the majority which had chosen him, presently yielded to the minority that opposed him. This country, in which the people are slaves, in which the nobility meanly sell their votes, in which there is no money in the public treasury to support an army, in which the laws are without force, and in which liberty only produces divisions; this country, I say, vainly boasts a warlike nobility, who can bring an hundred thousand cavalry into the field.

The numerous body of them that appeared in favour of Stanislaus, vanished at the sight of ten thousand Russians. The Polish Nation, which had an Age before looked upon the Russians with contempt, were now intimidated and guided by them. The Empire of Russia was become formidable, since it had been modelled by Peter the Great. Ten thousand disciplined Russian slaves dispersed all the nobility of Poland; while King Stanislaus, shut up in the city of Dantzick, was besieged by an army of the same Nation.

The Emperor of Germany, in alliance with the Russians, was confident of success. To have made the balance equal, France should have transported a numerous army by sea; but England would not have silently looked on, had she made such preparations. Cardinal de Fleury, who then managed the English, sought to avoid both the disgrace of entirely abandoning King Stanislaus, and the hazard of sending a great body of troops to his relief. He sent him, therefore, a squadron with about fifteen hundred men, under the command of
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a Brigadier *. This officer could not conceive his commission serious; and thinking, when he approached Dantzick, that he should only make a fruitless sacrifice of his men, steered away and put into Denmark. Count de Plelo, the French Ambassador at Copenhagen, looked with indignation upon this retreat, which he considered as humiliating. He was a young man, who with the study of philosophy and the belles-lettres had united heroic sentiments worthy of a better fortune.

He resolved to succour Dantzick with this little troop against an army, or perish in the attempt. Before he embarked, he wrote a letter to one of the Secretaries of State, which ended thus: "I am certain I shall never return: I recommend to you my wife and children."

He arrived in the road of Dantzick, disembarked, and attacked the Russian army; in which enterprize he fell, pierced with wounds, as he had foreseen. His letter arrived, with the news of his death.

Dantzick was taken, and the French Ambassador at the Court of Poland, who was in the place, made prisoner of war, notwithstanding the privilege of his character. King Stanislaus saw a price set on his head by Count Munich, the Russian General, in the city of Dantzick, in a free country, in his native land, in the midst of a Nation who had elected him to the throne under all the forms of legal solemnity. He was obliged to disguise himself in the habit of a sailor, and escaped with great difficulty and danger.

It is remarkable, that this same Count Marshal Munich, who so cruelly persecuted him, was some time after banished to Siberia, where he resided twenty years in extreme indigence, to make his appearance at Court afterwards with the greater eclat. Such are the vicissitudes of human greatness!

• With regard to the fifteen hundred Frenchmen who had been so imprudently sent against an entire army of Russians, they made an honourable capitulation; but

* How happy for France that neither Louis XIV. nor his fighting Ministers happened to be then alive! *Translator.*

a Russian ship being soon after taken by a French man of war, they were sent to Petersburg, and detained prisoners.

They might reasonably expect to be treated with inhumanity among a people who had been looked upon as barbarians the beginning of the present century. The Empress Anne was then upon the throne; who treated the officers as if they had been so many Ambassadors, and ordered clothes and refreshments to be given to the soldiers. This generosity, unheard of till then, was at once the effect of that prodigious change which the Czar Peter had brought about in the Russian Court, and a kind of noble resentment which that Court thought fit to shew, of those disadvantageous ideas which the ancient prejudices of other Nations still entertained of it.

The French Government would have entirely forfeited the reputation necessary to the support of its own dignity, had it not resented the outrage it had suffered in Poland. But this resentment would have signified nothing, if it was not useful. The distance of situation would not permit its being directed against the Muscovites; and policy directed it to fall on the Emperor. It was effectually exerted in Germany and Italy, where France joined with Spain and Sardinia. These three potentates had their several interests; all concurring, however, to the same point, to weaken the House of Austria.

The Dukes of Savoy had for a long time been gradually extending their dominions; sometimes by affording succours to the Emperors, and at others, by declaring against them. King Charles-Emanuel had entertained hopes of getting the Milanese, which was promised him by the Ministers of Versailles and Madrid.

Philip V. of Spain, or rather his Queen, Elizabeth of Parma, desired also a more considerable settlement for her children, than that of Parma and Placentia. The King of France had no other view for himself but his own glory, the humiliation of his enemies, and the success of his allies.

It was not at that time foreseen that Lorraine would be the prize of this war. Mankind in general are led by events, and rarely direct them. Never was there a treaty more expeditiously concluded than that which united these three potentates.

England and Holland, long accustomed to declare for Austria against France, abandoned her on this occasion. This was the effect of that reputation for equity and moderation which the French Court had acquired.

An opinion of its pacific and disinterested views quieted its natural enemies, even while it was making war; and nothing did greater honour to the Ministry, than its being able to persuade those Powers, that France might carry on a war against the Emperor without endangering the liberty of Europe. All the potentates looked then with unconcern on her rapid success. A French army was master of the field upon the Rhine; and the combined troops of France, Spain, and Savoy, were masters of Italy. Marshal Villars, who had been declared Generalissimo of the French, Spanish, and Piedmontese troops, ended his glorious career at the age of eighty-two, soon after he had taken Milan. Marshal Coigni, his successor, gained two battles; while the Duke of Montemar, the Spanish General, obtained a victory in the Kingdom of Naples, at Bitonto, from which he took the surname. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged Hereditary Prince of Tuscany, was presently made King of Naples and Sicily. Thus the Emperor Charles VI. lost almost all Italy, for having given a King to Poland; and a son of the King of Spain in two campaigns acquired the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which had so often been taken and retaken, and which had been the constant object of attention to the House of Austria for more than two centuries.

This war in Italy is the only one that terminated with any real success to the French since the time of Charlemagne. The reason of it was, that they had on their side the guardian of the Alps, become the most powerful Prince of those countries; that they were se-
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conded by the best troops of Spain, and their armies were always plentifully supplied.

The Emperor thought himself then happy to receive those conditions of peace which victorious France offered him. Cardinal Fleury, the French Minister, who had the address of preventing England and Holland from taking part in this war, had also that of concluding it happily, without their intervention.

By this peace, Don Carlos was acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily. Europe was already accustomed to see Kingdoms given and exchanged. To the Emperor's son-in-law, Francis, Duke of Lorrain, was assigned the inheritance of the House of Medicis, which had been before granted to Don Carlos; and the last Grand Duke of Tuscany being near his end, asked, "if they would not give him a third heir; and what other new child the Empire and France intended to beget him?"

Not that the Grand Duchy of Tuscany considered itself as a fief of the Empire, but the Emperor looked upon it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always claimed by the Holy See, and for which the last Duke of Parma had done homage to the Pope: so vary rights with the times! By this peace, the Duchy of Parma and Placentia, which of birthright belonged to Don Carlos, son of Philip V. and a Princess of Parma, were granted in full property to the Emperor Charles VI.

The King of Sardinia, Duke of Savoy, who had reckoned on the Milanese, to which his family, aggrandized by degrees, had some old pretensions, obtained only those small parts of it the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langes. His claim to the Milanese was founded on his descent from a daughter of Philip II. King of Spain. France had also her ancient pretensions, derived from Louis XII. the natural heir to this Duchy. Philip V. had his claims, founded on the infeoffments renewed to four Kings of Spain, his predecessors. All these arguments, however, gave way to convenience and the public good. The Emperor kept possession of the Milanese. This is not a fief, of which he ought always to give the investiture. It was originally the Kingdom of Lombardy,

Lombardy, annexed to the Empire, became afterwards a fief under the Viscontis and the Sforzas, and is at present a state belonging to the Emperor; a state dismembered indeed, but which, with Tuscany and Mantua, renders the Imperial Family very powerful in Italy.

By this treaty, King Stanislaus renounced the Kingdom which he had twice gained, and which his friends had not been able to guarantee to him. He retained indeed the title of royalty; but wanted another kind of indemnification; and that for the sake of France, more than for himself. Cardinal de Fleury contented himself at first with the Duchy of Bar, which the Duke of Lorraine was to yield to Stanislaus, with the reversion to the Crown of France, although Lorraine was not to be ceded till the Duke was put in possession of Tuscany. This was subjecting the cession of Lorraine to many accidents, and profiting very little by the most signal success, and most favourable conjunctures. Chauvelin, Keeper of the Seals, encouraged Cardinal de Fleury to make a better use of his advantages: he accordingly demanded Lorraine on the same conditions as the Duchy of Bar, and obtained it. It cost him only some ready money, and a pension of three millions five hundred thousand livres to Duke Francis, till such time as Tuscany should devolve to him.

Thus was Lorraine irrevocably re-united to the Crown; a re-union which had been often attempted in vain. By this event, a Polish King was transplanted into Lorraine; and that Province was rendered happy in becoming, for the last time, the residence of a sovereign Prince. The reigning House of the Princes of Lorraine was now invested with the supreme power in Tuscany; and the second son of the King of Spain was transferred to Naples. The motto on the medal of Trajan, *Regna assignata*, "Kingdoms given away," was indeed very applicable to this period.

A profound peace prevailed among the Christian potentates, if we except the growing disputes between Spain and England concerning the trade of America.

The

The Court of France continued to be regarded as the arbitrator of Europe."

The Emperor made war against the Turks, without consulting the Empire. This war was unfortunate; but he was saved from the precipice by the mediation of Louis XV. In 1739, M. de Villeneuve, the French Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, went into Hungary, to conclude with the Grand Vizir that peace of which the Emperor stood so much in need.

About the same time he pacified the Genoese, who were on the point of a civil war: he likewise appeased for a time the Corsicans, who had thrown off the Genoese yoke. The same Ministry also put a stop to a civil war which had begun within the walls of Geneva.

But, above all, the King interposed his good offices between Spain and England, who had commenced a maritime war, which was likely to be more ruinous to both Nations, than the rights for which they disputed could be advantageous to either. The same Court had also employed its mediation in 1735, between Spain and Portugal: in fine, none of the neighbouring Nations had reason to complain of France, whom they considered as their mediatrix and common mother. This glory and happiness were not of long duration.

C H A P V.

The Death of the Emperor Charles VI. The Succession of the House of Austria disputed by Four Powers. The Queen of Hungary acknowledged in all her Father's Dominions. Silesia taken by the King of Prussia.

THE Emperor Charles VI. died in the month of October, 1740, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. If the death of Augustus II. King of Poland had occasioned such great commotions, that of Charles VI. the last Prince of the House of Austria, could not fail of producing many other revolutions. It seemed necessary
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to divide the hereditary dominions of that House, which consisted of Hungary and Bohemia, both electoral Kingdoms, but rendered hereditary by the Austrian Princes. They consisted of Austrian Suabia, called Anterior Austria; Higher and Lower Austria, conquered in the 13th century; Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, Burgau, the four Forest Towns, Brisgau, Frioul, Tirol, the Milanese, Mantua, and the Duchy of Parma. In regard to Naples and Sicily, those two Kingdoms were already in the hands of Don Carlos, son of Philip V. King of Spain.

Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI., founded her pretensions to her father's dominions on the right of nature, on a Pragmatic Sanction which had confirmed that right, and on the guarantee of almost all the Powers of Europe. Charles-Albert, Elector of Bavaria, claimed the succession on the strength of a will made by Ferdinand I. brother of Charles V.

Augustus III. King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony, alledged more recent pretensions, even those of his wife, as eldest daughter of the Emperor Joseph, the elder brother of Charles VI.

The King of Spain extended his claim to all the possessions of the Austrian family, on his being descended from the consort of Philip II. daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II.

Louis XV. might also have laid claim to the succession with as great a right as any of them, being descended in a direct line from the oldest male branch of the House of Austria by the wife of Louis XIII. and also by the wife of Louis XIV.; but it was more prudent in him to remain arbitrator and protector, than to appear as a competitor; because he could, in concert with one half of Europe, decide both the succession and the empire: but had he urged his claims, all Europe would have been in arms against him. This cause, in which so many crowned heads were concerned, was pleaded in all the Courts of Christendom by manifestoes and memorials; and not only Princes but even private persons interested themselves

selves in it. Nothing was expected but a general war. The politicians, however, were greatly surprized to find the storm burst where it was least expected.

A new kingdom had been erected at the beginning of this century. The Emperor Leopold, according to the prerogative ever claimed by the German Emperors of creating Kings, had in the year 1701 erected Ducal Prussia into a kingdom, in favour of Frederic-William, Elector of Brandenburg. Prussia was, at that time, only an extensive desert; but Frederic-William II. her second King, who had a different policy from that of his cotemporaries, expended about twenty-five millions of our money in clearing the lands, building villages, and peopling them: he invited families from Suabia and Franconia; and brought 16,000 emigrants from Saltzburg, furnishing them with necessaries of all sorts to establish and set themselves to work.

While he was thus active in founding a new kingdom, by a singular œconomy he created another species of power. Every month he laid by in reserve 40,000 German crowns, sometimes more sometimes less, which in a reign of twenty-eight years amounted to an immense treasure. What he did not lock up in his coffers, was employed in raising an army of seventy thousand choice men, whom he disciplined himself, after a new manner, but never employed. But his son Frederic III. took the advantage of those preparations of his father. He forelaw the general confusion, and did not fail to reap the benefit of it. He laid claim to four duchies in Silesia. His ancestors had repeatedly renounced their pretensions, because they were unable to support them; he found himself sufficiently strong, and reclaimed them.

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony, had already exerted themselves to make an Emperor. The Elector of Bavaria pressed the French Ministry to procure him at least some part of the Austrian succession. In his memorials he laid claim to the whole, but dared not demand so much by his Ministers. In the mean time,
Maria

Maria-Theresa, who had married Francis of Lorrain, Grand-Duke of Tuscany, took possession of all the dominions which her father had bequeathed her. She received the homage of the States of Austria at Vienna, on the seventh of November 1740. The Provinces of Italy and Bohemia swore allegiance to her by their deputies; but above all, she ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, by taking the ancient oath which King Andrew II. made in the year 1222.

“If I, or any of my successors, shall, at any time, infringe upon your privileges; by virtue of this promise, you, and your descendants, shall be allowed to defend yourselves, and shall not be treated as rebels.”

As the ancestors of the Archduchess-Queen had always been backward in executing such engagements, her taking the prudent step here mentioned, greatly endeared her to the Hungarians. This people, who had always been inclined to throw off the Austrian yoke, after two hundred years spent in sedition, broils and civil wars, submitted at once to the government of Maria-Theresa, whom they almost adored. The Queen was not crowned at Pressburg until the 24th of June 1741, but was not the less a Sovereign; she had already got possession of all hearts by a popular affability which her predecessors had seldom exercised: she laid aside that formality and haughtiness which render a throne disgusting, without making it more respectable. The Archduchess her aunt, Governess of the Low Countries, had never condescended to eat with any body: Maria-Theresa admitted to her table all the ladies and officers of distinction; she conversed freely with the Deputies of the States; she never refused to grant an audience, and nobody ever left her discontented.

Her first care was to insure to her husband, the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, a share in all her crowns, under the title of Co-regent, without in the least diminishing her own sovereignty, and without intruding the Pragmatic Sanction. She flattered herself from the

beginning, that the dignities she conferred on that Prince, would prepare his way to the Imperial crown; but this Princess had no money, and her troops, very much diminished, were dispersed through her extensive dominions.

The King of Prussia made proposals to her to yield up the Lower Silesia, and in return for that territory offered her his influence, his assistance, his arms, and five millions of our livres, to guarantee the rest of her possessions, and place her husband on the throne of the Empire. It was foreseen by the most able politicians, that should the Queen of Hungary refuse these offers, all Germany would be thrown into confusion; but the blood of so many Emperors which flowed in her veins, would not allow her even to think of dismembering her hereditary estates: she was weak, but intrepid.

The King of Prussia looking upon her power to be merely nominal, and that the state of Europe at that time would soon give him allies, marched with his army into Silesia, in the middle of December 1740. It was proposed to adorn his standard with this device, *Pro Deo et Patriâ*; but he erased *Pro Deo*, saying, that it would be very improper to confound the name of God with the quarrels of men; and that the object was a province, and not religion. He then ordered the Roman eagle, displayed in relief, and fixed on the top of a gilt pole, to be carried before his regiment of guards. This novelty imposed the necessity on him of being invincible. When he harangued his army, he advised them in every thing to imitate the ancient Romans.

Having entered Silesia, he in a short time subdued almost the whole of that province, of which he had so lately been refused a part; but still nothing was yet decisive. General Neujerg came soon after to the succour of this invaded province with a body of Austrians to the amount of about twenty-four thousand men, and forced the King of Prussia to engage with him at Molwitz, near the river Neiss.

On this occasion the superiority of the Prussian infantry became conspicuous. The King's cavalry, less
strong

strong by half than that of Austria, was entirely routed. The first line of his infantry was attacked in flank; the battle seemed to be irrecoverably lost; all the royal baggage was pillaged; and the King himself, in danger of being made prisoner, was hurried by his attendants to some distance from the field of battle. The second line of infantry recovered every thing by that immoveable discipline to which the Prussian soldiers are accustomed, by the continual firing they preserved, discharging at least five times in a minute, and loading their guns with iron ramrods in an instant. Thus a victory was gained; and this event became the signal of a general war.

C H A P. VI.

The King of France unites with the Kings of Prussia and Poland to raise Charles-Albert, Elector of Bavaria, to the Imperial Throne. That Prince is declared Lieutenant-General to the King of France. His Election, Successes, and rapid Defeats.

ALL the Powers of Europe believed that when the King of Prussia took Silesia, he was in alliance with France. They were mistaken; which frequently happens, when people build their opinions upon mere probabilities. The King of Prussia ran a great risk, as he himself confessed; but he foresaw that the French would not slip so favourable an opportunity of seconding him. The French interest seemed to oppose Austria, in favour of their old ally the Elector of Bavaria, whose father had formerly lost every thing, in their service, in consequence of the battle of Hochstedt. This same Elector, Charles-Albert, had been imprisoned in his infancy by the Austrians, who had stripped him of every thing, except his title of Bavaria. France found it for her advantage to revenge his cause. It appeared easy to procure him at once both the Empire

and part of the Austrian succession; by which the new House of Austria-Lorraine would be deprived of that superiority which the ancient one always assumed over the other potentates of Europe; the old rivalry between the Houses of Bourbon and Austria would be extinguished; and more might be done than Henry IV. and Cardinal Richelieu could ever have hoped.

When Frederick III. marched into Silesia, he foresaw this revolution, the foundation of which was not then laid. It is so true that he had not concerted any measure with Cardinal Fleury, that the Marquis de Beauveau, who was sent by the King of France to Berlin to compliment the new Monarch, did not know, when he first saw the Prussian troops in motion, whether they were destined against France or Austria. His Prussian Majesty said to him at parting, "I imagine I am going to play your game.—If I throw aces, you must go halves*."

This was only the beginning of a negotiation as yet at a great distance. The French Ministry hesitated a long time; and Cardinal Fleury, who was in his eighty-fifth year, was unwilling to expose his reputation, his old age, and the French nation, to the hazard of a new war. The Pragmatic Sanction, signed and authentically guaranteed, restrained him.

The Count, since Marshal, Duke de Belleisle and his brother, grandsons of the famous Fouquet, without having either of them any influence in public affairs, nor as yet any access to the King, nor any interest with Cardinal Fleury, brought this enterprize to bear.

The Marshal de Belleisle had a great reputation without having signalized himself. Although he had neither been Minister nor General, yet he passed for a man very capable of managing a state, or commanding an army; but a bad state of health frequently prevented him from reaping the fruits of his great talents. Always in action, and full of schemes, his body be-

* The author was at this period along with the King of Prussia; and can take upon him to say, the Cardinal was ignorant what a Prince he had to deal with. *Voltaire.*

came a victim to the efforts of his mind. In him, the politeness of an amiable courier and the apparent frankness of the soldier were equally admired: he could persuade without eloquence, because he always seemed to be persuaded himself.

His brother, the Chevalier de Belleisle, had the same ambition, the same views, but deeper laid, because a more robust constitution permitted him to be indefatigable in business. His gloomy aspect was not so engaging; but he overpowered, when his brother could only insinuate. His eloquence resembled his courage: under an air of coldness and profound contemplation something impetuous was discernible. He was capable of designing, arranging, and executing, every thing he took in hand.

These two men, more strictly united by the conformity of their minds even than by the natural ties of consanguinity, undertook to change the face of affairs in Europe, aided in this great design by a lady of superior talents. The Cardinal opposed them: he even gave his advice to the King in writing; and this advice was against the enterprize. It was now expected that he would have retired. His whole administration had been glorious; but he had not sufficient resolution to quit his ministry, and live for himself, even on the verge of the grave. Marshal de Belleisle and his brother made the entire arrangements, and the old Cardinal presided over an enterprize which he disapproved.

Every thing seemed favourable, at first.—Marshal de Belleisle was dispatched to Francfort, to the Prussian camp, and to Dresden, with a view of concerting those vast projects, which, by the concurrence of so many princes, appeared to promise infallible success. He agreed entirely with the measures of the King of Prussia, and those of the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony. He negotiated in every part of Germany. He was the soul of that party which was about to bestow the Empire and hereditary crowns upon a Prince who could do nothing for himself. France furnished the Elector of Bavaria at once with money, allies, tut-

frages, and troops. When the King of France sent him the army which he had promised, he issued letters-patent * creating him, whom he had designated to be Emperor of Germany, Lieutenant-general of his forces.

The Elector of Bavaria being strengthened by so many supplies, entered Austria without opposition, at a time when Maria-Theresa was at a loss to defend herself against the Prussians. He immediately became Master Aug. of the Imperial City of Passau, which belonged to his own bishop, and separated Upper Austria from Bavaria. He then marched into Linz, the capital of Upper Austria. Some detachments of his troops advanced within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm was spread, and they prepared with expedition to sustain a siege. One of the suburbs was almost totally pulled down, together with a palace that was near the fortifications; and the Danube was covered with numbers of boats, which conveyed the most valuable effects of the inhabitants to places of greater safety. The Elector of Bavaria proceeded so far as to send a summons of surrender to Count Khevenhuller, who was then Governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were, at this period, far from holding that balance which they had so long pretended to be in their hands. The States General remained quiet when they saw an army under Marshal de Mallebois in Westphalia; and the same army imposed silence on the King of England, at that time in Hanover, who was in pain for his Electoral dominions. He had raised twenty-five thousand men to assist Maria-Theresa; but was under the necessity of abandoning her at the head of his army, and of signing a treaty of neutrality.

There was then no power, either in the Empire, or elsewhere, that supported the Pragmatic Sanction, which had been guaranteed by so many States. Vienna, badly fortified on that side which was threatened, could make but a feeble resistance; and those who were best ac-

* Those letters were not signed till the 20th of August, 1741.
quainted

quainted with Germany and public affairs, already looked upon Vienna as taken;—the road blocked up against the Hungarians on that side;—open on every other to the victorious armies;—all pretensions regulated, and peace restored to the Empire and to Europe.

In proportion as the ruin of Maria-Theresa seemed inevitable, that Princess assumed fresh courage. She had quitted Vienna, and thrown herself into the arms of those Hungarians who had been treated with so much severity by her father and her ancestors. Having called an Assembly of the four Orders of the State at Presburg, she appeared there, holding in her arms her eldest son, who had hardly left his cradle; and addressing them in Latin, in which language she expressed herself well, she spoke to the following purport:—“Abandoned
“by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked
“by my nearest relations, I have no other resource but
“in your fidelity, in your valour, and in my own resolution. I deliver into your hands the daughter and
“son of your Kings, who place their safety in you.”

Sensibly affected and animated by these words, the Hungarians drew their sabres, and cried with one voice, *Moriamur pro nostro rege Maria Theresa*, “We will die
“for our King Maria-Theresa.” They always give the title of King to their Queen. In fact, no Princess ever better deserved that appellation. They shed tears while they were vowing to defend her. She alone appeared unmoved; but after she had retired with her maids of honour, she gave a full vent to those tears which the firmness of her mind had made her restrain. At that time she was pregnant, and not long before had written to her mother-in-law, the Duchess of Lorraine, “I do
“not know whether I shall have a single town left me,
“where I may lie-in.”

In this situation she excited the zeal of her Hungarians; re-animated England and Holland in her favour, which supplied her with money; exerted all her influence in the Empire; and carried on a negotiation with the King of Sardinia, whose provinces furnished her with soldiers.

The whole English Nation became animated in her favour. They are a people who do not wait for the opinion of their master to form their own. Several private persons proposed sending a free-gift to that Princess. Among these, the Duchess of Marlborough, widow of the Duke of that name who fought for Charles VI. assembled together the principal Ladies in London, who agreed to furnish an hundred thousand pounds sterling; and the Duchess deposited forty thousand pounds. The Queen of Hungary had the magnanimity to refuse the money which was thus generously offered her; she would accept of none but what she expected from the Nation assembled in Parliament*.

It was generally imagined that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would immediately lay siege to Vienna. In war, it is a maxim to do that which the enemy most dreads. This was one of those decisive strokes, one of those opportunities which Fortune presents but once, and never recurs a second time. The Elector of Bavaria had conceived hopes of taking Vienna; but was not prepared for a siege, having neither heavy cannon nor ammunition. Cardinal Fleury had not extended his views so far as to give him that capital; he was satisfied with smaller acquisitions: he chose to have the spoils divided, before they were acquired; for he did not mean that the Emperor he was making should enjoy all the succession.

In the month of November, 1741, the French army, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, being reinforced with 20,000 Saxons, marched towards Prague. Count Maurice de Saxe, natural brother of the King of Poland, attacked the place. This General, who inherited his father's peculiar strength of body, together with the mildness of his temper and equal courage, possessed much superior talents for war. His reputation had got him elected, by the general voice, Duke of Cour-

* What a noble instance of liberality on one part, and of magnanimity on the other, to the immortal honour of the sex! This is a fine passage in history. *Translator.*

land*; but Russia, which gave laws to the North, deprived him of that dignity which the suffrage of a whole people had granted to his merit. He comforted himself in the service of France, and in the agreeable society of that Nation, which, as yet, knew him not sufficiently.

It was necessary to take Prague in a few days, or to abandon the enterprize. He was short of provisions, and the season was advanced; and yet though that city was but indifferently fortified, it could easily withstand the first attacks. General Ogilvie, an Irishman by birth, who commanded the place, had three thousand men in garrison; and the Grand Duke, at the head of thirty thousand men, was in full march to relieve him. On the 25th of November, he advanced within five leagues of the city; but that very night the French and Saxons gave the assault.

They made two attacks with a great thunder of artillery, which quickly brought all the garrison to that side. In the mean time Count Saxe with silence caused a single ladder to be fixed on the ramparts of the new town, at a considerable distance from the part attacked. M. Chevert, then Lieutenant-Colonel to the regiment of Beauffe, mounted the first: the eldest son of Marshal Broglio followed him. On the ramparts they found but one sentinel, at a little distance. They were soon followed by multitudes, and made themselves masters of the city, and the whole garrison laid down their arms.

General Ogilvie and his three thousand men surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Count Saxe saved the city from being plundered; and, what is remarkable, during the first three days, the conquerors and conquered mixed promiscuously together; French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, could not be distinguished one from another; and all this confusion ended without bloodshed.

The Elector of Bavaria, then just arrived, sent an account of this success to the King, in the style of a General who writes to him whose army he commands. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia on the

* On June 28, 1726.

the very day it was taken, and caused himself to be crowned in the month of December. In the mean time the Grand-Duke, who could not save that capital, and who could not subsist in its environs, retired to the south-east parts of the province, and left the command of the army to his brother Prince Charles of Lorrain.

About the same time the King of Prussia reduced Moravia, a province situated between Bohemia and Silesia. In this manner Maria-Theresa seemed to be overpowered in every quarter. Her competitor had already been crowned Archduke of Austria at Lintz ; he had assumed the crown of Bohemia at Prague ; and from thence went to Frankfort to receive that of the Empire, under the name of Charles VII.

Marshal Belleisle, who followed him from Prague to Frankfort, appeared rather as an Elector of the first rank, than as an Ambassador from France. He had procured all the votes, directed all the negociations, and received all the honours due to the representative of a King who conferred an imperial crown.

The Elector of Mentz, who presided at the election, gave him the right hand in his own palace ; and the Ambassador in his hotel gave place to none but Electors, taking the precedence of all other Princes. His credentials were written in the French language, though the German Chancery had hitherto required that such papers should be presented in Latin ; that being the proper language for a government which assumes the name of the Roman Empire.

On the 4th of January, 1741, Charles-Albert was solemnly elected Emperor without any disturbance. He now seemed to have arrived at the summit of happiness and glory ; but Fortune changed, and he became one of the most unfortunate Princes in the world merely from his elevation.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XV.

C H A P. VII.

The rapid Disasters which followed the Successes of the Emperor Charles-Albert, of Bavaria.

THE Allies began very soon to be sensible of the fault they had committed, in neglecting to provide a sufficient body of cavalry. Marshal Belleisle, who was sick at Frankfort, wanted at once to conduct negotiations and command an army at a distance. A misunderstanding prevailed among the confederates. The Saxons complained much of the Prussians, and those of the French, who in their turn accused them. Maria-Theresa supported herself by her resolution; by remittances from England, Holland, and Venice, and loans from Flanders; but above all, by the desperate ardour of her troops, which were now assembled from all quarters. On the contrary, the French army, commanded by chiefs of little reputation, was diminishing by fatigues, sickness, and desertion, while their recruits came in but slowly.

It was not like the army of Gustavus Adolphus, who having begun his campaigns in Germany with less than ten thousand men, soon found himself at the head of thirty thousand, augmenting his troops in the very country in proportion to his progress. Every day weakened the French conquerors, and added strength to the Austrians. Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the Grand-Duke, was in the heart of Bohemia with thirty-five thousand men: all the inhabitants were on his side; and he began to make a defensive war with success, by keeping the enemy continually under alarms, by cutting off their convoys, and by harassing them on all sides with crouds of Hussars, Croats, Pandours, and Talpaches. The *Pandours* are Slavonians who inhabit the confines of the Drave and the Save. They wear a long cloak, carry several

veral pistols in their girdle, with a sabre and a poniard. The *Talpacotes* are a sort of Hungarian infantry, armed with a gun, two pistols, and a sword. The *Croats*, called in France *Cravates*, are the militia of Croatia; and the *Hussars* are Hungarian horsemen, mounted on small horses, swift and indefatigable: they harraßs the infantry when distributed in too many posts, and unprovided with cavalry. The French and Bavarians were every where in this situation. The Emperor Charles VII. wanted to keep possession of an extensive territory with a handful of people, because he thought the Queen of Hungary not in a condition to retake it; but all was recovered, and the war afterwards transferred from the Danube to the Rhine.

When Cardinal Fleury saw so many hopes baffled, and so many disasters follow such promising beginnings, he wrote a letter to General Königsegg, which he ordered Marshal Belleisle himself to deliver. In this letter* he exculpated himself from having any share in undertaking the war, and affirmed that he had been led beyond his own measures. "It is well known, said he, that I have strenuously opposed the resolutions that have been taken; and that I have been in a manner forced to comply with them. Your Excellency is too well acquainted with all that passes, not to guess the person who employed every method to determine the King to enter into a league so contrary to my inclination and principles."

Instead of an answer, the Queen of Hungary caused the Cardinal's letter to be printed. It was easy to be foreseen what bad effects this letter would produce. In the first place, it evidently laid the whole blame of the war upon the General employed to negotiate with Count Königsegg, and, instead of forwarding the negotiation, only tended to render his person odious. In the second place, it laid open the weakness of the Ministry: and it required but little knowledge of mankind to foresee that they would take the advantage of that weakness; that the allies of France would thereby be disheartened, while its enemies gained fresh courage.

The

The Cardinal, seeing his letter printed, wrote a second to the Austrian General, complaining of his having published the first; and telling him, "that for the future he would not write him his real sentiments." This second letter did still more mischief than the first. He next disowned both the letters, in some of the public papers; but this disavowal, which did not impose upon any body, only completed his indiscretion, which good-natured people excused in a man tired out with bad success, and in the eighty-seventh year of his age. Finally, the Bavarian Emperor sent proposals to London for a peace, backed with offers for secularizing some Bishopricks in favour of Hanover. The English Ministry imagined they could accomplish this without the assistance of the Emperor, and only insulted his proposals, by making them public; which reduced the Emperor to the necessity of disowning his offers of peace, as Cardinal Fleury had disavowed the war.

The contest then grew warmer than ever. France on one side, and England on the other; principals in fact, though under the name of auxiliaries; endeavoured to keep the balance by force of arms. The House of Bourbon was obliged for the second time to support a war against almost all Europe.

Cardinal Fleury, being too much advanced in years to sustain so heavy a burthen, lavished with regret the treasures of France in this war, undertaken against his inclination, and saw nothing but misfortunes occasioned by misconduct. He never thought that a marine power was necessary, until the remains of the French fleet were absolutely destroyed by the English, and the maritime provinces were entirely exposed. The Emperor whom France had made, was chased three times from his own dominions.

In Bohemia and Bavaria, the French troops were destroyed without fighting one general battle; and their difficulties became so great, that a retreat, which appeared impracticable, was looked upon as a singular piece of good fortune. Marshal Belleisle saved the remnant of the French army besieged in Prague, by conducting
thirteen

thirteen thousand men from thence to Egra, through a bye-road of thirty-eight leagues, covered with ice, and in sight of the enemy *. In fine, the war was removed from the heart of Austria to the banks of the Rhine.

In the midst of these misfortunes, Cardinal Fleury died in the village of Issi, leaving the affairs of the war, the marine, the finances, and politics, in a critical situation ; which lessened the glory of his ministry, but not the tranquility of his mind.

Louis XV. then took the resolution to be his own Minister, and to put himself at the head of an army. He found himself in the same situation in which his great-grandfather had once been, in a war called, like this, " The War of the Succession."

He had France and Spain to support against the same enemies; that is, against Austria, England, Holland, and Savoy. In order to form a just idea of the embarrassments which the King experienced, of the dangers to which he was exposed, and of the resources he possessed, we must make appear in what manner England gave motion to all these disturbances of Europe.

C H A P. VIII.

The Conduct of England. The Transactions of the Prince of Conti in Italy.

AFTER the happy æra of the peace of Utrecht, the English, who occupied Minorca and Gibraltar in Spain, obtained several privileges from the Court of Madrid, which the French, its defenders, did not enjoy. The English merchants purchased negroes on the Coast of Africa, and disposed of them to the Spanish Colonies in America. This traffic of men sold by men, notwithstanding thirty-three piastres † paid to the Spanish government for every slave, was a considerable object of

* December 1742.

† Piastre, value about a crown.
gain

gain to the English Company ; because, in furnishing four thousand eight hundred negroes, they obtained leave to sell the eight hundred without paying any duty. But the greatest advantage granted to the English, to the exclusion of other Nations, was the permission which the Company enjoyed from 1716 to send a ship to Porto-Bello.

This vessel, which at first was restrained to five hundred tons, was by agreement, in 1717, allowed to carry eight hundred and fifty ; but, in fact, by fraud one thousand, which amounted to about two millions weight in goods. These thousand tons were yet the least considerable object of the commerce of this English Company. A tender, which constantly followed the vessel under pretext of carrying provisions, went and returned continually. She was loaded in the English Colonies with goods, which she brought to this vessel ; which, as it was never empty by this means, did as much business as a whole fleet. Often even other ships came by permission to fill this vessel ; and their sloops went besides to the coasts of America to carry goods which the people had occasion for ; which not only wronged the Spanish government, but was an injury to every body concerned in the trade from Spain to the Gulph of Mexico. The Spanish Governors treated the English merchants with rigour, which seldom keeps within proper bounds.

In the year 1739 one Jenkins, master of a vessel, presented himself before the House of Commons. He was a plain, simple man, who had never been concerned in any illicit trade, but had been met by a Spanish guarda-costa in some latitude of America which was prohibited to the English. The Spanish Captain had seized the ship, put the crew in irons, slit the nose and cut off the ears of the master. In this condition Captain Jenkins appeared before the Parliament. He informed them of his misfortune with the naïveté of his profession and his character.—“ Gentlemen, said he, when they had thus disfigured me, I was threatened with death. I expected it, and recommended my soul to God, and my revenge to my Country.” These words, expressed to
natu-

naturally, excited a clamour of compassion and indignation in the House. The people of London exclaimed without doors, "A free sea, or a war."

Perhaps there never was more real rhetoric made use of than in the English Parliament upon this subject; and I doubt whether the premeditated orations formerly pronounced at Athens and at Rome on similar occasions, could surpass the unpremeditated speeches of Sir William Wyndham, Lord Carteret, the Minister Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Pulteney, since Earl of Bath. These discourses, which are the natural effects of the English constitution and national spirit, sometimes strike strangers with amazement; as the produce of a country, though held cheap at home, is considered as a rarity abroad.

But where the spirit of party reigns, we must read all those speeches with caution, the true state of the Nation being generally disguised. The ministerial party there represents the Kingdom in a flourishing situation, while the opposite faction assures us that the Nation is ruined. Both parties commonly exaggerate. "Where are the
" times (cried one of their Members of Parliament on
" this occasion), where are the times when a Minister
" of war could say, that nobody should dare to fire a
" cannon in Europe without permission from the
" English?"

At last, the voice of the Nation determined the King and Parliament. A war was declared in form against Spain about the end of the year 1739.

The war was at first carried on by sea; and the privateers of both Nations, authorised by letters of marque, attacked the merchantmen in Europe and America, reciprocally destroying the trade for which they were contending; but it was not long before greater hostilities ensued.

In the year 1740, Admiral Vernon entered the Gulph of Mexico, and there attacked and took the city of Porto-Bello, the mart of the treasures of the New World, destroyed the fortifications, and left the trade open to the English, who might now carry on by force

of arms that which they had before done clandestinely, and which had been the cause of the rupture. The English regarded this expedition as one of the greatest services rendered to the Nation. The Admiral received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament: they wrote to him as they had formerly done to the Duke of Marlborough after the battle of Hochstedt. After this conquest, the South-Sea Stock continued to rise, notwithstanding the immense expences of the Nation, the English being in hopes of conquering Spanish-America. They imagined that nothing could stand before Admiral Vernon; and a little after, when he laid siege to Carthagena, they were in so great haste to celebrate the taking of it, that while he was raising the siege, they struck off a medal, on one side of which was the port and the town of Carthagena, with this motto, "He has taken Carthagena." On the other side was Admiral Vernon, with the inscription, "To the Avenger of his Country." There are a great many instances of these premature medals, which might deceive posterity, if history, which is more faithful and exact, did not prevent such errors.

France, who had but a weak marine, did not declare openly; but the French Ministry assisted the Spaniards as much as lay in their power.

Such then was the situation of affairs between England and Spain, when the death of Charles VI. gave rise to so much trouble in Europe. We have seen how much Germany suffered by the disputes between Austria and Bavaria; nor did Italy escape the desolation which attended this Austrian succession. The Milanese was reclaimed by the Spaniards. Parma and Placentia belonged by birthright to one of the sons of the Queen, who was born Princess of Parma. Had Philip V. claimed the Milanese for himself, all Italy would have been alarmed; or if Don Carlos, already master of Naples and Sicily, had pretended to Parma and Placentia, the uniting so many States under one Sovereign could not fail of creating disturbances; therefore Don Philip, the younger brother of Don Carlos, was then pitched upon to inherit the Milanese and Parma. The Queen of Hungary,

who was mistress of the Milanese, endeavoured to support her right to that Province, while the King of Sardinia Duke of Savoy renewed his pretensions; being afraid that the House of Austria Lorrain, possessing at once the Milanese and Tuscany, might one day recover those territories, which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738: but he dreaded still more the power of France, and a Prince of the House of Bourbon, when he already saw another Prince of that House in possession of Naples and Sicily.

From the beginning of 1742, he resolved to unite himself with the Queen of Hungary, without joining with her in all her views. They were to unite only against the present danger, which threatened both, without seeking further advantages; and the King of Sardinia reserved to himself the liberty of altering his measures when he should think proper. It was a treaty between two enemies, who only meant to defend themselves against a third. The Court of Spain sent the Infant Don Philip to attack the Duke-King of Sardinia, who did not choose him either as a friend or as a neighbour. Cardinal Fleury had permitted Don Philip and part of his army to pass through France, but would not assist him with troops.

At one time great things are done; while at another, men are afraid of doing any thing. The reason of this conduct was, that the French flattered themselves with bringing over the King of Sardinia to their interest, who gave them some room to hope for success.

Besides, they did not choose an open war with the English, who would have declared it immediately. The revolutions in Germany hindered them also at that time from irritating the Maritime Powers. The English openly opposed the settlement of Don Philip in Italy, under the pretence of preserving the balance of Europe.

That balance, whether well or ill understood, had become the favourite passion of the English; but this covered a more concealed interest which the English Ministry had in view: they wanted to oblige Spain to divide with them the trade of the New World. On this
con-

condition they would have permitted Don Philip to have gone over to Italy, as they had assisted Don Carlos in the year 1731. But the Court of Spain would not agree to enrich its enemies at its own expence, and thought itself sufficiently able to establish Don Philip in his dominions.

In the months of November and December, 1741, the Spanish Court sent over several bodies of troops to Italy, under the command of the Duke of Montemar, who was not less known by the victory of Bitonto, than by his disgrace which followed it. These troops landed successively on the coasts of Tuscany, and in the ports of the State called *Degli Presidii* belonging to the Crown of the Two Sicilies. It was necessary to pass through the dominions of the Grand-Duke, husband to the Queen of Hungary, who was obliged to grant them free passage, and declare his country neutral. The Duke of Modena, who had married the daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, likewise declared himself neutral. Pope Benedict XIV. through whose territories both Spaniards and Austrians must pass, embraced the same neutrality with a better grace than the others: he acted in this respect as the common father of the Princes and the people, whilst his children lived at free quarters in his dominions.

Fresh troops arrived from Spain by the way of Genoa. That Republic declared itself neutral, and let them pass. At the same time even the King of Naples embraced the neutrality, though the question was the cause of his father and his brother. But of all the Powers neutral in appearance, not one of them was so in fact.

With respect to the neutrality of the King of Naples, observe what was the consequence of it. To their great surprize, on the 18th of August, an English squadron appeared within sight of the port of Naples. It consisted of six men of war of sixty guns each, six frigates, and two bomb-ketches. Commodore (since Admiral) Martin, who commanded this squadron, sent an officer on shore with a letter to the Prime Minister, the substance of which was, that the King should recall his troops from

the Spanish army, or the town would immediately be bombarded. They held several consultations, until the English Commodore, laying his watch upon the deck, told them he would allow them only one hour to come to a determination. The port was badly provided with artillery; they had not taken the necessary precautions against an unexpected attack; and they were then sensible that the old maxim, "master by sea master by land," is often true. They were obliged to comply with the English Commodore's demands, and to keep their promises until they could put the port and Kingdom into a state of defence.

The English themselves were sensible that the King of Naples could no more keep that forced neutrality in Italy, than the King of England had observed his in Germany.

The Spanish army under the command of the Duke of Montemar, which had come into Italy to subdue Lombardy, being closely pushed by the Austrians, had retired to the frontiers of the Kingdom of Naples. About this time the King of Sardinia returned to Piedmont, and to his Duchy of Savoy, where the vicissitudes of the war required his presence. The Infant Don Philip had been prevented by the English squadron from landing fresh troops at Genoa; but he had penetrated by land into the Duchy of Savoy, of which he soon became master. That country is almost open on the side of Dauphiny. It is so barren and poor, that it was with difficulty its Sovereigns could raise from it a revenue of fifteen hundred thousand livres. Charles-Emanuel, King of Sardinia and Duke of Savoy, had abandoned it to go to the defence of Piedmont, a country of greater importance*.

We see by this detail that all Europe was alarmed, and that all the Provinces experienced calamities, from the farthest corner of Silesia to the extremity of Italy. Although Austria was at open war with Bavaria alone, yet all Italy was ravaged. The people of the Milanese, Mantua, Parma, Modena, and Guastalla, observed these irruptions and desolations with an impotent

* In December, 1743.

concern, having been long accustomed to be the prize of the conqueror, without even daring to give either denial or consent.

The Court of Spain demanded a passage from the Swiss, through their country to send new troops into Italy, which was refused. The Swiss Cantons sell soldiers to all the Powers, and defend their country against them. Their government is pacific, and the people warriors. Such a neutrality was respected. The Venetians, on their side, raised twenty thousand men to give weight to theirs.

There was in the harbour of Toulon a Spanish fleet of sixteen men of war, which had been destined to carry Don Philip to Italy; but he had gone by land, as has been already mentioned. It was designed to carry provisions for his troops; but could not, being constantly detained in port by an English fleet, which commanded the Mediterranean, and insulted all the coasts of Italy and Provence. As the Spanish engineers were not expert in their art, they were exercised during four months in the harbour of Toulon in shooting at a mark; and prizes were proposed, to excite their emulation and industry.

When they had acquired sufficient skill, the Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, sailed from the road of Toulon. It consisted only of twelve men of war. The Spaniards not having a sufficient number of sailors and engineers to work sixteen, it was immediately joined by fourteen French ships, four frigates, and three fire-ships, under the command of Mr. de Court, who at the age of fourscore enjoyed all the vigour of body and mind which such a station required. Forty years had elapsed since the sea-fight off Malaga, where he had served as Captain on board the Admiral's ship; and since that time there had been no engagement at sea in any part of the world, excepting that off Messina in 1718*.

* Between the fleets of Spain and Austria,

Admiral Matthews presented himself before the united squadrons of France and Spain. His fleet consisted of forty-five ships, five frigates, and four fire-ships. With the advantage of a superior number, he likewise contrived to get the wind in his favour; a manœuvre upon which victory often depends in sea-fights, as it does at land on an advantageous post. The English were the first who ranged their naval forces in the order of battle which is now in use; and it is from them that other nations have learned to dispose of their fleets into the divisions of van, center, and rear. They fought in this order at the engagement off Toulon*, where the two fleets were equally damaged, and alike dispersed.

This battle was indecisive, as sea-fights almost always are (if we except that off La Hogue), in which the fruits of great preparations and an obstinate action are the destruction of numbers on both sides, and the dismantling of the vessels. Each party complained. The Spaniards thought they had not been properly supported: the French accused the Spaniards of ingratitude. Though these two nations were in alliance, they were not always united. Their ancient antipathy sometimes revived among the people, though a good intelligence subsisted between their Kings.

The real advantage of this battle was, in fact, gained by the French and Spaniards; as the Mediterranean being now free, at least for some time, the provisions which Don Philip stood in need of might be easily sent him from the coasts of Provence. But when admiral Matthews returned to those seas, neither French fleets nor Spanish squadrons could oppose him. These two nations being obliged constantly to support numerous armies by land, were not possessed of that powerful navy which forms the basis of the English power.

February 22, 1744.

C H A P.

C H A P. IX.

*The Prince of Conti forces the Passages of the Alps.
Situation of Affairs in Italy.*

IN the midst of these struggles, Louis XV. declared war against the King of England and the Queen of Hungary *; who, in return, declared war against him with the usual formalities †. This was only a piece of superfluous ceremony on both sides. Neither Spain nor Naples declared war, but they carried it on

Don Philip at the head of twenty thousand Spaniards commanded by the Marquis de la Mina, and the Prince of Conti followed by twenty thousand French, feverally inspired their troops with that spirit of confidence and of resolute courage which were necessary for penetrating into Piedmont, where one battalion may stop a whole army; where they are exposed every moment to fight among rocks, precipices and torrents; and where the difficulty of convoys reaching them was none of the smallest they had to encounter. The Prince of Conti, who had served as Lieutenant-General in the unsuccessful war of Bavaria, had had experience in his youth.

On the first of April 1744, the Infant Don Philip and he passed the Varo, a river which falls from the Alps into the sea of Genoa, below Nice. The whole county of Nice surrendered; but before they could advance farther, they were obliged to attack the intrenchments thrown up near Villa-Franca; and after them they were opposed by those of the fortrefs of Montalban, situated among the rocks which formed a long chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. They could not march but in defiles, and through hollow ways, where they were exposed to the artillery of the enemy, which annoyed them also when clambering from rock to rock.

April 26, 1744.

† May 13, 1744.

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They were obliged to encounter some of the English even on the Alps; for Admiral Matthews, after refitting his fleet, had returned to resume the empire of the sea. He had landed at Villa-Franca, where his soldiers joined the Piedmontese, and his engineers served the artillery. Notwithstanding these dangers, the Prince of Conti presented himself before the rampart of Piedmont, near Villa-Franca, which was about two hundred toises* in height, thought by the King of Sardinia to be inaccessible, and covered with French and Spaniards. The English Admiral and his sailors were on the point of being taken prisoners, there.

They then advanced and penetrated as far as the Valley of Chateau-Dauphin†. The Count de Campo-santo, at the head of the Spaniards, followed the Prince of Conti through another defile. He had obtained the name and title of Campo-santo from the battle of Campo-santo, in which he had distinguished himself by astonishing acts of valour. This appellation was given him as a recompence; in the same manner as the name of Bitonto had been given to the Duke of Montemar, after the battle of Bitonto. No title can be more glorious than that of a battle which one has gained.

The Bailiff of Givri, in open day, scaled a rock on which two thousand Piedmontese were entrenched. The brave Chevert, who was the first that mounted the rampart at Prague, was among the foremost who reached the top. This scene was more bloody than that of Prague, as they had no cannon, and the Piedmontese kept playing theirs constantly upon the assailants. The King of Sardinia was in person behind these entrenchments, endeavouring to animate his troops. The Bailiff of Givri was wounded at the beginning of the action; and the Marquis de Villemur, being informed that a passage not less important had been happily carried by the French, ordered a retreat, which Givri instantly caused to be beat: but the officers and soldiers were too much animated to listen to it.

* A Toise is a fathom, a measure of two yards. † July 19, 1744.

Lieutenant-colonel de Poitou leaped into the first entrenchment, where he was followed by the grenadiers; and, what is hardly credible, they passed close by the very embrasures of the enemy's cannon, at the instant that the pieces being fired were recoiling with their usual motion*. They lost about two thousand men in this action; but not one of the Piedmontese escaped.

The King of Sardinia, in despair, wanted to throw himself into the midst of the assailants, and they kept him back with much difficulty. The Bailiff of Givri, Colonel Salis, and the Marquis de la Carte, were among the slain; the Duke d'Agenois with a great many others were wounded. But still their loss was less considerable than they might have expected from such a situation.

The Count de Campo-santo, who could not arrive in time at the narrow steep defile where this furious engagement was in agitation, wrote to the Marquis de la Mina, General of the Spanish army under Don Philip: "We may have, says he, opportunities of behaving as well as the French, but it is impossible to behave better."

I always take notice of those letters of the General officers which contain any interesting particulars. For this reason, I shall transcribe that which the Prince of Conti wrote to the King concerning this engagement. "This has been, says he, one of the most brilliant and lively actions that ever happened. The troops have shewn a valour more than human. The Brigade of Poitou, having M. d'Agenois at its head, has gained immortal honour.

"The valour and presence of mind of M. de Chevert chiefly decided the advantage. I recommend to you M. de Solemi, and the Chevalier de Modena. La Carte is killed. Your Majesty, who knows the value of friendship, will feel how much I am affected by his loss."

* What was there incredible in this? *Translator.*

Such expressions of a Prince to a King are lessons of virtue to the rest of mankind, and history ought to preserve them.

During the attack on Chateau-Dauphin, it was found necessary to carry what was called *The Barricades*; a passage about eighteen feet broad between two mountains which reached the clouds. Into this precipice the King of Sardinia had turned the course of the river Sture, which watered the neighbouring valley. Three entrenchments, and a covered way beyond the river, defended the post of the Barricades. After this, they had to reduce the castle of Demont, built at an immense expence on the top of a detached rock, in the middle of the valley of Sture; whence the French, being then masters of the Alps, could distinguish the plains of Piedmont. These Barricades were artfully surrounded by the French and Spaniards the night before the attack on Chateau-Dauphin. They were carried almost without striking a blow, by putting those who defended them between two fires. This advantage was one of the master-strokes in the art of war; for it was glorious, it obtained the object in view, and was not bloody.

C H A P. X.

New Misfortunes of the Emperor Charles VII. The Battle of Dettingen.

THESE great actions, however, were but of little service in promoting the principal design; which is generally the case in all wars. The cause of the Queen of Hungary was not the less triumphant. The Emperor Charles VII. in fact named Emperor by the King of France, was not less banished from his own estates, nor less a wanderer in Germany. The French were not less repelled on the Rhine and the Mayne, in fine, France was not the less exhausted, by supporting a cause which was foreign to her, and for a war which she might have kept clear of; a war undertaken by

by the sole ambition of Marshal Belleisle, in which there was but little to be gained, and a great deal to be lost.

The Emperor Charles VII. at first took refuge in Augsbourg, a free imperial city under a republican government, and famous from the name of Augustus; the only one which had preserved any remains, though corrupted, of that name, which was formerly so common to the frontier towns of Germany and of Gaul. He made but a short stay there; and on leaving it, in the month of June 1743, had the mortification to see a Colonel of Hussars, named Mentzel, noted for his brutality and robberies, enter the place, and insult him in the public streets.

His unhappy destiny next led him to Frankfort, a city still more privileged than Augsbourg, and in which he had carried his election to the Empire, but where he now saw his misfortunes encrease. Four miles from this new refuge he came to a battle, which finally decided his fate.

The Earl of Stair, a Scotch nobleman, one of those brought up under the Duke of Marlborough, and formerly Ambassador in France, had marched towards Frankfort with an army of above fifty thousand men, consisting of English, Hanoverian, and Austrians. The King of England arrived with his second son, the Duke of Cumberland, after having gone to Frankfort, the very asylum of the Emperor: whom he had acknowledged as his sovereign, and against whom he was making war in hopes to dethrone him.

Marshal Duke de Noailles, who headed the French army, had borne arms ever since he was fifteen years of age. He had commanded at Catalonia, in the war of 1701, and had since filled the several principal departments of the state. Though at the head of the finances at the beginning of the regency, at once a General of the army and Minister of State, he ceased not to cultivate literature; an example formerly common among the Greeks and Romans, but, in the present times, very seldom to be met with in Europe. This General, by an extraordinary manœuvre, immediately made himself
master

master of the field; hemmed in the army of the English, which had the Mayne between it and the French, and cut off their provisions, by commanding the passages above and below their camp.

The King of England was posted in Aischaffenburg, a town upon the Mayne belonging to the Elector of Mentz. He had taken this step against the advice of Lord Stair, and began to repent it. He now saw his army blocked up and famished by the Marshal de Noailles, and was obliged to reduce his soldiers to half their common allowance. They were so much in want of torage, that it was proposed to hamstring the horses, and it would have been put in execution, if they had remained two days longer in that situation. The King of England was, at last, obliged to retire to seek provisions at Hanau, on the road to Frankfurt; but in his retreat he was exposed to the batteries of the enemy's cannon, placed on the banks of the Mayne. It was necessary to hasten the march of an army weakened by hunger, and whose rear-guard might be destroyed by the French. For Marshal de Noailles had taken the precaution to throw over bridges between Dettingen and Aischaffenburg, upon the road to Hanau, and the English had to their other mistakes added that of suffering them to be constructed.

On the 26th of June, at midnight, the King of England decamped his army with the greatest silence, and hazarded a precipitate and dangerous march, to which they were thus reduced. Marshal de Noailles observed the English, who seemed to be hastening to their ruin, in a strait road between a mountain and a river. He took this opportunity to cause the squadrons of the King's household, the dragoons and hussars, to advance towards the village of Dettingen, before which the English must pass. He ordered four brigades of infantry and the French guards to file off over two bridges. These troops were to remain posted at Dettingen, on this side of a hollow road, where they could not be observed by the English, whose motions, at the same time were seen by Marshal Noailles. The enemy was like
was

wife hemmed in by two batteries, which M. de Valliere, a skilful engineer, had erected on the banks of the river, and which were played against them. This obliged them to pass through a defile between Dertingen and a little river. Thus situated, the French might have fired upon them with certain advantage, and the King of England himself might have become their prisoner. In short, this was a decisive moment which might have put an end to the war.

The Marshal recommended to his nephew, the Duke de Grammont, Lieutenant-general and Colonel of the guards, to remain in this position till the enemy should come and put themselves into his power. Unfortunately, however, he went to reconnoitre a ford, in order to bring his cavalry more forward. Most of his officers were of opinion, that he ought to have remained at the head of his troops to give orders. He detached five brigades to occupy the post of Aisenfleeting, so that the English were encompassed on all sides. But a moment's impatience rendered all these measures ineffectual.

The Duke de Grammont imagined the first column of the enemy was already gone by, and that he had nothing to do but to fall on the rear-guard, which could not oppose him. He accordingly ordered his troops to pass the hollow way: thus quitting an advantageous post, where he should have remained, he advanced with the regiment of guards and that of the Noailles infantry into a small plain called the Cock-field, where the English, who filed off in order of battle, soon formed themselves. By this means the French, who had drawn the enemy into a snare, fell into it themselves. They rushed on to the attack in great disorder, and with unequal strength. The cannon which had been placed along the banks of the Mayne by M. de Valliere, and which had played with success on the enemy's flank, particularly the Hanoverians, were rendered useless, as they could not now be employed without annoying the French themselves. Just as this mistake was committed, Marshal Noailles returned to that part of the army.

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The King's household on horseback and the carabineers by their impetuosity soon broke two lines of the enemy's infantry; but the latter immediately rallied and surrounded the French. The officers of the regiment of guards advanced with great intrepidity at the head of a small body of infantry; which cost them dear, for twenty-one of them were killed on the spot, and as many dangerously wounded; so that the whole regiment was routed.

The Duke de Chartres (since Duke of Orleans), the Prince of Clermont, Count d'Eu, and the Duke de Nemours, notwithstanding his youth, used all their efforts to stop this confusion. The Count de Noailles had two horses killed under him, and his brother the Duke d'Ayen was thrown from his horse.

It was in vain the Marquis de Puységur, son of the Marshal of that name, called to the soldiers of his regiment, ran after them, rallied as many of them as he could, and even killed some with his own hand who fled and cried out, "Save himself who can!" The Princes and Dukes of Biron, Luxemburg, Richelieu, and Pequigny-Chevigne, also rallied some brigades, and broke into the lines of the enemy.

In another quarter the King's household and the carabineers stood their ground. In one place might be seen a troop of gendarmes; in another, a company of guards; here, an hundred musqueteers; there, companies of cavalry advancing with light-horse; and others who followed the carabineers or the grenadiers on horseback, all running up to the English sword-in-hand with more courage than good order. Indeed they had so little of the latter, that about fifty musqueteers, carried on by their valour, penetrated into the regiment of horse commanded by Lord Stair. Twenty-seven officers of horse belonging to the royal household perished in the confusion; and sixty-six were dangerously wounded, among the last were Count d'Eu, Count d'Harcourt, Count de Beuvron, the Duke de Boufflers, and Count de la Motte Houdancourt, gentleman of honour to the Queen, his horse being killed, was for some time trampled under
foot

foot by the cavalry, and at last carried off almost dead.

The Marquis de Gontaud had his arm broken, and the Duke de Rochecouart, first gentleman of the chamber, having been twice wounded, continued fighting until he was killed on the spot. The Marquises de Sabran and de Fleury, the Counts d'Estrade and Rostaing, likewise lost their lives; nor must we omit, among the particulars of that melancholy day, the death of the Count de Boufflers, of the branch of Remiancourt. He was a boy little more than ten years old. A cannon-ball broke his leg, which he saw cut off, and died with amazing resolution. Such youth and courage greatly affected the spectators of his misfortune.

The loss was no less considerable among the English officers. The King of England fought on foot and on horseback, sometimes at the head of his cavalry, and at others at the head of the infantry. The Duke of Cumberland was wounded by his side; the Duke d'Aremberg, the Austrian General, received a wound in the upper part of his breast; and the English lost several General officers. The combat lasted three hours, but it was too unequal: courage alone was engaged against numbers, valour, and discipline. At length Marshal Noailles gave orders for a retreat.

The King of England dined on the field of battle, and immediately after retreated, without allowing time to take care of all his wounded, six hundred of whom were left behind, and recommended by Lord Stair to the generosity of the Marshal de Noailles. They were treated by the French as their countrymen; both Nations behaving to each other with much respect. The letters which passed between the two Generals shew how far politeness and humanity may be carried even amidst the horrors of war.

Nor was this greatness of mind peculiar to the Earl of Stair and the Duke of Noailles. The Duke of Cumberland gave an instance of equal generosity, which ought to be transmitted to posterity.—It happened that a musqueteer named Girardaa, being dangerously wounded, was brought near the Duke's tent. Most of the sur-

geons

geons being busy elsewhere, those who were at hand were preparing to dress the Duke, who was wounded by a ball in the calf of his leg. "Begin, said the Prince, by dressing that French officer's wound; he is more hurt than I: he may perhaps want assistance; I shall have help enough."

In other respects the loss of both armies was nearly equal. The allies had two thousand two hundred and thirty-one men killed and wounded, according to the English account, which seldom diminishes their own loss, or exaggerates that of the enemy.

The French suffered a great loss in rendering the most excellent dispositions abortive, by the same precipitate ardour and want of discipline which formerly occasioned their losing the battles of Poitiers, Cressy, and Agincourt. The writer of this history saw the Earl of Stair at the Hague about six weeks after the battle, and took the liberty to ask him his opinion of it. That General returned for answer, "I think the French were guilty of one great fault, and we of two. Yours was, in not having patience to wait for us; and ours were, first in running ourselves into imminent danger of destruction, and then in not having taken the advantage of our victory."

After this action a great many French and English officers went to Frankfurt, a neutral city, where the Emperor saw, one after the other, the Earl of Stair and Marshal de Noailles, without being able to express any other sentiments than those of patience under his misfortunes.

The Marshal de Noailles found the Emperor labouring under the greatest chagrin, without dominions, without hope, and even destitute of the means of subsisting his family in that Imperial city, in which no person would advance a shilling to the Chief of the Empire. He gave him a bill of credit for 40,000 crowns, being certain that this relief would not be disallowed by the King his master. To such a situation was at this time reduced the majesty of the Roman Empire.

C H A P. XI.

The first Campaign of Louis XV. in Flanders, and his Successes. He quits Flanders to go to the Relief of Alsace, which was threatened with an Invasion, while the Prince of Conti endeavoured to open the Passage through the Alps. New Confederacies. The King of Prussia again takes up Arms.

IT was in these dangerous circumstances, in this shock of so many States, in this medley and confusion of war and politics, that Louis XV. commenced his first campaign. The frontiers on the German side were guarded with much difficulty. The Queen of Hungary had made the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate take an oath of fidelity. She caused a Memorial to be published in Frankfort, where Charles VII. had retired, in which the election of this Emperor was declared totally null and void; so that he was obliged at last to declare himself neuter, as they still kept stripping him of his estates. Proposals were made to him for abdicating and resigning the Empire to Francis of Lorraine, Grand-Duke of Tuscany, husband to Maria-Theresa.

Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the Grand-Duke, formed a lodgement in an Isle upon the Rhine near to Old Brisac. Some Hungarian parties penetrated beyond the Saar, and entered the frontiers of Lorraine. The famous partizan Mentzel dispersed manifestos in Alsace, in the Three Bishopricks and in the Franche-Comté, in which he invited the people, in the name of the Queen of Hungary, to return to their obedience to the House of Austria. He threatened the inhabitants who should take up arms to hang them up, after he had forced them to cut off their own noses and ears. This piece of intolerance, worthy a soldier of Attila, though despicable in itself, was a proof of success. The Austrian armies threatened

Naples at the time the French and Spanish armies were only in the Alps. The English, victorious by land, rode triumphant upon the seas. The Dutch were going to declare themselves, and promised to join the English and Austrians in Flanders. Every thing was adverse. The King of Prussia, satisfied with being possessed of Silesia, had made a separate peace with the Queen of Hungary.

Louis XV. bore all the burthen of this war. He not only protected the frontiers upon the borders of the Rhine and the Moselle with his troops, but he even prepared to invade England. He sent to Rome for the young Prince Charles-Edward, eldest son of the Pretender, and grandson to the unfortunate King James II. A fleet of one-and-twenty ships, containing twenty-four thousand land forces, convoyed * him into the English Channel. This Prince had now the first sight of the coast of his kingdom; but a tempest, and, still more a lack of English men of war, rendered this enterprise fruitless.

About this time the King set out for Flanders. He led a glorious army, which Comte d'Argenson, Secretary of War, had taken care to furnish with every thing necessary for the siege or the field.

Louis XV. arrived in Flanders. At his approach the Dutch, who had promised to join the Austrian and English troops, began to be afraid. They did not dare to fulfil their promise, but sent deputies to the King, instead of troops against him; while the French took Courtray and Menin † in the presence of those very deputies.

The very day after the taking of Menin he invested Ypres. The Prince of Clermont, Abbé of St. Germain-des-Prés, commanded the principal attacks at the siege of Ypres. There had not been seen in France, since the times of the Cardinals Valette and Sourdis, a man who had thus united the profession of arms with that of the Church. The Prince of Clermont had this permission from Pope Clement XII. who was of opinion, that the ecclesiastical profession ought to be subordinate to that of war in the person of the great-grandson of the renowned Condé. They attacked the covered way in the

* January 9, 1744. † Courtray, May 18; and Menin, June 5.
front

front of the Lower Town, although that enterprise seemed hazardous and premature. Field-Marshal Marquis de Beauveau, at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbon and Royal-Comtois, received a mortal wound which gave him excessive pain. He died in inconceivable tortures, regretted by the officers and soldiers as a promising General, and by all Paris as a man of sense and probity. He said to the soldiers who carried him off, "Leave me, my friends, to die, and return to the battle." Ypres soon capitulated*: on which not a moment was lost. While they entered this town, the Duke of Boufflers took Kénouke†; and while the King was afterwards going to take a view of the frontiers, the Prince of Clermont undertook the siege of Furnes, which, in five days after the trenches were opened, hung out the white flag and submitted‡.

The English and Austrian Generals who commanded on the side of Brussels, retarded this rapid progress without being able to stop it. A body of troops under the command of Marshal Saxe, which the King had ordered to oppose them, were so well posted, and covered the sieges so opportunely, that their success was infallible. The allies had not formed any fixed or settled plan for the campaign. The operations of the French army were well concerted. Marshal Saxe, posted at Courmayeur, prevented all the efforts of the enemy, and facilitated the operations of the French. A numerous artillery which they easily drew from Douay; a regiment of matrosses, consisting of near five thousand men, fully officered for conducting sieges, and composed of soldiers active and well disciplined; add to these a large body of engineers; were advantages that Nations uniting in haste to declare war could not be possessed of for some years. Such establishments as these must be the fruit of time and constant attention in a powerful monarchy; and hence the French have necessarily the superiority in sieges over other Nations.

In the midst of this progress, news arrived that the Austrians had passed the Raabe on the side of Spire, in sight of the French and Bavarians§; that they had en-

* June 25. † June 29. ‡ July 11. § June 29 and 30, 1741.

tered Alsace; and that the frontiers of Lorraine lay exposed to them. This news was not at first believed; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by making several feints in different places at once, succeeded at length on that side where Count Seckendorff commanded the Bavarians, the Palatines, and Hessians, allies in the service of France.

The Austrian army, to the number of about sixty thousand men, entered Alsace without any resistance. Prince Charles in one hour made himself master of Lauterbourg, a post weakly fortified, but of the utmost importance. He ordered General Nadausti to advance to Weissenbourg, an open town; the garrison of which were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. He put a body of ten thousand men into the town and the lines surrounding it. Marshal Coigny, who commanded in these quarters, an intrepid, discreet, and modest General, celebrated for two victories in Italy in the war of 1738, seeing his communication with the French cut off, and that the Province of Meffin and all Lorraine was falling a prey to the Austrians and Hungarians, had no other resource left than to pass by the enemy's troops to re-enter Alsace and cover the country. He marched immediately with the major part of his army to Weissenbourg, just as the enemy had taken possession of it. He attacked them in the town and in the lines. The Austrians defended themselves with courage. They fought in the squares and in the streets, which were soon covered with the slain. The action lasted six hours. The Bavarians, who had very indifferently guarded the Rhine, repaired their negligence by their valour. They were above all encouraged by the Count of Mortagne, at that time Lieutenant-General in the service of the Emperor, who received no less than ten musket-shots in his clothes. The Marquis of Montal commanded the French. They at length retook the town and the lines; but were soon forced by the arrival of the whole Austrian army to retire towards Haguenau, which they were also obliged to abandon. The flying parties of the enemy pushed several leagues beyond the Saar, and spread terror even

July 12, 1744.

to Luneville, from which King Stanislaus Lezkinsky was forced to depart with all his Court.

At the news of this reverse of fortune, which the King heard at Dunkirk, he did not hesitate on the part he ought to take. He resolved to interrupt the course of this success in Flanders, to leave Marshal Saxe with about forty thousand men to preserve what he had taken, and to hasten himself to the relief of Alsace.

After having dispatched Marshal Noailles before him, he sent the Duke of Harcourt with some troops to guard the Streights of Phalsburg, and prepared to march himself at the head of twenty-six battalions and thirty-three squadrons. This resolution of his Majesty in his first campaign transported the hearts of the Nation, and revived the drooping spirits of the Provinces alarmed by the passage of the Rhine, and still more so by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany.

The King took his route by St. Quintin, La Fere, Laon, and Rheims, marching his troops with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march he augmented the soldiers pay and subsistence; a circumstance which encreased the love of his subjects. He arrived at Metz the 5th of August, and on the 7th tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, compelled Prince Charles to repass the Rhine, restored the Emperor to his dominions, and reduced the Queen of Hungary to a more perilous situation than any she had yet experienced.

One would imagine that this Princess had nothing to fear from the King of Prussia after the peace of Breslaw, especially after a defensive alliance concluded the same year betwixt that Prince and the King of England. But the Queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland, being united against the Emperor by the treaty of Worms; the Northern Powers, and particularly Russia, having been strongly solicited to come into this alliance, and the success of the Queen of Hungary's arms encreasing daily in Germany; from this situation of the affairs of Europe, it was plain that sooner or later the King of Prussia had every thing to fear. In a word, he

had renewed his engagements with France. The treaty had been secretly signed the fifth of April; and afterwards a strict alliance had been concluded at Frankfort * between the King of France, the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the Elector Palatine, and the King of Sweden, in quality of Landgrave of Hesse. Thus the union of Frankfort was a counterpoise to the projects of the union of Worms; so that one half of Europe was excited against the other, and on all sides they exhausted every resource of policy and war.

Marshal Schmettau came on the part of Prussia to inform the King of France that his new ally was marching towards Prague with an army of fourscore thousand Prussians, and that twenty-two thousand more were advancing into Moravia.

This powerful diversion in Germany, the conquest of the King in Flanders, and his march into Alsace, had dissipated the alarms of the French, when they were seized with one of a different nature, which spread general consternation throughout the whole Kingdom of France.

C H A P. XII.

The King of France at the Point of Death. He recovers, and marches into Germany; lays siege to Fribourg; where the Austrian Army, which had penetrated into Alsace, returns to the Relief of Bohemia. The Prince of Conti gains a Battle in Italy.

THE day that *Te-Deum* was sung in Metz for the taking of Chateau-Dauphin, the King felt some symptoms of a fever. This was the 8th of August. His illness increased, and the fever turned to the malignant or putrid kind; and on the 14th in the night he was judged to be in imminent danger. His constitution was robust, and fortified by exercise; but the best constitutions are most subject to sink under these disorders, be-

* May 27, 1744.

cause they have strength enough to support the first attacks, and to accumulate for some days the principles of a disease which they resisted in the beginning. This event spread fear and distraction from town to town. The people flocked together from all the country about Metz ; the roads were filled with persons of all ages and conditions, who by their different reports increased the general inquietude.

The news of the King's danger reached Paris in the middle of the night. The inhabitants rose from their beds, and ran about in great disorder, without knowing whither they went. The churches were opened, though at midnight ; nor did the people any longer regard the time of sleeping, waking, or eating. All Paris seemed distracted, and the houses of persons in employ were surrounded with a continual crowd. The public squares were crowded by the populace, who all cried out, " If he dies, it is for having marched to our relief." Even strangers accosted and interrogated one another in the churches on the subject. In many of the churches the priests who read prayers for the King's recovery, interrupted the recital by their tears ; the people answering them with sobs and cries. The courier who brought the news of the King's recovery to Paris on the 19th, was embraced and almost stifled by the people. They kissed his horse, and led him about in triumph. All the streets resounded with the joyful cry of, " The King is recovered !" When this Monarch was informed of these uncommon transports of joy which succeeded the general sorrow, he melted into tears ; and raising himself up, through an emotion or sensibility which gave him strength cried out, " What a pleasure it is to be thus beloved ! What have I done to deserve it * ?"

Such are the people of France ; susceptible even to

* The whole of this passage is charming ; the love of the people, and the modesty of the Prince ! What pity it is that the Kings of the earth do not supply us with more frequent instances to enrich the moral of history. *Translator.*

enthusiasm, and capable of any excess in their affections, as well as in their resentments *!

“The Archduchess’s spouse to Charles Prince of Lorraine died about this time at Brussels in a very deplorable manner †. She was greatly and justly beloved by the people of Brabant; but those people are not so passionate in their attachments as the French.

“Courtiers are not like the people. The danger of Louis XV. excited among them even more cabals and intrigues than prevailed when Louis XIV. was upon the point of death at Calais. His grandson found their effects at Metz. At the very time when they hourly expected his death, they troubled him with the most impertinent overtures, insinuated, as they pretended, by the most religious motives; though as contrary to reason, as void of humanity: but he escaped the snares of death, as well as those of his courtiers.

“He had no sooner recovered his faculties, than he reflected, in the midst of his own personal danger, on that into which Prince Charles, by his passage over the Rhine, had thrown all France. He had marched with no other design than that of attacking that Prince; but, having sent Marshal Noailles in his place, he said to Count d’Argenson, “Write in my name to Marshal Noailles, and tell him, that while Louis XIII. was carried to his grave, the Prince of Condé gained a battle ‡.” The French nevertheless with great difficulty cut off part of the rear-guard of Prince Charles, who retired in good order. This Prince, who had passed the Rhine in sight of the French troops, repassed it again with little loss in the face of a superior army. The King of Prussia complained that they had thus let an enemy escape, who had delivered himself into their hands.

* And such is the character of all Nations who have either sense or virtue. Superstitious attachments, and *jure divino*, may be the devotion of priests, but should never be the religion of the people. *Translator.*

† Said to have fallen a sacrifice, in child-birth, to the unskillfulness of her midwife.

‡ There was true heroism in this. *Translator.*

This

This was a lucky opportunity missed; but the illness of the King of France; the delays occasioned in the march of his troops; a difficult and fenny country, which the King must have passed over to meet the Prince; together with the precautions he had taken, and the bridges he had secured; in short, every thing facilitated this retreat, in which he lost not even a magazine.

Having now repassed the Rhine with full fifty thousand men, Prince Charles marched towards the Danube and the Elbe with incredible expedition; and after having penetrated into France as far as the gates of Strasbourg, he went a second time to the deliverance of Bohemia. But the King of Prussia advanced towards Prague, which he invested the 4th of September; and, what appeared extraordinary, General Ogilvie, who defended it with fifteen thousand men, surrendered himself in ten days after, with his whole garrison, prisoners of war. This was the same governor, who, in 1741, surrendered the town in still less time, when it was stormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thousand men made prisoners of war, the capital of Bohemia taken, the rest of the Kingdom submitting in a few days after, Moravia invaded at the same time, the French army entering again into Germany, and the success in Italy;—all gave hopes that the grand quarrel of Europe was going to be decided in favour of the Emperor Charles VII.

Louis XV. though not perfectly recovered, resolved upon besieging Fribourg in September, and accordingly marched his troops for that purpose. He passed the Rhine in his turn; and to strengthen his hopes of success, upon his arrival at Strasbourg, he received the news of a victory gained by the Prince of Conti.

C H A P. XIII.

*The Battle of Coni. The Conduct of the King of France.
The King of Naples surprised near Rome.*

TO make a descent into the Milanese, it is necessary to take the town of Coni. The Infant Don Philip and the Prince of Conti besieged it. The King of Sardinia attacked them in their lines with a superior army. Nothing could be better concerted than the enterprize of this monarch. It was one of those occasions on which it was true policy to give battle. If he proved conqueror, the French would have but few resources, and a retreat was extremely difficult. If he was beaten, the town would not have been in a worse condition to defend itself at this advanced season, and his retreat was secured. The disposition of his troops was the most artful that ever was made. He was nevertheless defeated. The French and Spaniards fought as allies resolved effectually to assist each other, and as rivals for fame. The King of Sardinia lost near five thousand men, with the field of battle. The Spaniards lost only nine hundred men, and the French had one thousand two hundred killed and wounded. The Prince of Conti, who acted the soldier as well as the general, had his cuirass pierced twice, and two horses killed under him. He mentioned nothing of this in his letter to the King, but enlarged on the wounds of Messieurs de la Force, de Senneterre, and de Chauvelin; on the signal services of Monsieur de Courten; on those of Messrs de Choiseul, du Châla, de Beaupreau, and of all who had seconded him, requesting rewards for their services. This history would be but a mere chronicle, if we were to relate all those meritorious actions, which, by becoming common, are lost in their multiplicity.

But yet this new victory was in the number of those which occasion great losses without producing any real

advantages to the conquerors. Above one hundred and twenty battles have been fought in Europe since the year 1600, and among them all ten only were decisive. Thus hath blood been idly spilt on account of political interests, which vary every day. This victory at first inspired confidence, which soon changed into despair. The rigour of the season, the melting of the snow, the overflowing of the Sture, and the torrents from the mountains, were more useful to the King of Sardinia than the victory of Coni was to the Infant and the Prince of Conti. They were obliged to raise the siege, and repass the mountains with an army much weakened. It is almost always the lot of those who make a campaign near the Alps, if they have not the Sovereign of Piedmont on their side, to lose their troops even by their victories.

The King of France in this wet season lay before Fribourg. The besiegers were obliged to turn the course of the river Treisen, and to open a canal of two thousand six hundred toises * in length before it; but scarcely was it finished, when a dyke broke, and their work was to do over again. They laboured under the fire of the castle of Fribourg, and it was necessary to set open two branches of the river at once. The bridges built upon the new canal were also damaged by the torrent from the broken dyke. These they repaired in one night, and the next day pushed on for the covert-way over the enemy's mines, and in the face of a continued fire of musquetry and artillery. Five hundred men were buried in the earth, killed or wounded. Two whole companies were destroyed by the explosion of the mines in the covert way; and the next day they completely drove out the enemy, in spite of the bombs, stones, and grenades, with which they made a constant and terrible havock. They had sixteen engineers in these two attacks, every one of whom was wounded. A stone struck the Prince of Soubise, and broke his arm; of which as soon as the King was informed, he went

Toise, a fathom, or six yards.

to see him, repeating his visits, and staying to see his wounds dressed. This tenderness in a monarch greatly encouraged the whole army.—The soldiers redoubled their ardour in following the Duke de Chartres; now Duke of Orleans, and first Prince of the blood, to the trenches and the attacks.

General Damnitz, governor of Fribourg, did not hang out the white flag until the sixth of November, two months after the opening of the trenches. The resistance of the castle lasted only seven days. The King, who was now master of Brisgau, commanded all Suabia; while the Prince of Clermont, on his part, was advanced even to Constance, the Emperor being returned at length to Munich.

Affairs in Italy also took a favourable turn, though slowly. The King of Naples pursued the Austrians, conducted by the Prince de Lobkowitz, upon the territories of Rome. Every thing was to be expected in Bohemia from the diversion made by the King of Prussia; but, by one of those reverses of fortune so common in this war, Prince Charles of Lorraine drove the Prussians out of Bohemia, as he had driven the French in 1742 and 1743; the Prussians committing the same blunders, and retreating in the same manner, with which they had reproached the French. They abandoned successively all the posts which secured Prague; and at last were even obliged to abandon Prague itself*.

Prince Charles, who had passed the Rhine in sight of the French army, passed the Elbe the same year in the sight of the King of Prussia, whom he followed almost to Silesia. His detached parties went up to the gates of Breslau; and it was at length doubted whether the Queen of Hungary, who appeared in the month of June to be totally undone, would not recover Silesia in the month of December in the same year. Nay, it was apprehended that the Emperor, who had re-entered his desolate capital, would be obliged to abandon it again.

All Germany was the subject of revolution, and of political intrigue. The Kings of France and England

November 19, 1744.

alternately

alternately purchased partizans in the Empire. Augustus King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, sold himself to the English for one hundred and fifty thousand guineas per annum. If people were astonished that in these circumstances a King of Poland and Elector of the Empire was obliged to accept of such a bribe, they were more so that England was in a condition to afford it, after having cost her five hundred thousand guineas the same year to the Queen of Hungary, two hundred thousand to the King of Sardinia, besides paying subsidies to the Elector of Mentz, and even to the Elector of Cologne, brother to the Emperor, who received twenty-two thousand guineas from the Court of London for permitting the enemies of his brother to raise troops against him in his Bishopricks of Cologne, Munster, Olnaburg, Hildesheim, Paderborn, and their Abbeys; for he had accumulated to himself all these ecclesiastical benefices, according to the custom of Germany, though not according to the rules of the Church. His selling himself to the English was not very honourable; but he was of opinion that an Emperor created by France could not support himself, and therefore sacrificed the interests of his brother to his own.

Maria-Theresa had in Flanders a formidable army, composed of Germans, English, and Dutch, who at length declared themselves, after a long neutrality.

French Flanders was defended by Marshal Saxe, whose army was less in number by twenty thousand men than that of the allies. But this General had recourse to those military resources which neither depend on fortune nor the valour of troops. To camp and decamp at proper times; to cover his own country; to maintain his army at the expence of the enemy; to invade their country when they advance on his, and force them to retreat; to render force useless by means of superior abilities; these are the master-pieces of the military art, and these Marshal Saxe put in practice from the month of August to the beginning of November.

The disputes about the Austrian succession increased daily; the fate of the Emperor grew more uncertain; the

the interests of the contending parties became more complicated ; and the success of their arms reciprocal.

It is true that this war secretly enriched Germany, at the same time that its country was laid waste. The money of France and England, dispensed with so much profusion, remained in the hands of the Germans, and in the end rendered this extensive country more opulent, and consequently some time or other more powerful, if ever it could be re-united under one Chief.

It was not so with Italy, which, besides, cannot raise a considerable force like Germany in a long space of time. France sent into the Alps only forty-two battalions and thirty-three squadrons, which, the troops being as usual incomplete, amounted in the whole only to twenty six thousand men. The Infant's army amounted to near the same number in the beginning of the campaign ; and both of them, so far from enriching a foreign country, drew almost all their subsistence from the Provinces of France. With regard to the territories of the Pope, on which Prince Lobkowitz the Austrian General was posted with about thirty thousand men, they were rather impoverished than enriched by them. This part of Italy soon became a scene of blood in that vast theatre of war which extended itself from the Danube to the Tiber.

The armies of the Queen of Hungary were upon the point of conquering the Kingdom of Naples in the months of March, April, and May, 1744. Ever since the month of July the Neapolitan and Austrian armies were fighting on the territories of Rome. The King of Naples and the Duke of Modena were in Veletri, formerly the capital of the Volsci, now inhabited by the Deans of the Holy College. The King of the Two Sicilies occupied the palace of Ginetti, an edifice of great magnificence and taste. The enterprize of Prince Lobkowitz at Veletri turned out like that of Prince Eugene at Cremona in 1702 ; for history is only a detail of the same events repeated with some variation. Six thousand Austrians entered Veletri in the middle of the night, cut to pieces the grand guard, killed those who made resistance,
and

and made prisoners of those who did not. The consternation and alarm was universal. The King of Naples and the Duke of Modena were in danger of being taken. The Marquis de Plöppal, Ambassador of France to the Court of Naples, who accompanied the King, awakened by the alarm, fled to his assistance and saved him. He was no sooner gone from his house than it was filled with foldiers, plundered and ransacked. The King, followed by the Duke of Modena and the Ambassador, went to put himself at the head of the troops without the town. The Austrians distributed themselves in the houses, and General Novati took possession of the Duke of Modena's.

Whilst the Austrians were thus busy in pillaging and rejoicing in their security, the same thing happened as at Cremona. The Walloon-guards, an Irish regiment, and some Swiss, repulsed them, strewed the streets with dead, and retook the town. Prince Lobkowitz was a few days after obliged to retire towards Rome. The King of Naples pursued him. The Prince made towards one gate of the town, and the King towards another. Both of them passed the Tiber, and the people of Rome had the sight of both armies from the ramparts. The King was well received at Rome under the title of the Count de Pouzolles. His guards were under arms in the streets, while he was kissing the Pope's toe; and the two armies continued the war upon the territories of Rome, which gave thanks to Heaven that the ravages of war were confined to its Campagna.

In a word, it is plain that Italy was the grand point in view at the Court of Spain; that Germany was a most delicate object with respect to the conduct of the Court of France; and that on both sides success was as yet wholly uncertain.

C H A P. XIV.

The taking of Marshal Belleisle. The Emperor Charles VII. dies ; but the War is not carried on with less Vigour or that Account.

THE King of France, immediately after the taking of Fribourg, returned to Paris, where he was received as the avenger of his Country, and as a father whom they had been fearful of losing. He remained there three days to shew himself to the inhabitants, who by this act of condescension thought themselves sufficiently rewarded for their zeal.

The King, always intending to support the Emperor, had sent Marshal Belleisle to Munich, to Cassel, and into Silesia, charged with full powers from himself, as well as from the Emperor. This General was on his return from Munich, the imperial residence, with the Count his brother. They had been at Cassel, and followed their route without any suspicion through countries in which the King of Prussia had every where post houses, which, by conventions established between the Princes of Germany, are always respected as neuter and inviolable. As they were taking horses from one of these offices, in a village called Elbingrode, belonging to the Elector of Hanover, they were arrested by a Hanoverian bailiff*, very ill used, and in a very little time after sent over to England.

The Duke of Belleisle was a Prince of the Empire, and by this dignity the arrest might be looked on as a violation of the privileges of the College of Princes. In former times an Emperor would have avenged the illegality of this proceeding ; but Charles VII. reigned at a time when every thing might be attempted against him, and he had no remedy--but complaints. The French Minister pleaded at once all the privileges of Ambassadors and the rights of war. If Marshal Belleisle

* November 13, 1744.

was regarded as Prince of the Empire, and Minister of the King of France going to the Prussian and Imperial Courts, as neither of these were at war with Hanover, it was very certain that his person was inviolable. If he was considered as a General and Marshal of France, the King of France offered to pay his and his brother's ransom, according to the regulation established at Frankfort the 18th of June, 1743, between France and England. The ransom of a Marshal of France is fifty thousand livres, and that of a Lieutenant-General fifteen thousand. The Minister of George II. eluded these pressing remonstrances with a strange and unheard-of evasion. He declared that he regarded Messrs. de Belleisle as prisoners of state; they were treated with the most distinguished attention, according to the maxims of most of the Courts of Europe, who soften the injustice of policy and the cruelty of war by the most flattering external acts of humanity.

The Emperor Charles VII. so little respected in the Empire, and having in it no other support than the King of Prussia (who was at this time pursued by Prince Charles), under apprehensions that the Queen of Hungary would force him once more to abandon Munich his capital, seeing himself the sport of Fortune, and borne down with diseases which his chagrin increased, at length sunk beneath their accumulated weight, and died at Munich on the 20th of January, 1745, aged forty-seven years six months; leaving this lesson to the world, "that the summit of human grandeur may be the pinnacle of calamity." He had only been unfortunate since he became Emperor. Nature from that moment had been more cruel to him than Fortune. A complication of painful disorders rendered his misfortunes more violent from his corporal sufferings, and jointly carried him to the grave. He was afflicted with the gout and stone; his liver, lungs, and stomach, were found gangrened; also stones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart; so that it was imagined he could not have enjoyed a moment's ease for some time past. Few Princes had better qualities: they served only to heighten his unhappiness;

ness; and this unhappiness arose from his having taken upon himself a burthen he was unable to bear.

The body of this unfortunate Prince was exposed dressed in the ancient Spanish fashion; an etiquette established by Charles V. although since him no Emperor has been a Spaniard, nor had Charles VII. any connection with that Nation. He was interred according to the ceremonies of the Empire; and in this parade of human vanity and misery, they carried the globe of the world in procession before him, who, during the short course of his reign, could not keep possession even of one small unfortunate Province. They gave him also in some rescripts the title of *Invincible*; a title given by ancient custom to the imperial dignity, and which only served to make his misfortunes appear in a stronger light.

It was believed, the cause of the war no longer existing, peace might be restored to Europe. The Empire could not be offered to the son of Charles VII. who was only seventeen years of age. Germany flattered itself that the Queen of Hungary would be inclined to peace, as a sure means of placing her husband the Grand-Duke on the Imperial throne; but she was resolved to seat him in it, and at the same time to continue the war.

The English Ministry, who gave the law to its allies since it furnished them with money, and who paid at once the Queen of Hungary, the King of Poland, and the King of Serinia, thought there was something to lose by a treaty with France, and something to gain by the force of arms.

This general war was continued merely because it was begun: the object was not the same as in its origin. It was one of those diseases which in their progress change their character. Flanders, which was spared before 1744, was now become the principal theatre of war; and Germany was rather an object of the politics of France than of military operations. The French Ministry, who were always for making an Emperor, cast their eyes on Augustus II. King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, who was in the English pay; but France was not quite

in a condition to make such an offer. The Imperial throne was a dangerous acquisition for any one who did not possess Austria and Hungary. The Court of France was refused: the Elector of Saxony neither dared to accept this honour, recede from the English, nor displease the Queen. He was the second Elector of Saxony who had refused to be Emperor.

There remained to France no other resource but to expect from the fate of arms the decision of so many different interests, which had varied so often, and in all their variations had kept Europe in alarm.

The new Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian-Joseph, was the third from father to son whom France had supported. France had caused the grandfather to be re-established in his dominions. She had given the Empire to the father, and the King now made a fresh effort to assist the young Prince. Six thousand Hessians in his pay, three thousand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of Germans, which had been for a long time in the French service, were already joined to the Bavarian troops, which were always in the King's pay.

That so many succours might be efficacious, it was necessary that the Bavarians should help themselves; but their destiny was to fall under the Austrians. They defended the entry into their country so badly, that in the beginning of April the new Elector was obliged to abandon the same capital which his father had been so often obliged to quit. The misfortunes of his House forced him in the end to apply even to Maria Theresa, to renounce the alliance of France, and to receive English money with the rest of the allies.

The King of France, abandoned by those for whom only he had begun the war, was obliged to continue it only with a view to put an end to it; a melancholy situation, which exposes a Nation without promising it any indemnification.

The course he took was to stand on his defence in Italy and in Germany, and to act always offensively in Flanders. This was the ancient feat of the war; and there is not a single field in the Province which has not

been sprinkled with blood. An army towards the Maine hindered the Austrians from acting against the King of Prussia, then the ally of France, with superior forces. Marshal Maillebois was gone from Germany to Italy; and the Prince of Conti was charged with the war on the side of the Maine, which was of a different kind from that he carried on in the Alps.

The King resolved to finish in person the conquests in Flanders which he had interrupted the preceding year. He had married the Dauphin in the month of February to the second Infanta of Spain; and this young Prince, who was but just turned of sixteen, prepared to accompany his father in the beginning of May.

C H A P. XV.

The Siege of Tournay. The Battle of Fontenoy.

MARSHAL Saxe was already in Flanders, at the head of an army composed of one hundred and six complete battalions, and one hundred and seventy-two squadrons. Tournay, the ancient capital of the French domains in Flanders, was already invested. It was the strongest place of the whole barrier. The town and citadel were likewise one of the master-pieces of Monsieur Vauban; for there was scarcely a town in all Flanders to which Louis XIV. had not built fortifications.

As soon as the States-General of the Seven Provinces learned that Tournay was in danger, they sent word it was necessary to hazard a battle for the defence of the town. These Republicans, in spite of their circumspection, were at that time the first to take bold resolutions. On the 5th of May the allies marched towards Cambron, within seven leagues of Tournay. The King set out from Paris with the Dauphin on the sixth. The

King's Aids-de-camp, and the Noblesse attached to the Dauphin*, accompanied them.

The principal force of the enemy's army was twenty battalions and twenty-six English squadrons, under the command of the young Duke of Cumberland, who with his royal father had gained the battle of Dettingen: five battalions and sixteen Hanoverian squadrons were joined to the English.

The Prince of Waldeck (about the age of the Duke of Cumberland, impatient to signalize his self, was at the head of forty Dutch squadrons and twenty-six battalions. The Austrians had only eight squadrons in this army. The war was carried on for them in Flanders, which had been so long defended by the arms and money of England and Holland. But at the head of this small number of Austrians was the old General Konigsegg, who had commanded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and Germany. His advice was to direct the ardour of the Duke of Cumberland and of the Prince of Waldeck. This army was reckoned to consist of above fifty-five thousand fighting men. The King left about eighteen thousand men before Tournay, which were posted in a line of communication extending to the field of battle, and six thousand to guard the bridges and their communications upon the Scheld.

The army was under the command of a General in whom the Nation had justly placed the greatest confidence. Count Saxe had already merited his high reputation by his skilful retreats in Germany, and by his campaign of 1744. To the practical part he had joined a profound theory, vigilance, and secrecy; the art of knowing how to postpone a project in good time, and to execute it with rapidity. Presence of mind, resources, and foresight, were talents which he possessed by the general acknowledgement of all the officers.* But then this General, wasting daily by a consumptive disorder,

* The French word is *Les Memnes*, which was an expression adopted under the reign of Louis XIV. and applied to those Peers of France who particularly attached themselves to the Dauphin's person.—*Translator.*

was hastening to his grave. He was very ill when he set out from Paris for the army. The author of this history, having met him before his departure, could not forbear asking him, how he could think of undertaking the campaign in such a state ? to which the Marshal replied, " The question is not about life, but duty *."

The King arriving on the sixth at Douay, went the next day to Pontachen near the Scheld, and within reach of the trenches of Tournay. From thence he went to reconnoitre the ground which was to be the field of battle. The whole army at sight of the King and the Dauphin gave loud acclamations of joy. The allies passed the tenth and the night of the eleventh in making their final dispositions. The King never shewed more gaiety than on the eve of the battle. The conversation ran on the battles that Kings had been present at. The King observed, that since the battle of Poitiers, no King of France had fought in company with his son; that no one had gained a signal victory over the English; and that he hoped to be the first. He was awakened the first on the day of action. At four o'clock he himself called up Count d'Argenson, Secretary at War, who immediately sent to Marshal Saxe to demand his last orders. The Marshal was found in an ozier litter, which served him for a bed, and in which he was carried when his exhausted strength obliged him to quit his horse. The King and his son had already passed a bridge over the Scheld, at Calonne: they went to take their post beyond the gallows de Notre Dame, in the wood, a thousand paces from this bridge, and exactly at the entry of the field of battle.

The retinue of the King and Dauphin, which composed a numerous suite, were followed by a crowd of all sorts of people whom curiosity had excited, and of which some had even mounted on the tops of trees to have a view of the battle.

By casting an eye upon the maps, which are very common, any one may at first sight see the disposition

of the two armies. Antoine is discoverable very near the Scheld, on the right of the French army, and at nine hundred toises from the bridge of Calonne, by which the King and Dauphin had advanced. The village of Fontenoy, beyond Antoine, was almost upon the same line; a narrow streight, four hundred and fifty toises in length, lying between Fontenoy and a little wood called the wood of Barri. This wood and villages were planted with cannon, like an entrenched ground. Marshal Saxe had established some redoubts between Antoine and Fontenoy; others at the extremity of the wood of Barri fortified this enclosure. The field of battle was only five hundred toises in length, from the place where the King was near the village of Fontenoy, quite to the wood of Barri, and was little more than nine hundred toises in breadth; so that they were to fight in an inclosed ground as at Dettingen, but in a more fortunate hour.

The General of the French army had provided for victory, or a defeat. The bridge of Calonne, furnished with cannon, fortified by intrenchments, and defended by some battalions, was to serve for a retreat to the King and the Dauphin, in case of misfortune. The rest of the army was to have filed off to the other bridges upon the Lower Scheld, beyond Tournay.

All the measures were taken which could mutually assist each other, without any danger of running counter to any of them. The French army seemed inaccessible; for the cross-fire which came from the redoubts of the wood of Barri and from the village of Fontenoy, prevented all approach. Besides these precautions, they had placed six cannon of six-pounders each, on this side the Scheld, to annoy the troops that might attack the village of Antoine.

At six in the morning the two armies began to cannonade each other. Marshal Noailles was at this time near Fontenoy, and gave an account to Marshal Saxe of a manœuvre he had performed, in the beginning of the night, to join the village of Fontenoy to the first of the three redoubts between Fontenoy and Antoine.

He served him as first Aid-de-camp, sacrificing the jealousy of command to the service of the cause; and, letting his own distinction at nought, submitted himself to a General who was a foreigner and a junior officer. Marshal Saxe perceived the force of this magnanimity, and never was seen so strict an union between two persons, whom the ordinary weakness of the human heart might have rendered irreconcilable enemies.

Marshal Noailles embraced the Duke of Grammont his nephew, and they separated, the one to return to the King, and the other to his post, when a cannon-ball killed the Duke of Grammont: he was the first victim of the day.

The English attacked Fontenoy thrice, and the Dutch presented themselves twice before Antoine. At their second attack almost a whole squadron of the latter were cut off by the cannon of Antoine; only fifteen men remained, and the Dutch never rallied afterwards.

The Duke of Cumberland then formed a scheme, which seemed to secure him the success of the day. He ordered Major-General Ingoldsbby to enter into the wood of Barri, to penetrate to the redoubt of this wood opposite Fontenoy, and to take it. Ingoldsbby marched with the best troops to execute this order. He found in the wood of Barri a battalion of the regiment of a partisan, who were called *Graffins*, from the name of him who had formed them. These soldiers had advanced into the wood beyond the redoubt, and lay upon the ground. Ingoldsbby, thinking they were a considerable corps, returned to the Duke, and required some cannon. The favourable moment was thus lost. The Prince was enraged at a disobedience which disconcerted his measures, and punished it afterwards at London by a council of war called a *Court-martial*.

He determined on the instant to pass between this redoubt and Fontenoy. The ground was steep; it was necessary to clear a broken hollow way; he was obliged also to pass the fires of Fontenoy and of the redoubt. The enterprize was daring; but he was reduced, at that time, either to quit the field or attempt the passage.

The

The English and Hanoverians advanced with him almost without disordering their ranks, drawing their cannon themselves through the foot-paths. His Highness formed them in three very close lines of four ranks deep, advancing between the batteries which were discharged on them into a piece of ground about four hundred toises in breadth. Whole ranks fell on the right and left. They were immediately recruited; and the cannon, which they drew up opposite Fontenoy, and before the redoubts, opposed the French artillery. In this manner they marched fiercely, preceded by six pieces of artillery, and having likewise six others in the middle of their lines.

Opposite to the place they found four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiss at their left; the regiment of Courten at their right, those of Aubeterre following behind them; and the King's regiment at some distance, which covered Fontenoy, extending along a hollow way.

The ground ascended from the place where the French guards were, to that where the English were formed.

The French officers directly consulted among themselves, and said one to the other, "We must take the English cannon." They mounted rapidly with their grenadiers, but they were much astonished to find an army before them. The artillery and musquetry levelled sixty to the ground, and the rest were obliged to fall back into their ranks.

In the mean time the English advanced; and this line of infantry composed of French and Swiss guards, having likewise upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre and a battalion of the King's regiment, approached the enemy. They were about fifty yards distance. A regiment of English guards, those of Campbell and the Royal Scots, were the first. Sir James Campbell was their Lieutenant General, the Earl of Albemarle Major-General, and Mr. Churchill, natural grand-child of the great Duke of Marlborough, their Brigadier. The English officers saluted the French by pulling off their hats. The Count of Chabanne and the

the Duke de Biron, who were advanced, and all the officers of the French guards, returned them the salute. Lord Charles Hay, Captain of the English guards, cried, "Gentlemen of the French guards, fire." •

The Count d'Anteroche, at that time Lieutenant of the grenadiers, and afterwards Captain, replied, in a loud voice, "Gentlemen, we never fire first; fire yourselves." The English gave them a running fire, that is to say, they fired in divisions, in a manner that one battalion of four ranks deep having fired, another battalion made a discharge, and afterwards a third, while the first recharged.

The line of French infantry did not fire thus. They consisted of a single line of four ranks, at a considerable distance from each other, and not supported by any other troops of infantry. Nineteen officers of the guards fell wounded by this single discharge: Messieurs de Clisson, de Langey, de la Peyre, lost their lives by it; ninety five soldiers were killed, and two hundred and eighty-five were wounded. Eleven of the Swiss officers were wounded; also two hundred and nine of their soldiers; among which sixty-four died on the spot. Colonel Courten, his Lieutenant-Colonel, four officers, and seventy-five soldiers were killed; and fourteen officers and two hundred soldiers dangerously wounded. The first rank thus swept off, and the three others looking behind them, and seeing but one regiment of cavalry at more than three hundred toises distance, they dispersed. The Duke of Grammont, their Colonel and first Lieutenant-General, who might have rallied them, was killed. Mont. Luttaux, second Lieutenant-General, did not arrive till after they had given way. The English advanced slowly, as if performing their exercise; the Majors with their canes levelling the soldiers guns to make them fire low and silent. They broke in upon Fontenoy and the redoubt. This corps, which before was in three divisions, closing by the nature of the ground, became a long and thick column, almost impregnable from its mass, and more so by its bravery, and advanced towards the regiment of Aubeterre. Mont. Luttaux, first General
of

of the army, at the news of this danger, came from Fontenoy, where he had just been dangerously wounded. His Aid-de-camp begged him to get his wound dressed : " The King's service (answered Mont. Luttaux) is more dear to me than life." He advanced with the Duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, which was led on by its Colonel of that name. Luttaux received on his arrival two mortal wounds. The Duke de Biron had a horse killed under him. The regiment of Aubeterre lost a great many of its officers and soldiers. The Duke de Biron then, with the King's regiment that he commanded, stopped the march of the column on the left flank. A detached battalion of English guards upon this advanced a little towards him, made a furious discharge, and retired leisurely to replace itself at the head of the column, which still advanced slowly without ever breaking its ranks, repulsing one after another every regiment that presented itself before it.

This corps kept gaining ground, always close and always firm. Marshal Saxe, seeing with calm courage the greatness of the danger, sent word by the Marquis de Meuze to the King, that he conjured him to repass the bridge with the Dauphin, and that he would do all in his power to remedy the disorder. " Oh ! I am very well assured that he will perform his duty, replied the King : but I will remain where I am."

From the moment the French and Swiss guards were routed, there was nothing but astonishment and confusion throughout the French army. Marshal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the English column. The Count d'Estrees undertook it ; but the efforts of this cavalry were of little effect against a body of infantry so united, so disciplined, and so intrepid, whose running-fire, constantly kept up, necessarily dispersed little separate corps. It is indeed well known that cavalry alone can seldom break through a close infantry. Marshal Saxe was in the midst of this fire. He was so weakened by his disorder, that he could not bear a breast-plate. He wore a sort of buckler made of several folds of quilted stuff, which rested upon the pommel of his saddle. He

He threw down his buckler upon this occasion, and flew to make the second line of the cavalry advance against the column. *

All the field-officers were in motion. *Monf. de Vaudrevil*, Major-General of the army, went from the right to the left. *Monf. de Puifegur*, *Méffr. de Saint Sauveur*, *de St. George*. and *de Meziere*, deputy Quarter-Masters, were all wounded. The Count de Longaumi, Aid-Major-General, was killed. It was in these attacks that the *Chevalier d'Aché*, Lieutenant-General, had his foot shattered ; after which he came to report the situation of affairs to the King, and conversed with him a long time without giving the least sign of the agonies he sustained, till at last he fainted away.

The more the English column advanced, the deeper it formed, and was in a condition to repair the continual losses it suffered by so many repeated attacks. It marched close over the dead and wounded of both parties, and seemed to make one single corps of about fourteen thousand men.

A great number of the cavalry were thrown into disorder close to the place where the King was with his son. These two Princes were separated by the crowds of those who fled and threw themselves in between them. During this confusion, the brigade of the body guards who were in reserve advanced of themselves towards the enemy. The *Chevaliers de Suzy* and *de Saumery* were there mortally wounded. Four squadrons of the *Gendarmes* arrived almost at this moment from *Douay*, and, notwithstanding the fatigue of a march of seven leagues, hastened towards the enemy. All these corps were received like the other with the same intrepidity and running fire. The young Count de Caevier, an Ensign, was killed, and on the very day he had joined his company. The *Chevalier de Monaco*, son to the Duke of Valentinois, was wounded in the leg. *Monf. du Guesclin* received also a very dangerous wound. The carbineers gave way, having lost six officers, and had twenty-one wounded.

Marbod

Marshal Saxe, though quite exhausted, kept still on horseback riding through the ranks in the midst of the firing. He passed under the front of the English column, to see with his own eyes all that passed towards the left near the wood of Barri. They made the same manœuvre there as on the right; but attempted in vain to break this column.

All the regiments presented themselves one after the other, and the English column facing them on all sides, placing their cannon properly, and firing by divisions, kept up a continual fire when they were attacked, and after the attack left off firing, and remained immovable. Some regiments of infantry came now to oppose this column by the sole orders of their commanders. Marshal Saxe saw one of them, whole ranks of which fell before the enemy, without being thrown into disorder. He was told it was the regiment of marines commanded by Monsi de Guerchi: "How can it possibly happen," cried he, "that such troops should not be victorious!"

The regiment of Hainault suffered equal loss. Their Colonel was the son of the Prince of Craon, Governor of Tuscany. The father served the Great-Duke; the child, the King of France. This young gentleman, of whom very great hopes were formed, was killed at the head of his regiment, and his Lieutenant-Colonel died of his wounds by his side. The regiment of Normandy advanced, and lost as many officers and soldiers as that of Hainault: it was led on by the Lieutenant-Colonel, Monsi. de Solency, whose bravery the King particularly noticed on the field of battle, and recompens'd afterwards by making him a Brigadier. Some Irish battalions ran to attack the column in flank, and their Colonel, M. Dillon, was killed. Thus no corps, no attack had been found sufficient to penetrate this column, because nothing was done in concert, and all at once.

Marshal Saxe re-passed the front of the column, which was already advanced above three hundred paces behind the redoubts of Eu and of Fontenoy. He went to see if Fontenoy still held out. Their bullets were all spent,
and

and they returned the fire of the enemy with powder only.

Mons. du Brocard, Lieutenant-General of the artillery, and many of the officers, were killed. The Marshal begged Count d'Harcourt, whom he then met, to go and conjure the King to retire; and likewise sent orders to Count de la Mark, who guarded Antoine, to repair to him with the regiment of Piedmont, the battle appearing to be lost without recovery. They collected together the cannon from all parts of the country, and were on the point of taking those from Fontenoy, although the bullets were arrived. The intention of Marshal Saxe was to make, if possible, a last effort against the English column better directed and more general than the former.

This body of infantry was greatly weakened, notwithstanding its depth appeared still the same. They were even astonished to find themselves in the midst of the French without any cavalry: they seemed to remain immovable, and no longer under orders; but they kept up a good face, and appeared to be masters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had passed between the redoubts which lay towards Fontenoy and Antoine, if they had given proper assistance to the English, no resource had been left, not even a retreat for the French army, nor probably for the King and the Dauphin. The success of a last attack was uncertain. Marshal Saxe, who saw that victory or an entire defeat depended upon this final assault, endeavoured to provide for a sure retreat. He sent a second order to the Count de la Mark to evacuate Antoine, and to advance to the bridge of Calonne to cover that retreat in case of a total defeat*.

* Those peaceful citizens who at their happy leisure read the ancient accounts of the battles of Arbela, of Zama, of Cannæ, and of Pharsalia, will scarcely comprehend the nature of modern battles. In those times the combatants closed. Arrows were only the prelude; the contest was, who should penetrate into the opposite ranks: strength of body, address, and alertness, were every thing. They intermingled, and a battle consisted of a multitude of single combats; in which there was less noise, but more slaughter. The manner of fighting now is as different as that of fortifying and of attacking towns. —
Voltaire.

He sent a third order to the Count (since Duke) de Lorges, rendering him responsible for the execution of it. The Count de Lorges obeyed with regret. The success of the day was despaired of at this time.

A very tumultuous council of war was held in the presence of the King; and he was entreated, on the advice of the General, and in the name of all France, not to expose himself any longer.

The Duke de Richelieu, Lieutenant-General, and who served as an Aid-de-camp to the King, arrived at this instant. He had just been reconnoitring the column near Fontenoy. Having also rode up and down on all sides without being wounded, he presented himself, out of breath, sword-in-hand, and covered with dust. "What news do you bring," said the Marshal? "What is your opinion?" "My news, replied the Duke of Richelieu, is, that victory is in our power; and my opinion is, that we should order four pieces of cannon in an instant to be pointed against the front of the column; and that while the artillery makes it give way, the King's household and the other troops should surround it: we must fall upon it like foragers." The King was the first who approved of this idea.

Twenty persons were detached. The Duke de Péquigni (called afterwards the Duke de Chaulnes) went to point the four pieces, which were placed directly opposite to the English column. The Duke de Richelieu rode full speed, in the King's name, to order his household-troops to march. He gave this order to Monsi. de Montesson who commanded them. The Prince of Soubise re-assembled his *gensdarmes*; the Duke of Chaulnes his light-horse: all these formed themselves, and marched. Four squadrons of the *gensdarmes* advanced on the right of the King's household; the horse grenadiers were at the head, under Monsi. de Grille, their Captain; the Mousquetaires, commanded by Monsi. de Jumillac, quickly joined them.

In this important moment, Count d'Eu and the Duke of Biron at the right saw with regret the troops at Antoine quit their post, according to the positive order
of

of Marshal Saxe. "I will be answerable for your disobedience," said the Duke of Biron to them: "I am sure the King will approve of it, especially in an instant when the face of affairs is going to change. I am positive that Marshal Saxe will think well of it." The Marshal arriving at the place, and being informed of the King's resolution, and the willingness of the troops, readily yielded to the measure: he could change his opinion when it was needful. He made the regiment of Piedmont re-enter Antoine, and, in spite of his weakness, conveyed himself rapidly from the right to the left towards the Irish brigades, recommending to all the troops as he passed them to make no more false fires, but to act in concert.

The Duke of Biron, Count d'Estrées, the Marquis de Croissy, and Count de Lowendhal, Lieutenant-Generals, directed this new attack. Five squadrons of Penthièvre followed Monsi. de Croissy and his sons. The regiments of Chabillant, de Brancas, de Brionne, Aubeterre, and Courten, hastened thither, led on by their Colonels. The regiment of Normandy, and the carbineers, at last penetrated through the first ranks of the column, and revenged the death of their comrades slain in their first attack. The Irish seconded them. The column was attacked at once in the front and both the flanks.

In seven or eight minutes this formidable corps was opened on all sides; General Ponsonby*, brother to the Earl of Albemarle, five Colonels, five Captains of the guards, and a great number of officers were killed. The English rallied, but were obliged to retire; and quitted the field of battle without tumult, without confusion, and were overcome with honour.

* M. Voltaire calls him *Pesimby*, and makes him brother to the Earl of Albemarle; but he was brother to the late Earl of Besborough, whose name was *Ponsonby*: the name of the Albemarle family is *Keppel*. Two such mistakes in one short passage, betray most inexcusable carelessness in any person who pretends to write History; especially when the looking into any book of the English *Pétite*, or even a Court Register, might have set him right. *Translator*.

The King of France went from regiment to regiment. "The cries of Victory!" and "Long live the King!" the hats thrown up in the air; the standards and colours pierced with balls; the reciprocal felicitations of the officers, who embraced each other; formed a scene of tumultuous joy, which every one partook of. The King alone remained tranquil, testifying his satisfaction, and making his acknowledgements to all the general-officers, and to the commanders of every corps; ordering great care to be taken of the wounded, and to treat his enemies as his own subjects.

Marshal Saxe in the midst of this triumph went to the King. He found strength enough to embrace his knees, and to say these words: "Sire, I have lived long enough! I have not wished to survive this day but to see your Majesty victorious. You see, added he, on what all battles depend." The King lifted him up, and embraced him tenderly.

To the Duke of Richelieu he said, "I shall never forget the important services that you have done me:" he said the same to the Duke de Biron. Marshal Saxe then said to the King, "Sire, I must confess I reproach myself for one fault. I should have placed another reserve between the wood of Barni and Montenois; but I could not suppose that there were Generals hardy enough to have attempted a passage at that place."

The allies lost nine thousand men, among whom there were about two thousand prisoners. They took scarcely any from the French.

By the exact account given to the Major-General of the French infantry, they found only sixteen hundred and eighty one soldiers or serjeants of the infantry killed on the spot, and three thousand two hundred and eighty-two wounded. Among the officers, only fifty-three were found dead upon the field of battle, and three hundred and twenty-three dangerously wounded. The cavalry lost about eighteen hundred men.

Since the commencement of war, never was so much care taken to alleviate the evils which arise from this affliction. Hospitals were prepared in all the neighbouring

ing towns, but principally at Lille: even the churches were applied to a use so worthy of them. Not only no necessary assistance, but even no conveniences were wanting, either for the French or their wounded prisoners. The zeal of the citizens even went too far: they never ceased bringing to both parties their most delicate provisions from all quarters, till the physicians of the hospitals were obliged to put a check to this dangerous excess of humanity. In a word, the hospitals were so well served, that almost all the officers chose rather to be waited on there, than at private houses; a circumstance which had never been known before.

We have entered into the particular detail of the battle of Fontenoy alone. Its importance, and the danger of the King and the Dauphin, required it. This action decided the fortune of the war, laid the foundation of the conquest of the Low Countries, and served as a balance to all the former unfortunate events. What farther renders this battle for ever memorable, is, that it was gained when the General, exhausted and almost expiring, could act no longer. Marshal Saxe made the disposition, and the French officers carried the victory *.

* We are obliged to take notice, that in a History of this war, full as large as it is partial, published in London in four volumes, it is asserted, that the French took no care of their wounded prisoners; and likewise, that the Duke of Cumberland sent to the King of France a chest of chewed balls and bits of glass which they found in the wounds of the English.

The authors of these puerile relations certainly think that chewed bullets are a poison. It is an ancient prejudice, as weakly founded as that of the white powder. It is said in this History, that the French lost nineteen thousand men in the battle; that their King was not there; that he did not pass the bridge of Calonne, but remained always behind the Scheld. In short, it is said that the Parliament of Paris issued an arret, which condemned to prison, to banishment and to the punishment of whipping, all who should publish any accounts of this battle. We know well enough that such extravagant impostures are not worthy of being refuted. But as there has been found in England a man so totally deprived of good sense and knowledge, to write such singular absurdities as this history abounds with, there may also be found readers capable of believing them; it is but just therefore that we prevent their credulity. *Voltaire.*

C H A P. XVI.

Consequences of the Battle of Fontenoy.

WHAT is as remarkable as this victory, is, that the first care of the King of France was to write the same day to the Abbé de la Ville, his Minister at the Hague, signifying that he desired to reap no other fruit from his conquests but the pacification of Europe, and that he was ready to send his Plenipotentiaries to a Congress. The States-General were surprised, and greatly suspected the sincerity of the King's offer; and what astonished them more was, that the offer was eluded by the English and the Queen of Hungary. This Queen, who was at once engaged in a war in Silesia against the King of Prussia; in Italy against the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans; and on the Maine against the French army; might have been supposed inclined to have made overtures of peace herself, which she seemed so much to stand in need of: but the English Court, which governed its allies, would not consent to it. Revenge and prejudices influence Courts as well as individuals.

In the mean time, the King sent M. de la Tour, an Aid-Major of the army, and a very intelligent officer, to carry the news of the victory to the King of Prussia, who met the King at the bottom of Lower Saxony, on the side of Ratibon, in the defile of a mountain near a village called Friedberg*. There he saw this Monarch obtain a signal victory over the Austrians. He replied to his ally the King of France: "I have paid at Friedberg
 * "the bill of exchange you drew on me from Fontenoy."

The King of France on his side had all the advantages the victory of Fontenoy could give. The town and citadel of Tournay surrendered in a few days after the battle. Marshal Saxe had secretly concerted with the King the taking of Ghent, the capital of Austrian Flanders;

* June 4, 1745.

ders; a town more large than populous, though rich and flourishing from the remains of its ancient splendor.

One of the military operations which reflected the greatest honour on the Marquis de Louvois in the war of 1689, was the siege of Ghent. He had determined upon this siege, because it was the enemy's magazine. Louis XV. had just the same reason to make himself master of it. According to the finish of war, every motion which could deceive the enemy's army, now retired towards Brussels, was made. Some measures were taken also, that the Marquis du Chaila on one side, and the Count de Lowendhal on the other, should appear before Ghent at the same instant. The garrison consisted at that time of only six hundred men. The inhabitants were enemies to the French, though at all times averse to the Austrian government; but very different, in point of bravery, from what they were when they composed an army themselves. These two secret marches were made according to the General's direction, when the enterprise was on the point of miscarrying by one of these events so common in war.

The English, although conquered at Fontenoy, were neither dispersed nor discouraged. They saw from the environs of Brussels, where they were posted, the evident danger with which Ghent was threatened; they therefore ordered a body of six thousand men to march to the defence of this city. This corps advanced towards Ghent, upon the causeway of Alost, precisely at the time that Monsi. du Chaila was only at a league distance upon the same causeway, marching with three brigades of cavalry, and two of infantry, composed of the regiments of Normandy, Crillon and Laval, twenty pieces of cannon, and a number of floating bridges. The artillery was already in the front, and beyond that was Monsi. Grassin, with a party of his light troops which he had raised himself. It was night and every thing quiet, when the six thousand English arrived and attacked the *Grassins*, who had but just time to shelter themselves in a farm-house, near the abbey of Mûle, from whence this battle has taken its name. The English

English being informed that the French were upon the causeway, at a distance from their artillery, which was advanced, guarded only by fifty men, marched up and took it. All seemed lost. The Marquis de Crillon, who was already advanced within three hundred paces of them, saw the English become masters of the cannon, which they turned against him, and were going to discharge*. He very calmly formed his determination in an instant, and lost not a moment to execute it. He pushed on with his regiment towards the enemy on one side, while the young Marquis of Laval advanced with another battalion. They retook the cannon, and maintained their ground. During the time that the Marquis de Crillon and de Laval thus checked the English, a single company of Normandy, which were near the abbey, defended themselves against them.

Two battalions of Normandy arrived in haste. The young Count of Perigord commanded them. He was sent to the Marquis of Talleirand, (of a House which had been sovereign) unfortunately slain before Tourney, and had just obtained, at seventeen years of age, this Norman regiment, which his father had commanded before him. He advanced the first at the head of a company of grenadiers. The English battalion attacked by him threw down their arms.

Messrs. du Chaila and de Souvré appeared very soon after upon this causeway with the cavalry. The English were surrounded on all sides, but still defended themselves. The Marquis de Graville was wounded; but at length they were entirely routed.

M. d'Azincour, a Norman Captain, with only forty men, made the Lieutenant-Colonel of Rich's regiment prisoner, with eight Captains, and two hundred and eighty soldiers, who laid down their arms, and surrendered to him. Nothing could equal their surprise; when they saw that they had surrendered to forty Frenchmen only. M. d'Azincour conducted his prisoners to M. de Graville, holding the point of his sword to the English Lieutenant-Colonel's breast, and threatened to kill him, if his soldiers made the least resistance.

* July 9, 1745.

Another Norman Captain, M. de Montalambert, with fifty of his soldiers took an hundred and fifty English. Three squadrons of cavalry were put to flight, near the end of the action, by a number nearly equal to the former, commanded by M. de Saint Sauveur, Captain of the King's regiment of cavalry: in short, the extraordinary success of this battle reflected, perhaps, the greatest honour on the French, or any in all this campaign, and struck their enemies with the greatest consternation. What still more characterises this day, is, that this battle, as well as that of Fontenoy, was gained by the presence of mind and courage of the French officers.

They arrived before Ghent just at the time fixed by Marshal Saxe. They entered the town sword in hand without plundering it, and the garrison with the citadel were taken prisoners.

One of the extraordinary advantages reaped from the possession of this town was, the gaining of an immense magazine of ammunition, provisions, forage, arms, and cloaths, which the allies had deposited in Ghent. This was a small indemnification for the expenses of the war, which had been before as unfortunate as it was now glorious under the eye of the King.

At the same time the citadel of Ghent was taken, Oudenarde was also invested *; and the Marquis de Souvée made himself master of Bruges, the same day that M. de Lowendhal opened the trenches before Oudenarde, which surrendered after three days.

Scarcely was the King of France master of one town, than he caused two to be besieged at the same time. The Duke d'Harcourt took Dendermonde, two days after opening the trenches, notwithstanding the opening of the sluices, which made a general inundation; and at the same time Count de Lowendhal laid siege to Ostend.

This siege was reckoned the most difficult. It was remembered that Ostend sustained a siege of three years and three months, at the beginning of the last century. By a comparison of the plan of the fortifications of this place with those existing when it was taken by Spinola, it appeared that Spinola ought to have taken it in fifteen

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* July 29, 1745.

teen days, and M. de Lowendhal to have been before it three years, the fortifications were now so much superior. M. de Chanclos, Lieutenant-General of the Austrian army, defended it with a garrison of four thousand men, one-half of which were English; but the terror and dismay were so great, that the Governor capitulated as soon as the Marquis d'Hérouville, a man worthy of being at the head of the engineers, and equally useful as a good citizen and an officer, had taken the covered way on the side of the Downs.

An English fleet which brought succours to the town, and cannonaded the besiegers, came there only to be witnesses of its being taken. This loss threw the English Court and the United Provinces into great consternation.

Nieuport was the only place remaining to complete the conquest of all the Province of Flanders, properly so called; and the King ordered it to be besieged.

In this situation of affairs, the English Ministry began to reflect that the French had the superiority of prisoners. The detaining Marshal Belle Isle and his brother had totally suspended the cartel. These two Generals had been taken prisoners, in violation of the law of Nations, and they set them at liberty without ransom. In effect, they could have no pretence to demand any, after having declared them state-prisoners; and it was the interest of England to get the cartel restored.

In the mean time the King departed for Paris, where he arrived the seventh of September, 1745. No addition could be made to the reception that had been given him the preceding year. The same festivals and rejoicings took place; but they had besides to celebrate the victories of Fontenoy and of Môle, and the conquest of the Province of Flanders.

Aug. 25, 1745.

C H A P. XVII.

Affairs of Germany. Francis of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany, elected Emperor. The Armies of Austria and Saxony defeated by Frederic III. King of Prussia. The Taking of Dresden.

THE success of Louis XV. increased daily in the Low-Countries. The superiority of his armies, the facility of the service in every respect, the dispersion and discouragement of the allies, their disunion, and above all, the capacity of Marshal Saxe, who, having recovered his health, acted with more activity than ever; all these circumstances combined formed a chain of uninterrupted success which has no example, except the conquests of Louis XIV. Every thing was favourable also in Italy for Don Philip. An alarming revolution in England at this time endangered the throne of George II. as will be seen hereafter; but the Queen of Hungary enjoyed another glory and another advantage, which cost no blood, and accomplished her chief and most desirable object. She never lost hopes of placing the Imperial crown upon the head of her husband, even in the life time of Charles VII.; and after the death of this Emperor, she believed herself sure of it, notwithstanding the King of Prussia was at war with her, that the Elector-Palatine refused his consent, and a French army which lay near Frankfurt might obstruct the election. This was the army commanded at first by Marshal Maillebois, and which, since the beginning of May, 1745, had been under the orders of the Prince de Conti: but twenty thousand men had been drawn from it to increase the army at Fontenoy. The Prince could not prevent the junction of all the troops which the Queen of Hungary had in this part of Germany, and which came and covered Frankfurt, where the election was made as quietly as in time of peace.

Thus

Thus France failed in the great object of the war, which was to deprive the House of Austria of the Imperial throne. The election was made September 13, 1745. The King of Prussia by his Ambassadors declared the election to be null and void. The Elector-Palatine, whose countries had been ravaged by the Austrian armies, entered a protest to the same purport. The Electoral Ambassadors of these two Princes retired from Frankfort; but this made no alteration in the form of the election, because it is said in the Golden Bull, "That if the Electors, or their Ambassadors, retire from the place of election before the King of the Romans the future Emperor is elected, they shall be deprived of their right of suffrage for that time, as being judged to have abandoned it."

The Queen of Hungary (now Empress) came to Frankfort to enjoy her triumph and the coronation of her husband. She saw from a balcony the ceremony of the entry, and was the first who cried, "Long live the Emperor!" and all the people answered with acclamations of joy and affection. This was the happiest day of her life. Afterwards she went to see her army ranged in order of battle near Heidelberg, to the number of sixty thousand men. The Emperor her spouse received her sword-in-hand at the head of the army. She passed between the lines, saluted every body, dined under a tent, and ordered a florin to be distributed to every soldier.

It was the fate of this Princess, and of the affairs that disturbed her reign, that the most lucky events were balanced on all sides by equal disgraces. The Emperor Charles VII. lost Bavaria at the time they were crowning him Emperor; and the Queen of Hungary lost a battle while she was preparing the coronation of her husband Francis I. The King of Prussia was again victor at Sore, near the source of the Elbe †.

There are times when a Nation constantly preserves its superiority. This has been evinced in the Swedes, under Charles XII.; in the English, under the Duke of Marlborough; in the French in Flanders, under Louis XV. and Marshal Saxe; and in the Prussians, under Frederick.

* October 25. † 1745.

Frederick III. The Empress lost Flanders, and had much to fear from the King of Prussia in Germany, at the time that she had seated her husband on the throne of her father.

At this very time, when the King of France, conqueror in Italy and the Low-Countries, was constantly proposing peace, the King of Prussia, victorious on his side, demanded also the mediation of Elizabeth Empress of Russia. Conquerors were never yet known to make so many overtures; and this may appear astonishing, but at present it is dangerous to be too victorious. All the Powers of Europe sooner or later will take arms when there is any one in motion: nothing is to be seen but leagues, and counter-leagues supported by numerous armies. There is now great difficulty through the circumstances of the times to keep a conquered Province.

In the midst of these great perplexities, an unprecedented offer of a mediation was received which could not be expected: this was from the Grand Turk. His Prime Minister wrote to all the Christian Courts which were at war, and exhorted them to cease the effusion of human blood, and offered them the mediation of his master. Such an offer had no consequences; but at least it ought to have served to make so many Christian Powers recollect themselves, who, having begun a war through interest, had continued it through obstinacy, and would finish it only through necessity. In reality, this mediation of the Sultan of the Turks was offered in return for the peace which the King of France had accomplished between the Emperor of Germany, Charles VI. and the Ottoman Porte, in 1739.

The King of Prussia took other measures to bring about the peace, and to preserve Silesia. His troops completely beat the Austrians and Saxons at the gates of Dresden. It was the famous old Prince of Anhalt who gained this decisive victory †. He had been a warrior fifty years,

* This was no reproach to *Christianity*, though a severe reproof to the Powers of Christendom, too laxly styled *Christian* Princes. *Translator.*

† December 15, 1746.

and was the first who entered the lines of the French army at Turin, in 1707. For conducting the infantry, he was esteemed the most experienced officer in Europe. This great battle was the last that filled up the measure of his military glory; the only one he had ever enjoyed: for fighting was his sole province.

The King of Prussia fought in more than one kind of war, shut up the town of Dresden on all sides. He entered it at the head of ten battalions and ten squadrons; disarmed three regiments of the militia which composed the garrison; went to the palace, where he visited the two Princes and the three Princesses the children of the King of Poland, who resided in it; embraced them, and shewed them all the marks of tenderness and regard which might be expected from the most polite man of his age. He ordered the shops and warehouses which had been shut up to be opened; gave a dinner to all the foreign Ministers; had an Italian opera played; in fine, it was scarcely perceptible that the town was in the power of the conqueror; and the taking of Dresden was signalized only by the entertainments that he gave there.

But what was still more extraordinary, he entered Dresden only on the 18th of December, 1742, and made a peace there with Austria and Saxony on the 25th of the same month, leaving all the weight of the war upon the King of France.

Maria-Theresa in this second peace renounced with reluctance her pretensions to Silesia; and Frederick gave her no other advantage than the acknowledgement of Francis I. for Emperor. The Elector Palatine, as a contracting party in the treaty, acknowledged the same; and it cost the King of Poland Elector of Saxony only one million of crowns, German money, which he was to give to the conqueror, with interest to the day of payment.

The King of Prussia returned to Berlin to enjoy peace, the fruit of his victory. He was received under triumphal arches, the people strewing branches of fir-trees before him,
for

for want of better, and crying, "Long live Frederick the Great!"

This Prince, successful both in his wars and in his treaties, now applied himself solely to perfecting the laws, and the encouragement of arts in his dominions. He passed all of a sudden from the tumults of war to a philosophical retirement. He closely applied himself to poetry, to eloquence, and history; all which were equally parts of his character. In this respect he is more famous than Charles XII. He never considered him as a great man, because he was only an hero. We shall not enter here into any detail of the victories of the King of Prussia. He has written them himself. Cæsar alone could write his own Commentaries.

The King of France, deprived a second time of this important succour, nevertheless still continued his conquests. The object of the war now on the part of France was, to force the Queen of Hungary, by her losses in Flanders, to cede what she disputed in Italy, and to oblige the States-General at least to return again to that neutrality from which they had departed.

The Queen of Hungary wanted to make retaliation upon France for the loss she had sustained from the King of Prussia. This project, acknowledged afterwards by the Court of England to be impracticable, was then approved of, and embraced accordingly; for there are seasons when all the world are blind. The Empire given to Francis I. encouraged them to think that the Circles would determine to take up arms against France; and the Court of Vienna spared no pains to engage them in such a measure.

The Empire constantly remained neuter, as all Italy had done at the beginning of this chaos of war; but the hearts of the Germans were with Maria-Theresa.

C H A P XVIII.

*Continuation of the Conquest of the Austrian Lo -Countries.
Battle of Liege.*

THE King of France being set out for Paris after the taking of Ostend, was informed upon the road that Nieupoort had surrendered, and that the garrison were made prisoners of war *. Soon after, the Count de Clermont Gallerande took the town of Aeth †. Marshal Saxe invested Brussels in the beginning of the winter ‡. This city it is well known is the capital of Brabant, and the residence of the Governors of the Austrian Netherlands. The Count de Camnitz commanded in this city as Prime-Minister, acting in the room of Prince Charles, Governor-General of the Lo -Countries. The Count de Lanoy, Lieutenant-General of the armies, was Governor of the garrison. General Vanderdein, on the part of the Dutch, commanded eighteen battalions and seven squadrons of their forces. There were no Austrian troops, except one hundred and fifty dragoons, and as many hussars. The Empress-Queen confided in the English and Dutch for the defence of these countries; and they always bore the burden of the war in Flanders. Field-Marshal Los Rios; the two Princes of Ligne, the one a General of infantry, and the other of cavalry; General Chanclos, who had surrendered Ostend; five Austrian Lieutenant-Generals, with a crowd of nobility, were besieged in this capital, where the Queen of Hungary had in effect a great many more officers than soldiers.

The shattered remains of the Emperor's army were retired towards Mechlin, under the Prince of Waldeck, and could not oppose the siege, Marshal Saxe having suddenly ordered his army to march in four columns by four different routes. In this siege no person of distinction was lost, except the Chevalier d'Aubeterre, Colonel

* Sept. 5, 1745. † Oct. 8, 1745. ‡ Jan. 19, 1746.

of the regiment of marines. The garrison, with all the general-officers, were made prisoners*. They might have captured the Prime-Minister, and had a greater right to take him than the Hanoverians had to seize Marshal Belleisle. The Resident of the States-General was also in their power; but they not only left them both at full liberty, but took particular care of their effects and attendants, and furnished them with escorts. They likewise restored to Prince Charles all his equipages and donesses, which were found in the town, and also deposited in the magazines all the arms of the military, in readiness for an exchange.

The King, who had so many advantages over the Hollanders, and about thirty thousand of their troops prisoners of war, in a manner governed this Republic. The States-General found themselves in a perplexed situation: the storm was approaching them, and they were sensible of their weakness. The Magistracy was desirous of peace; but the English party, who had already taken every possible measure that could place a Stadtholder at the head of this Republic, being seconded by the people, insisted upon a continuation of the war. The States thus divided acted without principle, and their conduct demonstrated their confusion.

The general panic and division redoubled in the United Provinces when they were informed, at the opening of the campaign, that the King was marching in person towards Antwerp, at the head of one hundred and twenty battalions and one hundred and ninety squadrons. Formerly, when the Republic of Holland established itself by force of arms, she destroyed all the grandeur of Antwerp, the greatest commercial city of Europe, prohibited the navigation of the Scheldt, and afterwards aggravated its fallen state, especially since the alliance of the States-General with the House of Austria. Neither the Emperor Leopold, Charles VI. nor the Empress-Queen, his daughter, ever had any other vessel upon the Scheldt but a custom-house barge to collect the duties of import and export. But notwithstanding the States-General had humbled Antwerp to this degree, and ruined its merchants, yet the Hol-

* February 21, 1746.

Hollanders regarded it as a rampart to their country. This rampart was soon broken down *.

The Prince of Conti had under his command a separate body of the army, with which he invested Mons †, the capital of Austrian Hanault; twelve battalions which defended it serving to encrease the number of prisoners of war, half of whom were Dutch. The Austrians never lost so many places, nor the Dutch so many foldiers. St. Guillaum shared the same fate ‡, and Charleroy soon followed §; the Lower Town was taken by assault, the trenches being opened only two days. The Marquis (afterwards Marshal) de la Fare took possession of Charleroy upon the same conditions as were imposed on the other towns that had made any resistance; that is, the garrison were made prisoners. The grand project was to go to Mastricht, from whence they could easily command the United Provinces; but to leave nothing behind in Flanders, it was necessary to lay siege to the important town of Namur. Prince Charles, who at that time commanded the army, made every possible effort to prevent the siege, but in vain.

Namur is situated on the conflux of the Sambre and the Meuse. The citadel is built upon a steep rock; and twelve other forts built upon the ridges of the neighbouring mountain, seem to render it inaccessible to any attack: it is one of the barrier towns. The Prince de Gavres was Governor for the Empress Queen; but the Dutch, who were in garrison, neither paid him obedience nor respect. The environs of this town are celebrated by the marches and encampments of Marshal de Luxembourg, Marshal de Boufflers, and King William; and are also not less famous for the manœuvres of Marshal Saxe. He forced Prince Charles to depart the town, and leave him at liberty to besiege it ¶.

The Prince de Clermont had the charge of the siege of Namur, which was in effect to take twelve places. He attacked several of the forts at once, and they were all carried. Mons. Brulart, Aid-Major General, placed the pioneers behind the grenadiers in a work which they had taken, and promised them double pay if they would execute their business with diligence; but they did it

with

* March 17. † July 10. ‡ July 14. § Aug. 2. Sept. 5.

with more speed than was expected, and refused any advanced pay.

I cannot enter into a minute account of the remarkable actions which passed at this and all the other sieges. There are few events of war wherein the officers and soldiers do not perform such surprising acts of valour, as even astonish those who are witnesses of them, and which afterwards are buried for ever in oblivion. If a General, a Prince, or a Monarch, had performed one of these actions, they would have been consecrated to posterity; but their multitude soon renders them forgotten; and in all kinds of transactions the principal only remain in the memory of mankind. However, Fort Ballard, taken in the open day by three officers only, must not be passed over in silence. M. de Launai, Aid-Major, M. d'Anmere, Captain in the regiment of Champagne, and M. de Clamouze, a young Portugeuze of the same regiment, leaping alone into the trenches, made the garrison lay down their arms.

The trenches were opened before Namur on the 10th of September, and the town capitulated on the 19th, 1740. By the articles of capitulation, the garrison, consisting of twelve battalions, ten of which were Dutch, were obliged to retire into the citadel and some other castles; and at the end of eleven days fresh articles were drawn, in which they were all made prisoners of war.

After the taking of Namur, it remained either to disperse or beat the allied army, which was encamped at that time on this side the Meuse, having Maestricht on the right, and Liege on the left. The two armies observed each other's motions, and had many skirmishes for several days; the Jar dividing them.

Marshal Saxe, intending to come to an engagement, marched towards the enemy on the 11th of October, at break of day, in ten columns. The two armies were seen from the suburbs of Liege, as from an amphitheatre. The French were an hundred and twenty thousand strong, and the allies only eighty thousand. The enemy extended along the Meuse from Liege to Viset, behind five fortified villages. The present method of attack-

attacking an army is the same as that of a town, battering it with cannon. The allies had to fear, that after being driven from these villages they could not pass the river. Thus they risked their total destruction, which was what Marshal Saxe wished for.

The only general-officer that the French lost in this engagement was the Marquis de Fenelon, nephew to the immortal Archbishop of Cambray. He was brought up under the care of his uncle, and possessed all his virtues, though in a character quite different. Twenty years embassy to Holland had not extinguished a military ardour and a noble daring, which cost him his life. Having been wounded in the foot forty years before, and scarcely able to walk, he rushed upon the intrenchments of the enemy on horseback. He sought death, and found it. His extraordinary devotion augmented his intrepidity. He thought that the most pleasing action in the sight of God was to die for his Sovereign. It must be acknowledged, that an army composed of men who should embrace this opinion, would be invincible. The French had but few persons of distinction wounded in this battle. The son of Count de Segur received a ball in his breast, which was immediately extracted from the spinal bone; and he survived by an operation more severe than the wound itself. The Marquis de Lujac had his jaw-bone broke, his tongue cut, and both his cheeks pierced by a musquet-shot. The Marquis de Laval, who distinguished himself at Mêle, the Prince of Monaco, the Marquis de Vaubecour, and the Count de Barleroy, were dangerously wounded.

This battle was only blood spilt in vain, and one calamity more; for both parties neither gained nor lost ground, and each took their former quarters. The beaten army advanced even close to Tongres. The victorious one passed by way of Louvain into the midst of its conquests, and retired to enjoy the sweets of a repose which the season commonly requires in these countries, to wait the return of the spring, in order to renew those cruelties and misfortunes which the winter only suspended.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XV.

C H A P. XIX.

*Success of the Infant Don Philip and Marshal Maillebois,
followed by great Disasters.*

IN Italy, and towards the Alps, the face of affairs was very different, and an extraordinary scene passed there at this time. The most sad reverse of fortune had succeeded to the most rapid success. The House of France lost more in Italy than it had gained in Flanders; and these losses seemed to be more irreparable than their success in Flanders appeared useful, because the establishment of Don Philip was then the true object of the war. If they were conquered in Italy, they had no resource left for this establishment; and it was in vain to have been victorious in Flanders; for they were sensible that sooner or later they must give up their conquests, and that they were only as a pledge or a transient surety to indemnify them for the losses they might sustain elsewhere. The Circles of Germany remained neuter, and every thing was in tranquility upon the borders of the Rhine. In effect, Spain was become the principal party in the war. By sea and by land the war was carried on solely for her; and she never lost sight of Parma, Placentia, and the Milanese. Of so many dominions disputed with the heirs of the House of Austria, there remained only these Provinces of Italy to which any claims could be laid.

Since the foundation of the monarchy, this war was the only one in which France was barely an auxiliary. She was no more in the cause of the Emperor Charles VII. to the time of his death, and in that of the Infant Don Philip till the peace.

At the beginning of the campaign of 1745 in Italy, appearances were as favourable for France, as they were for Austria in 1741. The roads were open to the French and Spanish armies, by the way of Genoa. This

Republic, forced by the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia to declare war against them, had at last concluded a definitive treaty, and were to furnish about eighteen thousand men. The Spaniards gave them thirty thousand piaſtres a-month, and one hundred thousand at one payment for the uſe of the artillery with which they furniſhed the Spaniſh army; for in this long and varied war, the wealthy and powerful States always kept the others in pay. Don Philip's army, which deſcended with the French from the Alps, joined to the Genoefe troops, was reputed to conſiſt of eighty thousand men. That of Count de Gages, who had purſued the Germans to the environs of Rome, advanced, and with the Neapolitan army was about thirty thousand ſtrong. This was juſt at the time that the King of Prussia, operating on the ſide of Saxony, and the Prince of Conti on the Rhine, prevented the Auſtrian forces from ſuccouring Italy. The Genoefe even had the boldneſs to declare war in form againſt the King of Sardinia *. The deſign was, that the Spaniſh and Neapolitan army ſhould join the French and Spaniſh forces in the Milanefe.

About the month of March, 1745, the Duke of Modena and Count de Gages, at the head of the Spaniſh and Neapolitan army, had purſued the Auſtrians from the environs of Rome to Rimini, from Rimini to Ceſene, to Imola, to Forli, to Bologna, and at laſt quite to Modena.

Maſhal Maillebois, a pupil of the celebrated Villars, appointed Captain-General of Don Philip's army, arrived ſoon after, by the way of Vintimiglia and Oneglia, and came down towards Montferrat about the end of the month of June, at the head of the Spaniards and French.

From the ſmall Principality of Oneglia there is a deſcent into the Marquiſate of Final, which is at the extremity of the territory of Genoa, and is the entrance into Mantuan-Montferrat, a country thick ſet with rocks which are a continuation of the Alps. After marching

* June 2^d, 1745.

through the valleys between these rocks, the fertile country of Alexandria presents itself, and the direct road to Milan is from Alexandria to Tortona. Some miles farther is the passage of the Po; next, Pavia appears upon the Tesino; and from Pavia it is but a day's journey to the famous city of Milan, which is not fortified, and always sends its keys to whomsoever passes the Tesino; but which has a very strong castle, capable of making a vigorous and long resistance.

To seize on this country, it is only necessary to make forced marches; to keep a sharp look-out to the right and left is expedient, over a vast extent of country; also to be master of the course of the Po, from Casal to Cremona; and to guard the Oglio, a river which falls from the Alps of the Tirol; or at least to be in possession of Lodi, Crema, and Pizzighitona, in order to block up the road against the Germans who may arrive from Trent, in this way. In fine, a free communication more especially must be had behind these places with the river of Genoa; that is to say, with the strait pass which runs by the side of the sea from Antibes to Monaco and Vintimiglia, in order to have a sure retreat in case of misfortune. All the posts of this country are known and distinguished by as many battles as the territory of Flanders.

This Italian campaign, which finished so unhappily, commenced with one of the most brilliant manœuvres that ever was performed; and which would suffice to have established a memorable glory, if great actions were not in these times buried in the vast multitude of the battles, and besides, if this happy event had not been followed by disasters.

The King of Sardinia at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and Count Schulenburg with a number of Austrians pretty nearly equal, were entrenched in a creek or bay which was formed by the Tanaro near where it discharges itself into the Po, between Valentia and Alexandria.

Marshal Maillebois, who commanded the French army, and Count Gages, General of the Spanish troops, were
not

not able to force the King of Sardinia and drive him from his post, while he was supported by the Imperial forces. A son of the Marshal's, then young, formed a scheme to separate them, in order to which it was necessary to deceive the Austrians. He resolved his plan, combining all the chances upon the distance of the places. "Should a large detachment direct its march towards Milan, Schulenburgh will not suffer the town to be taken; and by posting to its relief, he must leave the King of Sardinia exposed. The detachment suddenly faces about and joins our army, before the Austrians can recover their former station; we shall then have but half the enemy's forces to engage. This brisk and unexpected attack must throw them into confusion."

Every thing came to pass just as the young Count Maillebois had foreseen and arranged them. The French and Spanish troops crossed the Tanaro with the water up to their middle. They forced the camp of the King of Sardinia, and obliged him to retreat towards Casal in Piedmont; by which means they became masters of the intire course of the Po.

Just at the time that the King of France had conquered Flanders, the King of Prussia, his ally, strengthened his cause by new successes: every thing was then favourable in all the different scenes of the theatre of war.

At the end of the year 1745, the French and Spaniards found themselves masters of Montferiat, of Alexandria, of the Tortonese, of the country behind Genoa that is called the Imperial Fiefs of the Lomeline, of the Pavésan, of the Lodésan, of Milan, of almost all the Milanese, and of Parma and Placentia. All these successes followed rapidly, like those of the King of France in the Low-Countries, and of Prince Edward in Scotland; while the King of Prussia, on his part, beat the Austrian troops in Lower Germany. But in Italy, precisely the same thing happened as in Bohemia at the beginning of this war. The most favourable appearances covered the greatest calamities.

The intentions of the King of Prussia, in making war, were to annoy the House of Austria as much as possible;

in making peace, to do as much mischief to that of France. The peace of Breslau lost her Bohemia; and that of Dresden, Italy.

Scarcely was the Empress-Queen a second time rid of this enemy, than she sent fresh troops into Italy, by the Tirol and the Trentin, during the winter of 1746. The Infant Don Philip was in possession of Milan, but not of the castle. His mother, the Queen of Spain, ordered him positively to attack it. Marshal Maillebois wrote thus in the month of December 1745: "I foresee a total destruction, if we obstinately remain in the Milanese." The Spanish Council persisted in it, and all was lost.

The troops of the Empress-Queen on one side, and the Piedmontese on the other, gained ground everywhere. The surrender of places and redoubled losses greatly diminished the combined armies of France and Spain; and, at last, the fatal battle of Placentia reduced them to leave Italy with difficulty, and in a deplorable condition.

The Prince of Lichtenstein commanded the army of the Empress-Queen. He was yet in the flower of his age. In his early youth he was sent Ambassador from the father of this Empress to the Court of France, where he acquired universal esteem. He merited still more by his conduct and courage at the battle of Placentia; for finding himself in the same state of sickness and languor which Marshal Saxe laboured under at the battle of Fontenoy, he surmounted like him the excess of his disorder to fly to the battle, and he gained as complete a victory. This battle was the longest and most bloody, of all the war. Marshal Maillebois began the attack three hours before day *, and remained conqueror a long time on the right wing, which he commanded; but the left wing of the army being surrounded by a superior number of Austrians, and General Arambourg wounded and taken prisoner, it was entirely defeated; and after nine hours combat they were obliged to retire under Placentia.

If the ancient method of close fighting were in practice, an engagement of nine hours, battalion against bat-

talion,

June 16, 1746.

talion, squadron against squadron, and man to man, would destroy whole armies, and Europe would have been depopulated by the prodigious number of battles that have been fought in our days: but in these combats, as I have already remarked, they seldom close. Muskets and cannon are less destructive than the pike or the sword were formerly. They are a long time even without firing; and in the enclosed country of Italy, where they fire through hedges, a great deal of time is lost in seizing a trifling post, in pointing the cannon, in forming and reforming:—thus nine hours of battle are not so many hours of destruction.

The loss of the Spaniards, of the French, and some Neapolitan regiments, amounted, however, to above eight thousand men killed and wounded, besides four thousand being made prisoners. At last, the army of the King of Sardinia arrived, and then the danger was doubled; for the whole army of the three Powers of France, Spain, and Naples, were in danger of being made prisoners.

At this unfortunate juncture the Infant Don Philip received a piece of news, which, according to all appearances, was to fill up the measure of his misfortunes. This was the death of his father Philip V. King of Spain *. This monarch, after having undergone many reverses of fortune, and in his youth been twice obliged to abandon his capital, at last reigned peaceably in Spain; and if he did not revive the splendor this monarchy enjoyed in the time of Philip II. he at least placed it in a more flourishing state than it was in under Philip IV. and Charles II. He had only to suffer the hard necessity of always seeing Gibraltar, Minorca, and the commerce of the Spanish Empire in America, in the hands of the English, who had ever disturbed the happiness of his administration. The conquest of Oran from the Moors in 1732; the crown of Naples and Sicily, taken from the Austrians, and placed upon the head of his son Don Carlos; signalized his reign: and some time before his death, he flattered himself with seeing the Milanese, Parma, and Placentia, submit to

* July 9, 1746.

the Infant Don Philip, his other son by his second marriage with the Princess of Parma.

Precipitated, like other princes, into those great designs which put almost all Europe in motion, he experienced more than any one the vanity of grandeur, and the grievous necessity of sacrificing so many thousands of men to interests which change every day. Disgusted with sovereignty, he had abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son Don Louis, and reassumed it again after the death of that Prince; always ready to quit it, as having from his melancholy disposition experienced nothing but the bitterness that is attached to human life, even in the midst of arbitrary power.

The news of the King's death arriving at the army after the defeat, augmented the embarrassment in which they were all involved. They were yet uncertain if Ferdinand VI. successor of Philip V. would do as much for his brother-in-law, as Philip had done for his son. The remaining part of this flourishing army of the triple alliance were in greater danger than ever of being shut up without any resource. They were between the Po, the Lambro, the Tidona, and the Trebia. To fight in an open country, or in an advantageous post, against a superior army, is very common; but to save conquered and surrounded troops very rare: this is the master-piece of the military art.

The Count de Maillebois (son of the Marshal) was so hardy as to propose a skirmishing retreat. He undertook this enterprize, conducted it under the eye of his father, and accomplished it. The three armies passed safely in a day and a night over three bridges with four thousand mules laden, and a thousand provision-waggons, forming themselves along the Tidona. Measures were so well taken, that the Sardinians and Austrians could not attack them till they were in a state of defence. The French and Spanish armies supported a long and obstinate engagement, in which they were not once thrown into disorder.

This day, more esteemed by the judges of the military science than admired by the vulgar, was reckoned a
happy

happy one, because the object proposed was accomplished: it was, however, extremely disagreeable to retreat by Tortona, and to leave Placentia and the whole country in the power of the enemy. In effect, the day after this extraordinary battle Placentia surrendered, and above three thousand sick were made prisoners of war.

Of all this great army which was to subdue Italy, six thousand effective men only were left at Tortona. The same thing happened in the time of Louis XIV. after the battle of Turin. Francis I. Louis XII. and Charles VIII. underwent the same disgraces:—useful lessons, though never attended to!

They retired immediately to Gavi *, towards the confines of the Genoese. The Infant and the Duke of Modena went to Genoa; but, instead of being secure there, their alarms were augmented. Genoa was blocked up by an English fleet; and they had no provisions to support the few cavalry that still remained. Forty thousand Austrians and twenty thousand Piedmontese approached it. If they had remained in Genoa, they might have defended it; but they abandoned the Counties of Nice, Savoy, and Provence. The Marquis de la Mina, a new Spanish General, was sent to save the remains of the army. The Genoese besought him to stay, but they could obtain nothing.

Genoa is not a city that ought, like Milan, to carry its keys to whomsoever approaches it with an army. Besides the works of the city, there is a second rampart, of more than two leagues extent, formed by a chain of rocks. Beyond this double enclosure, the Appennine mountains in every part serve it as a fortification. The post of the Bocchetta, by which the enemy advanced, had been always deemed impregnable; yet the troops which guarded this post made no resistance, but went and joined the shattered army of the French and Spaniards, which had filed off by Vintimiglia. The consternation of the Genoese would not permit them even to attempt a defence. They had a considerable artillery, and the enemy no cannon at all;—but they did not wait its arrival, and terror precipitated them into every extremity they

* August 17.

they had reason to fear. The Senate dispatched four Senators to the defiles of the mountains, where the Austrians were encamped, to receive from General Brown, and the Marquis de Botta, d'Adorno, a Milanese, the Empress-Queen's Lieutenant-General, the terms they would be pleased to grant. They consented to surrender the possession of the town in twenty-four hours; to deliver up their own soldiers, with the French and Spanish, prisoners of war; and to yield up all the effects belonging to the subjects of France, Spain, and Naples. They stipulated also, that four Senators should be delivered as hostages at Milan; that they should pay upon the spot fifty thousand Genovins, which make about four hundred thousand French livres, till the conqueror should impose such taxes as he thought proper.†

It was remembered that Louis XIV. had formerly exacted of the Doge of Genoa, that he, with four Senators, should repair to Versailles and make an apology to him. To the Empress-Queen they added two more; but she placed her glory in refusing what Louis had exacted*. She was of opinion that there was little honour in humbling the weak, and only thought of raising heavy contributions on them, which she had more need of than the vain ambition of seeing the Doge of the little Republic of Genoa, with six Genese, at the feet of the Imperial throne.

Genoa was taxed at twenty-four millions of livres; enough to ruin it totally. This Republic little thought, at the beginning of the war for the succession of the House of Austria, that she should be made the victim of it: but when Europe takes arms, there is no little State which ought not to tremble.

The Austrian power, reduced in Flanders, but victorious in the Alps, was only embarrassed about the choice of the conquests she might make towards Italy. It appeared equally easy to enter Naples or Provence; but it

* This circumstance reflects a sort of retro-active disgrace upon the insolent vanity of *Le Grand Monarque*. When men are vain, they are vainer than women; and when women are great, they are greater than men. *Translator.*

would have been easier to have kept Naples. The Austrian Council believed, that after having taken Toulon and Marfeilles, there would be no difficulty in reducing the Two Sicilies, and that the passage to the Alps might be cut off from the French.

On the 28th of October, 1746, Marshal Maillebois was upon the Var, which separates France from Piedmont, with not quite eleven thousand men. The Marquis de la Mina did not bring back nine thousand. The Spanish General separated them from the French, and turned towards Savoy by the way of Dauphiny; for the Spaniards were always masters of this Duchy, which they were willing to preserve by abandoning the rest.

The conquerors passed the Var with near forty thousand men. The remains of the French army retired into Provence, in want of every thing; half the officers on foot; without ammunition or implements for destroying the bridges, and short of provisions.

The clergy, chief inhabitants, and the whole body of the people, ran to meet the Austrian detachments, to offer them contributions, and preserve themselves and families from being plundered.

Such were the effects of the revolutions of Italy during the conquest of the Low-Countries by the French, and while Prince Edward, of whom we shall speak hereafter, had won and lost the Kingdom of Scotland.

C H A P. XX.

The Austrians and Piedmontese enter into Provence; the English into Britany. Revolutions in Genoa, &c.

THE flames of war which began towards the Danube, and almost at the gates of Vienna, and had at first the appearance only of a few months duration, had reached after six years the coasts of France. Almost all Provence was become a prey to the Austrians. On
one

one side, their detachments desolated Dauphiny; on the other, they passed beyond the Durance*. Vence and Grace were abandoned to pillage. The English made descents into Britany, and their fleet anchored before Toulon and Marseilles, to assist their allies in taking those two cities, while other squadrons attacked the French possessions in Asia and America.

It was necessary to save Provence. Marshal Belleisle was sent there; but at first without money and without an army. It was his duty to repair the evils of an universal war, which he alone had occasioned. He saw nothing but desolation; a frightened militia; shattered regiments without discipline, who tore the very hay and straw from each other; the sumpter-mules dying for want of food, the enemy having ransacked and devoured every thing from the Var to the rivers d'Argent and Durance. The Infant Don Philip and the Duke of Modena were in the town of Aix, in Provence, where they waited the efforts of France and Spain to release them from their cruel situation.

Their resources were yet at a distance; their wants and dangers pressing. The Marshal found great difficulty to borrow in his own name fifty thousand crowns, to supply the most urgent occasions; and was obliged to perform the offices of Commissary and Comptroller. Afterwards, in proportion as the Government sent him some battalions and squadrons, he took possession of posts, by means of which he stopped the progress of the Austrians and Piedmontese. On one side he covered Castellane, Draguignan, and Brignoles, which the enemy were upon the point of taking.

In fine, at the beginning of January, 1747, finding himself sixty battalions and twenty two squadrons strong, and being seconded by the Marquis de la Mina, who furnished him with four or five thousand Spaniards, he saw himself in a condition of driving the enemy out of Provence, by pursuing them from post to post. They

* A river which runs through Provence.

were still more embarrassed than he, on account of the failure of provisions. This essential article renders the greatest part of invasions abortive. They had been furnished at first with provisions from Genoa ; but the surprising revolution of that place at this time, which all history cannot parallel, deprived them of a necessary support, and by that means obliged them to return to Italy.

C H A P. XXI.

Revolution of Genoa.

AT this time there happened in Genoa a revolution as important as it was unforeseen.

The Austrians used the rights of victory with rigour; and the Genoese having exhausted their resources, and paid all their stock out of St. George's Bank, which was sixteen millions, requested a release for the other eight : but on the 30th of November, 1746, it was signified to them on the part of the Empress-Queen, that they must not only discharge that sum, but also pay about the same sum for the maintenance of nine regiments quartered in the suburbs of St. Pierre des Arènes, of Bisagno, and in the neighbouring villages.

On the publication of these orders, despair seized all the inhabitants. Their commerce was sunk ; their credit lost ; their bank exhausted ; their magnificent country-houses, which embellished the environs of Genoa, pillaged ; the inhabitants treated by the soldiers as slaves : in short, they had nothing more to lose, except their lives ; and there was not a Genoese who at last did not appear fully determined to sacrifice even life itself, rather than bear any longer a treatment so shameful and severe.

Genoa, thus enslaved, still reckoned among her disgraces the loss of the Kingdom of Corsica, which had so long revolted against them ; and the malcontents of which
would

would without doubt be for ever supported by the conquerors. Corsica, which complained of being oppressed by Genoa in the same manner as Genoa was by the Austrians, rejoiced, in this chaos of revolutions, at the misfortunes of their masters. This additional weight of calamity was felt only by the Senate, which, in losing Corsica, lost nothing but a phantom of authority; but the rest of the Genoese were victims to those real afflictions which slavery brings along with it.

Some of the Senators fomented secretly and artfully the desperate resolutions that the inhabitants seemed disposed to take, in which they had occasion for the greatest circumspection; because, in all appearance, a rash and ill-supported revolt would bring destruction on the town and Senate. The emissaries of the Senators contented themselves with saying to the most reputable of the people, "How long is it that you will wait for the Austrians to cut your throats in the arms of your wives and children, and rob you of that small remainder of subsistence which you have left? Their troops are dispersed without the walls; and in the town only a few remain, who keep the guard of your gates. You are here upwards of thirty thousand capable of a coup-de-main;—is it not better to die than to behold the ruin of your country?" Many such discourses animated the people; but as yet they did not dare to stir, nor had any one the courage to erect the standard of Liberty.

The Austrians took cannon and mortars from the arsenal of Genoa for the expedition of Provence, and made the inhabitants draw them; who murmured, but still obeyed. An Austrian Captain * having rudely struck one of them who did not pull strong enough, this moment was a signal for the people to assemble; all was in motion, and they armed themselves with every thing they could find, stones, sticks, swords, muskets, and all sorts of instruments. These people, who, when the enemy was at a great distance, had not the least thought of defending their city, now began to defend it when that enemy was master of it. The Marquis de Botta, who was at St. Pierre des Arènes, thought this commo-
tion

tion would subside of itself, and that fear would soon take place of this transitory fury ; so that the next day he contented himself with reinforcing the guards at the gates, and sending a few detachments into the streets. The people re-assembled in greater numbers than the day before, ran to the palace, and demanded of the Doge the arms that were deposited there, who made no answer ; but the domestics shewed them another magazine, to which they fled, forced it open, and armed themselves. An hundred officers distributed themselves in the market-place ; the streets were barricaded ; and the order which the Austrians endeavoured as much as possible to restore in this sudden and furious insurrection, by no means abated the ardour of the Genoese.

It appears, that on this and the following days the consternation which had so long dispirited the minds of the Genoese, had got possession of the Germans. They did not attempt to quell the people with regular troops, but left them to encrease their numbers, and make themselves masters of the gates of St. Thomas and St. Michael.

The Senate, not yet certain that the people would be able to support what they had so well begun, sent a deputation to the Austrian General in St. Pierre des Arènes. The Marquis de Botta was negotiating when he should have taken up arms, and told the Senators that they should arm the Genoese troops which were left disarmed in the town, join the Austrians, and fall upon the rebels at a signal he should give : but it could not be expected that the Senate of Genoa should join the oppressors of their country to destroy its defenders, and complete its ruin.

The Germans, depending on the intelligences they had in the town, advanced * to the gate of Bisagno by the suburb of that name ; but were received by a discharge of cannon and musquetry. The inhabitants of Genoa now composed an army, beat the drum in the name of the whole people, and ordered all the citizens under pain of death to appear in arms, and range themselves under the standards

December 9, 1746.

standards of their respective quarters. The Germans were attacked in the suburbs of Bisagno and of St. Pierre des Arènes at once; the alarm-bell was heard at the same time in all the villages of the Vallies, and the peasants assembled to the number of twenty thousand. A Prince named Doria, at the head of the people, attacked the Marquis de Botta in St. Pierre des Arènes. The General and his nine regiments retired in disorder, leaving four thousand prisoners, and near one thousand killed, with all their magazines and equipages, and retreated to the post of Bocchetta, pursued continually by the simple peasants, and were forced at last to abandon this post also, and fly quite to Gavi.

Thus, by too much despising and overburdening the people, and being simple enough to believe that the Senate would join them even against the inhabitants who supported the Senate itself, the Austrians lost Genoa. All Europe saw with surprize that a weak body of people, totally unacquainted with arms, and whom neither their enclosure of rocks, nor the support of the Kings of France, Spain, and Naples, could save from the Austrian bondage, broke it themselves without any succours, and drove away their conquerors.

In these tumults many robberies were committed, and the houses of those Senators who were suspected of favouring the Austrian interest, were pillaged; but the most astonishing circumstance in this revolution was, that this same people, who had four thousand of their conquerors soldiers in prison, did not turn their forces against their masters. They had chiefs; but they had been pointed out to them by the Senate: and among these there was no one considerable enough to usurp the authority long. The people chose thirty-six citizens to govern them; but added four Senators, Grimaldi, Scaglia, Lomellini, and Fornari; and these four nobles secretly gave intelligence of all that passed to the Senate, which to appearance no longer interfered in the government; though it actually presided, and caused a public disavowal to be made at Vienna of the revolution it fomented at Genoa, and for which they dreaded the most
horrible

horrible vengeance. Its Minister at that Court declared, that the Genoese nobility had no hand in this alteration of affairs, which he stiled a revolt. The Council of Vienna, acting still as masters, and imagining they should soon be able to recover Genoa, notified to him that the Senate must instantly pay the remaining eight millions of the sum exacted from the Republic, and give thirty more for the damage suffered by their troops, restoring likewise all the prisoners, and executing justice on the seditious. These orders, which an enraged master might have given to his rebellious and impotent subjects, only served to confirm the Genoese in the resolution to defend themselves, and in the hopes of driving from their territories those whom they had chased out of their capital. Four thousand Austrians still remaining as hostages in the prisons of Genoa gave them farther encouragement.

In the mean time, the Austrians, aided by the Piedmontese, by quitting Provence, threatened to retake Genoa. One of the Austrian Generals had already reinforced his army with some troops of Albany accustomed to fight among rocks. These are the descendants of the ancient Epirotes, who pass for as great warriors as their ancestors. He gained these Epirotes by means of his uncle, the famous Schulenburg, who, after having resisted Charles XII. King of Sweden, defended Corfu against the Ottoman Empire. The Austrians then repassed the Bocchetta. They approached very near Genoa, and the country to the right and left was abandoned to the fury of the irregular troops, to sackage and devastation. All Genoa was in a consternation. Terror produced a secret correspondence with their oppressors; and to add to this misfortune, there was a great division at this time between the Senate and the people. The city had provisions, but no money; and eighteen thousand florins per diem were wanting to defray the expences of the militia who were skirmishing in the country, or who defended the city. The Republic had not one experienced officer, nor any regular disciplined forces. No succours could arrive but by sea, and then with the risque

of being taken by an English fleet, commanded by Admiral Medley, who was master of its coasts.

The King of France, however, sent the Senate a million of livres by a small vessel, who escaped the English fleet. The galleys of Toulon and Marseilles set sail with about six thousand soldiers. They put into Corsica and Monaco, partly on account of a storm, but chiefly thro' fear of the English fleet. This fleet took six of them, with about a thousand men; but at last the remainder reached Genoa, with about four thousand five hundred French troops *, which revived the hopes of the inhabitants.

Soon after, the Duke de Boufflers arrived, and took upon him the command of the forces which defended Genoa, whose numbers daily increased. This General had passed the English Admiral unnoticed in a small bark.

The Duke de Boufflers † found himself at the head of about eight thousand regular troops in a blockaded city, and expecting every moment to be besieged; in which there was no regularity, no provisions, no powder, and the chiefs of the people were at variance with the Senate. The Austrians always had some spies in it; and the Duke had as much trouble at first with those he came to defend, as those he came to engage. He re-established order every where; and provisions were landed in safety, on paying proper consideration to some of the Captains of the English fleet. Thus private interest repairs public misfortunes! The Austrians had some Friars in their interest; but the Genoese made use of the same arms with more success. The confessors were engaged to retute absolution to those who wavered between their country and the Austrians. An hermit put himself at the head of the militia, whom he encouraged by his zeal in haranguing them, and by his example in fighting. He was killed in one of the skirmishes which happened daily, and died exhorting the Genoese to defend themselves. The Genoese ladies pledged their jewels to the Jews for money, to defray the expences of the necessary fortifications.

* The arithmetic of this paragraph is not very correct. *Translator.*

† April 1747.

But the greatest of all encouragements was, the valour of the French troops, whom the Duke often sent out to attack the enemy in their posts beyond the double works of Genoa. They succeeded in almost all these little sallies, whose particular history at that time drew attention, but was afterwards lost in the multiplicity of greater events.

The Court of Vienna at last ordered the blockade to be raised. The Duke de Boufflers did not enjoy this glory and happiness; for he died of the small-^{June 27,} pox on the very day that the enemy retired. He ^{1747.} was the son of Marshal Boufflers, that General held in so much esteem under Louis XIV. a virtuous man, and a good citizen. The Duke possessed all his father's good qualities.

Genoa was no longer attacked; but it was still threatened by the Piedmontese, who were masters of all its environs; by the English fleet, which stopped up her ports; and by the Austrians, who were returning from the Alps to fall upon her. It was necessary that Marshal Belleisle should come down into Italy, which would be attended with the greatest difficulties. Genoa seemed at the last extremity; the Kingdom of Naples exposed; all hopes lost of establishing Don Philip in Italy; and the Duke of Modena in this case appeared without resource. But Louis XV. did not despond.

He sent the Duke of Richelieu to Genoa with fresh troops and money. The Duke escaped the En-^{Sept. 27,} glish fleet in a small vessel: his troops met with ^{1747.} the same success. The Court of Madrid seconded these efforts; sent about three thousand men to Genoa; and promised the Genoese two hundred and fifty thousand livres per month: but the King of France paid them.

The Duke of Richelieu in several engagements repulsed the enemy, fortified all the posts, and secured the coasts. The Court of England exhausted itself to crush Genoa, as that of France did to defend it. The English Ministry gave one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling

sterling to the Empress-Queen, and the same sum to the King of Sardinia, to undertake the siege of Genoa. The English lost the money they advanced. Marshal Belleisle, after having taken the Province of Nice, kept the Austrians and the Piedmontese in continual alarm, lest, if they attempted the siege of Genoa, he should fall upon them in the rear. Thus did they mutually impede each other's progress.

C H A P. • XXII.

The Battle of Exilles fatal to the French.

TO penetrate into Italy in spite of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, what way was to be taken? The Spanish General La Mina wanted to file off towards Final, by a road on the side of the Ponent, where the troops could only pass one by one; but he had neither cannon nor provisions. To transport the French artillery; to preserve a communication of forty days march by a route equally close and steep, where every thing must be carried on the backs of mules; to be exposed continually to the cannon of the English fleet; all these difficulties appeared insurmountable. The road of Demont and of Coni was proposed; but to besiege Coni was an enterprize well known to be dangerous. It was determined to take the route by the neck of the Exilles, about twenty-five leagues from Nice, and it was resolved to carry that place.

This enterprize was not less difficult; but there was no choice to be made in so many perils. Marshal Belleisle eagerly seized this occasion to signalize himself. He possessed as much bravery to execute a project, as dexterity to conduct it; an indefatigable man both in the cabinet and in the field. He set out and took his route back by Dauphiny; and penetrating afterwards towards the neck of the Aflietto, on the road to Exilles, he found there twenty-one battalions of Piedmontese, who were waiting for him behind ramparts of

stone and wood eighteen feet high, and thirteen feet in thickness, lined with artillery. To carry these retrenchments, Belleisle had only twenty-eight battalions and seven field-pieces, which could hardly be placed to advantage. They were yet emboldened to this enterprize by the remembrance of the battles of Montalban and of Chateau-Dauphin, which seemed to justify their audacity. There are no attacks equal in all respects; and it is more difficult and more fatal to attack pallisadoes, which must be plucked up by the hand under a descending continual fire, than to climb up and fight upon rocks. Besides, the Piedmontese were well disciplined. Troops that had been commanded by the King of Sardinia were not to be despised. The action lasted two hours*; that is to say, the Sardinians killed all the French they thought proper within that space of time. Field-Marshal Arnaud, who led on a detachment, was one of the first who was mortally wounded, and likewise Mons. de Grille, Major-General of the army.

Among all the bloody engagements which signalized this war on all sides, this was one of those that was the most to be deplored, on account of the premature loss of several promising young men of distinction, idly sacrificed. The Count de Goas, Colonel of the regiment of Bourbon, perished in it. The Marquis de Donge, Colonel of the regiment Soissons, received a wound of which he died six days after the battle. The Marquis de Brienne, Colonel of the regiment Artois, after he had lost an arm, marched up to the pallisadoes, crying out, "There yet remains another for the King's service!" and was shot dead. They reckoned three thousand six hundred and ninety-five slain, and one thousand six hundred and six wounded; a fatality contrary to the general event of battles, wherein the wounded generally exceed the number of the dead. A great number of officers perished: all the officers of the regiment of Bourbon were killed or wounded, while the Piedmontese did not lose one hundred.

Belleisle, in despair, tore up the pallisadoes; and being wounded in both his hands, he still tugged at the

* July 19, 1747.

stakes with his teeth, when he received a mortal blow*. He had often said, that a General ought not to survive his defeat; and he proved too clearly that this sentiment was engraven on his heart.

The wounded were carried to Briançon, where the fatal disaster of this day was quite unexpected. Mons. d'Audifret, the King's Lieutenant, sold his silver plate to relieve the sick. His lady, though ready to lye-in, undertook the care of the hospitals, dressed the wounded with her own hands, and died in the discharge of this pious office;—a melancholy but noble example, worthy to be consecrated in history †!

C H A P. XXIII.

The King of France Master of Flanders and victorious, in vain makes Offers of Peace. The taking of Dutch Brabant. The Situation of Affairs creates a Stadtholder.

IN this bustle of events, sometimes unfortunate and sometimes favourable, the King, victorious in Flanders, was the only Sovereign who desired peace. Having always a right ‡ to attack the territories of the Dutch, and constantly threatening it, he thought to bring them over to his design of a general pacification, by proposing to them a Congress to be held in one of their own towns. Breda was fixed upon, and the Marquis de Puisieux, the King's Minister-Plenipotentiary, was the first there. The Dutch sent M. Wassenaar, without having any determined view. The Court of England, which did not incline to peace, could not

* A mad, foolish and unheroic action, unworthy to have been recorded. But war, it seems, has its voluntary martyrs, as well as religion; who provoke death thus idly, when it can be of no use to human life, nor any ornament to human nature. This was the action of an imprisoned rat. *Translator.*

† Yea, even in *sacred history*! *Idem.*

‡ What right, except the wrong of conquest? *Translator.*

publicly

publicly refuse it. The Earl of Sandwich, a grandson, by the mother's side, of the famous Wilmot Earl of Rochester, was the English Plenipotentiary. But while the allies of the Empress-Queen had Ministers at this useless Congress, that Princess did not think proper to send any.

It was the interest of the Dutch more than of any other Power, to promote the happy effect of these pacific appearances. A people wholly commercial, not warlike, who had neither good generals nor good soldiers, and whose best troops were prisoners in France to the number of thirty-five thousand men, it might be imagined could have no other object in view than that of averting such another storm from their territories as they had seen fall upon Flanders. Holland was no longer even a maritime power; its Admiralties could not then put to sea twenty men of war. The States all perceived, that if the war broke into their Provinces, they must elect a Stadtholder, and consequently a master. The Magistrates of Utrecht, of Dort, and of the Brill, had always contended for a neutrality; and some other members of the Republic were avowedly of the same opinion. In a word, it is certain, that if the States-General had taken a firm resolution to restore peace to Europe, they might have effected it; they might have added this honour to that of having formerly made a flourishing free state of such an inconsiderable country; and they had the power to acquire it a long time in their hands: but the English party and the general prejudice prevailed. I do not believe that there are a people on earth who conquer ancient prejudices with so much difficulty as the Dutch nation. The irruption of Louis XIV. and the year 1672 were still at heart; and I may venture to say, that I have discovered, on more occasions than one, that their minds, struck with the ambitious haughtiness of Louis XIV. could not comprehend the moderation of Louis XV. They never thought him sincere; they regarded all his pacific measures, and all his compliances, either as proofs of weakness or as snares.

The King, unable to persuade them, was obliged to conquer a part of their country. While this useless Congress was held, he sent his forces into Dutch Flanders; a Province dismembered from the domains of the very House of Austria whose defence they had engaged in. It commences a league below Ghent, and extends to the right and to the left; on one side, to Middleburgh in Zealand; and on the other, to the Scheld below Antwerp: it is lined with a number of small forts difficult of access, and capable of making resistance. The King, before he took this Province, carried his moderation so far as to notify to the States-General, that he should look on these fortresses only as pledges, which he should engage to restore as soon as the Dutch should cease to foment the war by granting free passage and aids of men and money to his enemies.

No account was made of this indulgence; an irruption alone was perceived; and the march of the French troops made a Stadtholder. What the Abbé de la Ville, when he was Envoy in Holland, had foretold to some of the High and Mighty Lords who refused all terms of reconciliation, and wanted to change the form of government, now actually happened: "It will not be yourselves, but we who shall give you a master."

The people in general, on the news of an invasion, demanded the Prince of Orange for their Stadtholder. The town of Tervere, of which he is Lord, began by nominating him*. All the towns in Zealand followed the example; Rotterdam and Delft proclaimed him†; and it was useless for the Regents to oppose the multitude: the public voice was unanimous. The inhabitants of the Hague surrounded the palace where the Deputies of the Province of Holland and West-Friesland assembled, the most powerful of the Seven, which alone pays one-half of the expences of the Republic, and whose Pensionary is looked upon as the most considerable per-

* April 15.

† Perhaps M. Voltaire might have deemed it below the dignity of history, to mention that it was a common black-smith of Middleburgh who first proclaimed the Stadtholder at Tervere. *Translator.*

son in the State. It was necessary, in an instant, to hoist the ensign of the House of Orange on the palace and on the Town-house, to appease the people; and two days after the Prince was elected Stadtholder*. The commission recites, "That, in consideration of the
 "alarming situation of affairs, they appoint William-
 "Charles-Henry Frizo, Prince of Orange, of the Branch
 "of Nassau-Diest†, to be Stadtholder, Captain-General,
 "and High Admiral."

He was soon acknowledged throughout the Seven Provinces, and received in that quality at the Assembly of the States-General. The terms in which the Province of Holland had couched his election, shewed too plainly that the Magistrates had appointed him against their will. It is sufficiently known that every Prince aims at being absolute, and that every Republic is ungrateful. The United Provinces, which owed to the House of Nassau the greatest power that any petty State ever attained, could seldom fix upon the just medium between what they were indebted to the blood of their deliverers, and what they owed to their own liberty.

Louis XIV. in 1672, and Louis XV. in 1747, created two Stadtholders through terror; and the people of Holland have twice re-established this Stadtholdership, which the Magistracy wanted to destroy.

The States had kept the Prince of Orange as ignorant of public affairs as they possibly could; and even when the Province of Gueldres had chosen him for Stadtholder in 1722; although this distinction was, at that time, only a title of honour; though he could not dispose of any employment, nor change any garrison, nor issue any orders; yet the States of Holland wrote in strong terms to those of Gueldres, to dissuade them from a resolution which they styled fatal.

One moment now deprived them of the power they had enjoyed for fifty years.

The new Stadtholder began, at setting out, with suffering the populace to pillage and pull down the

* May 1. † *Diest*, but pronounced *Dy*?

houses of the collectors of the excise, all relations and dependants of the Burgomasters; and when the Magistrates were thus attacked by the people, the military were obliged to restrain their fury.

The Prince, quite tranquil amidst these commotions, procured himself the same authority which had been given to King William, and thus secured his power the firmer in his family. Not only the Stadtholdership became hereditary to his male issue, but even to his daughters and their posterity; for some time afterwards a law was passed, that, in default of male issue, a woman might be Stadtholder and Captain-General, provided she committed the exercise of the functions of her office to her husband; and in case of a minority, the widow of the Stadtholder was to have the title of Gouvernante, and to nominate a Prince to perform the functions of the Stadtholdership.

By this revolution the United Provinces became a kind of mixed monarchy, less limited in many respects than those of England, Sweden, and Poland. Thus nothing turned out in all this war which had been imagined at first; and every thing contrary to the expectations of all the Powers engaged in it, actually came to pass. The enterprizes, the successes, and the misfortunes of Prince Charles-Edward in England, were perhaps the most singular of any of those events that astonished all Europe*.

C H A P. XXIV.

The Enterprize, Victories, Defeat, and deplorable Misfortunes of Prince Charles-Edward Stuart.

PRINCE Charles-Edward was the son of him who was stiled the Pretender, or the Chevalier de St. George. It is well known that his grandfather had

* I do not see any thing astonishing in the ill success of such a foolish, improbable, and *non-supported* enterprize. *Translator.* been

been dethroned by the English. His great-grandfather was condemned to the block by his own subjects ; and his great-great-grandmother underwent the same sentence from the Parliament of England*. This last scion of so many Kings and victims wasted his youth in retirement at Rome with his father. He had more than once expressed a desire to expose his life to regain the throne of his ancestors. He had been called into France since the year 1742, and had made some fruitless attempts to land in England. He now waited at Paris for some favourable opportunity, while France was exhausting herself of men and money in Germany, in France, and in Italy. All thoughts of him had been buried during the vicissitudes of this universal war. He was a sacrifice to the public calamities of the times.

The Prince discoursing one day with Cardinal Tencin, who owed his promotion in the Sacred College to the interest of the Chevalier de St. George on a private agreement between them, the Cardinal said to him, " Why do not you attempt to pass over to the North of Scotland in some vessel ? Your presence alone will form you a party and an army, and then France must assist you."

This bold advice corresponding with the bravery of Charles-Edward, he determined to follow it. He imparted his design only to seven officers, part Irish and part Scotch, who agreed to share his fate. One of them applied to one Mr. Walth, a merchant at Nantz, and the son of an Irishman in the interest of the House of Stuart. This merchant had a frigate which mounted eighteen guns, on board of which the Prince embarked the 12th of June, 1745, equipped for an expedition whose object was no less than the Crown of Great-Britain, with only seven officers, about eighteen hundred sabres, twelve hundred musquets, and forty-eight thousand livres. The frigate was convoyed by a man of war of 64 guns, named the Elizabeth, which had been fitted out at Dunkirk to

* Mary, Queen of Scots;

cruise as a privateer. It was the custom at this time for the Minister of the Marine to lend the King's ships to merchants and other adventurers, who paid a certain sum for them to the King, and maintained the crew at their expence during the cruise. Neither the Minister of the Marine nor yet the King of France knew any thing of the destination of this ship.

On the 20th of the same month the Elizabeth and the frigate, sailing in company together, met with three English men of war convoying a fleet of merchantmen. The largest of these ships, mounting seventy guns, separated from the rest to engage the Elizabeth; and it was a most fortunate circumstance, which seemed to presage success to Prince Edward, that his frigate was not attacked. The Elizabeth and the English ship maintained a long, violent, and ineffectual engagement. The frigate which carried the grandson of James II. escaped, and crowded all her sails for Scotland*.

The first place the Prince touched at was a small Island, almost a desert, beyond Ireland, towards the fifty-eighth degree: it is a kind of girdle to the continent of Scotland. He landed in a little district called the Moidart. Some of the inhabitants to whom he made himself known fell on their knees. "But what shall we do?" said they to him. "We have no arms—we are in extreme indigence—we live only upon oatmeal bread, and we cultivate a barren soil." "I will till that ground with you," replied the Prince; "I will eat the same bread—I will share your poverty, and I bring you arms."

The effect of such sentiments on these people may be easily conceived. He was joined by some chiefs of the tribes of Scotland. Those of the name of Macdonald of Lochell, the Camerons, and the Frasers, came in search of him.

These tribes of Scotland, who are called Clans in the Scotch language, inhabit a country of more than two

* One of the principal parties in the enterprize assured me of this circumstance. *Voltaire*.

hundred miles in extent, covered with mountains and forests. The thirty-three Isles of the Orcades, and the thirty of Zetland, are all inhabited by these Clans, subject to one form of government. The ancient Roman military dress is preserved by them alone, as has been already remarked in speaking of the regiment of Scotch Highlanders who fought at the battle of Fontenoy. It may well be imagined that the rigour of the climate and their extreme poverty inure them to the greatest fatigues. They sleep on the bare ground; they endure hunger; they make long marches in the midst of frost and snow. Each Clan was in subjection to its *Laird*; that is to say, its Lord; who exercised an absolute power over it; a power which no English Lord possesses; and they were commonly of the party embraced by their *Lairds*.

This ancient anarchy, which is called the feudal law, subsisted in this poor sterile part of Great-Britain, which was abandoned to its own customs. The inhabitants, without any employment which could procure them a comfortable subsistence, were always ready to run headlong into any enterprize that flattered them with the hopes of booty. This was not the case in Ireland; a more fertile country, and better governed by the Court of London, and in which they have given great encouragement to husbandry and manufactures. The Irish began to be more firmly attached to the quiet enjoyment of their property than to the House of Stuart. These were the reasons that Ireland was quiet, and Scotland in commotion.

Ever since the Union of the Kingdom of Scotland with that of England, in the reign of Queen Anne, several Scotch gentlemen who were not chosen Members of the Parliament at London, nor retained in the service of the Court by pensions, were secretly devoted to the House of Stuart; and in general the inhabitants of the Northern parts of Scotland, rather subdued than united, murmured at this Union, and regarded it as a kind of slavery.

The Clans of the *Lairds* in the interest of the Court, as were the Dukes of Argyle, Athol, Queensbury, and several

several others, remained faithful to the Government: a great number of private persons, however, must be excepted, who were fired with the enthusiasm of their countrymen, and were soon engaged to take the part of a Prince who derived his origin from their country, and who excited their zeal and admiration.

The seven persons whom the Prince had taken with him were, the Marquis of Tullibardine, (brother to the Duke of Athol) Macdonald, Sheridan, Sullivan, (appointed Quarter-master to an army they had not yet raised) Kelly an Irishman, and Strickland an Englishman.

They had not yet assembled three hundred men about his person, when they made a royal standard of a piece of taffety which Sullivan had brought over. Every instant this troop increased; and the Prince had not passed the village of Fenning before he saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred fighting men, whom he armed with the musquets and sabres he had brought over. He sent the frigate back to France to inform the Kings of France and Spain of his landing. These two Monarchs wrote to him, and styled him "Brother:" not that they solemnly acknowledged him as heir to the Crown of Great-Britain, but when writing to him they could not refuse this compliment, due to his birth and to his valour. They sent him supplies at different times of money, ammunition, and arms. These succours were obliged to pass by stealth through the English fleets, which cruized to the east and to the west of Scotland. Some were taken; others arrived safe, and served to encourage the party, which grew stronger every day. No season could appear more favourable for a revolution: the King was absent from England*, and there were not six thousand regular troops in the whole Kingdom. Some companies of the regiment of Sinclair marched immediately from the environs of Edinburgh against the Prince's small troop: these were entirely defeated. Thirty

* On his usual summer-visit to his Electoral dominions.

Highlanders took eighty of the English prisoners, with their officers and baggage.

This first success increased the hopes and the courage of the party, and gained it new soldiers from all quarters. They continued their march without intermission. Prince Edward, always on foot at the head of his mountaineers, clothed like them, eating as they did, traversed the Counties of Badenoch, Athol, and Perthshire, and seized on Perth, a considerable town in Scotland. Here he was solemnly proclaimed Regent of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, for his father James III*. This title of Regent of France, which a Prince arrogated to himself who was scarcely master of a little Scotch town, and who could not support himself but by the assistance of the King of France, was in consequence of an astonishing custom which has prevailed, that the Kings of England take the title of Kings of France; a custom which ought to be abolished: yet it still subsists, because men never think of reforming abuses till they become important and dangerous†.

The Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray arrived at this time at Perth, and swore allegiance to the Prince. They brought with them new troops: a whole company of a Scotch regiment in the service of the Court, deserted to range themselves under his banners. He takes Dundee, Drummond, Newburg. A council of war is held: opinions are divided with respect to the route. The Prince was for marching directly to Edinburgh, the

* September 15, 1745.

† This reflection is very inapplicable to the subject, as it will be difficult for Mr. de Voltaire to prove, that the title of Kings of France which our Kings still retain, is not founded on a valid claim, which dispossession by force of arms does not by any means abolish; nor is it likely that the continuing to annex this to the other titles of the Sovereigns of Great-Britain, will ever prove either important or dangerous to themselves or their subjects. But it is to be observed once for all, that M. Voltaire, throughout the whole of his *Mémoires* of the young Pretender, writes with the partiality of a Frenchman, and shews an attachment to this branch of the House of Stuart, which betrays his ignorance of the British constitution, when he arraigns the equity and justice of the British Nation for their sufferings and final exclusion from the throne. *Fraser*

capital of Scotland : but how could he form any hopes of taking Edinburgh with so small an army and no cannon ? He had partizans in the city ; but all the citizens were not for him. “ It will be sufficient (says the Prince) “ to shew myself, to make them all declare for me ;” and without loss of time he marches to the capital. On his arrival he seizes the gate. The whole city is in alarm : some were for acknowledging the heir of their ancient Kings ; others adhered to the Government.

A general pillage is apprehended. The most opulent citizens transport their effects into the Castle. Governor Guest retires there with his garrison, consisting of four hundred men. The Magistrates come to the gate of which Charles-Edward was master. The Provost, named Stuart, who was suspected to hold intelligence with him, appeared before him, and with a countenance of dismay asked him what he was to do. “ Fall on your “ knees (replied an inhabitant) and acknowledge him.” He was immediately proclaimed in the capital.

In the mean time a price was set upon his head at London. The Lords of the Regency, during the absence of the King, caused it to be proclaimed, that they would give thirty thousand pounds sterling to whoever should deliver it. This proscription was conformable to the Act of Parliament made in the 17th year of the King’s reign, and to other Acts of the same Parliament. Queen Anne had been forced to proscribe her own brother, to whom in her latter days she would have left her crown, if she could have followed her own sentiments. - She had offered four thousand pounds for his head, and the Parliament fixed it at eighty thousand.

If such a proscription is a maxim of state, it is a very difficult one to reconcile with those principles of moderation which all Courts take a pride in professing. Prince Charles-Edward might have made a similar proclamation ; but he endeavoured to strengthen his cause, and to render himself more respectable, by opposing some months after to those sanguinary proscriptions, manifestoes, in which he forbade his adherents to attempt the person of the reigning King, or of any Prince of the House of Hanover. Besides, he only thought how he might make
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the most advantage of the first ardour of his party, which he could not suffer to cool.

Scarcely was he master of Edinburgh when he learnt that he might come to an engagement, and he prepared for it as fast as possible. He knew that General Cope was advancing against him, at the head of some regular troops; that the militia was raising in all parts; that regiments were forming in England; that others were sent for home from Flanders; in fine, that he had not a moment to lose. He quits Edinburgh, not leaving a single soldier in it, and marches with about three thousand Highlanders towards the English, who were to the number of four thousand, and had two regiments of dragoons. The Prince's cavalry consisted only of some sumpter-horses. He neither gave himself the time nor the trouble to send for his field-pieces. He knew that the enemy had six; but nothing stopped him.

He came up with the enemy at Preston-pans, about seven miles from Edinburgh. He was scarcely arrived when he ranged his little army in order of battle. The Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray commanded, one on the right, and the other on the left wing of his army; that is to say, each had about seven or eight hundred men. Charles-Edward had so strong an idea of conquest, that before he charged the enemy, he remarked a defile by which they might retreat, and sent five hundred Highlanders to take possession of it. Thus he engaged with only two thousand five hundred men, having not so much as a second line of battle, nor a corps-de-reserve. He drew his sword, and flinging the scabbard at some distance from him, "My companions (said he), "I will not sheath it again till you are free and happy." He had got possession of the field of battle almost as soon as the enemy; and he did not give them time to make a discharge of their artillery. His whole force marched up rapidly to the English, without keeping their ranks, making use of bagpipes instead of trumpets. They fired at about twenty paces from the enemy, then threw down their musquets, and holding their targets with

one hand over their heads, they rushed in between the infantry and the cavalry, stabbing the horses, and attacking the foldiers with their sabres.

Every thing that is new and unexpected terrifies. This unusual way of fighting frightened the English. Strength of body, which is not at present of any use in other battles, was of great service in this*. The English gave way on all sides, without making any resistance. Eight hundred were slain; the rest fled to the place the Prince had noticed, and there fourteen hundred were taken prisoners. Every thing fell into the hands of the conqueror. He formed a body of cavalry with the horses of the enemy's dragoons. General Cope was obliged to fly himself. The Nation murmured at him. He was tried by a court-martial for not concerting his measures properly, but he was acquitted; and it incontestibly appeared that the fate of the battle was owing to the presence of a Prince who inspired his party with unbounded confidence; but principally to the new manner of fighting, which astonished the English. This is an advantage which almost always succeeds the first time, and which the commanders of armies perhaps do not sufficiently attend to.

Charles-Edward did not lose sixty men in this engagement. The only difficulty attending his victory was, how to dispose of his prisoners, who were nearly equal in number to their conquerors. Having no places of security, he released them on their parole, after swearing them not to take up arms against him in the space of twelve months. He only kept the wounded to take care of them; and this magnanimity gained him new adherents.

A few days after this victory a French and a Spanish ship arrived upon the coasts, and brought him money and fresh hopes. There were some Irish officers in these vessels, who had served in France and in Spain, and were qualified to discipline his troops. The French vessel brought him a private envoy † from the King of France,

* October 2, 1745.

† The brother of the Marquis d'Argens, well known in the literary world. He has since been President of the Parliament of Aix. *Voltaire*.

who landed at the port of Montrose on the 11th of October with money and arms. The Prince returned to Edinburgh, and saw his army soon after augmented to near six thousand men. Order began to be established as well among his troops as in his domestic affairs. He had a Court, Officers, and Secretaries of State, and was supplied with money from thirty miles round the country. No enemy appeared. But he wanted the castle of Edinburgh, the only place of real strength, and which might serve him for a magazine, as well as for a retreat in case of necessity, besides keeping the capital in awe. The castle of Edinburgh is built upon a steep rock: it has a large fosse cut in the rock, and the walls are twelve feet thick. The place, although irregular in itself, requires a regular siege; and above all, heavy cannon. The Prince had not any. He therefore found himself under a necessity to permit the city to make an agreement with General Gueft, by which the former engaged to supply the latter with provisions, on condition that the castle should not fire on the city.

This difficulty, however, did not seem to derange his affairs. The Court of London began to be greatly afraid of him, since it endeavoured to render him odious in the eyes of the people. It reproached him with being born a Roman Catholic, and of coming to overturn the religion and laws of the country. On his part, he continually protested that the Church of England and Presbyterianism should have no more to fear from him, although born a Roman Catholic, than from King George, who was born a Lutheran. Not so much as a single Priest appeared at his Court. He did not so much as require that they should name him in the public prayers in the parish-churches; but contented himself with their using a general prayer for the King and the Royal Family, without indicating any person.

The King of England had returned in haste on the 11th of September, to oppose the progress of the rebellion. The loss of the battle of Preston alarmed him to such a degree, that he did not think himself strong enough to resist it with the English militia. Several of

the nobility raised regiments at their own expence in his favour; and the Whig party in particular, which is the prevailing one in England, made a point of preserving the Government it had established, and the Family it had placed on the throne. But the King reflecting that if Prince Edward should receive fresh succours, and have further success, these very militia might turn against himself, he exacted a new oath from the militia of London. This oath of fidelity was couched in these very terms: "I abhor, I detest, I reject as an impious opinion, that damnable doctrine, that Princes excommunicated by the Pope may be deposed and assassinated by their subjects, or any other persons whatever," &c. But there was no question of excommunication nor of the Pope in this affair; and as for assassination, they could hardly apprehend any other but that Sept. 14, 1745. which had been publicly proposed with a reward of thirty thousand pounds sterling.

According to the custom established in times of trouble since the reign of William III. all the Roman Catholic Priests were ordered to depart from London and its environs. But it was not the Popish Priests they had reason to dread: those who professed that religion did not make an hundredth part of the people. It was the valour of Prince Edward; it was the intrepidity of a victorious army animated by unexpected success. The King was obliged to send for six thousand of his troops from Flanders, and to demand six thousand more of the Dutch, in virtue of treaties subsisting with that Republic.

-- The States General sent him the very troops which by the capitulation of Tournay and Dendermond could not serve (*against France*) in less than eighteen months. They had promised not to engage in any service, not even in the most distant places from the frontiers; but the States justified this inaction by saying, that England was not a *frontier*. They were obliged to lay down their arms before the French troops; but it was alledged, that they were not going to fight against the French. They were not to enter into any foreign service. It was answered,

swered, that, in effect, they were not in any foreign service, since they were subject to the orders, and received the pay, of the States-General.

By such distinctions as these the capitulation, which was as much defined as possible, but in which a case that no one foresaw could not be specified, was eluded.

Although there happened at this time sundry other great events, I shall pursue that of the commotion in England; and the order of affairs shall be preferred to the order of time, which will not suffer by it. Nothing serves to prove the strength of alarms so much as an excess of precautions.

I cannot forbear mentioning in this place, an artifice made use of to render the person of Charles-Edward odious in London. An imaginary Journal was printed, in which a comparison was made between the events related in the News-papers under the government of King George, with those which they supposed would be recorded in these Papers under the domination of a Catholic Prince.

“Now, said they, our News-papers at one time give us an account of the treasures carried to the Bank, which have been taken from the French and Spanish ships; at another, that we have demolished Porto-Bello, that we have taken Louisbourg, and are masters of the commerce of the globe. But let us see what the Papers will mention under the Administration of the Pretender. This day he was proclaimed in the public streets of London by Highlanders and Friars. Several houses have been burnt, and a number of citizens massacred.

“The 4th, The South-sea-house and India-house were converted into Convents.

“The 20th, Six Members of Parliament were sent to prison.

“The 26th, Three of the ports of England were delivered up to the French.

“The 28th, The law of Habeas Corpus was abolished; and a new Act passed for burning Heretics.

“ The 29th, Father Poignardini, an Italian Jesuit, was made Keeper of the Privy-seal.”

In the mean time, the Habeas Corpus Act was actually suspended on the 28th of October. This law is regarded as a fundamental one in England, and the bulwark of the freedom of the Nation. By this law the King cannot cause any citizen to be imprisoned longer than twenty-four hours, without being examined and released, on giving bail, till his trial is ready; and if he has been arrested unjustly, the Secretary of State may be made to pay dearly for every hour of his confinement.

The King has not a right to cause any Member of Parliament to be arrested, on any pretence whatever, without the consent of the House. The Parliament in times of rebellion suspends all these laws by a particular Act, and gives the King a power to seize all suspected persons during such times only. No Member of either House furnished the least pretext for an arrest. Some, however, were suspected by the public to be Jacobites, and several of the citizens of London were tacitly of that party; but not one would hazard his life and fortune on uncertain hopes. Mistrust and iniquitude agitated every mind: every one was afraid to speak.

It is a crime in this country to drink the health of a proscribed Prince who pretends to the crown, as it was formerly at Rome, under the reigning Emperor to keep the statue of his competitor in their houses. They drank at London to the health of the King and the Prince, which might as well mean King James and his son Prince Charles-Edward, as King George and his eldest son the Prince of Wales.

The secret abettors of the revolution contented themselves with publishing writings so cautiously worded, that their party might easily understand them, while the Government could not condemn them. A great many of this sort were distributed; and one among others in which it was advertised, “ That there was a young man of great expectations who was on the point of making a considerable fortune; that in a short time he
“ had

" had made twenty thousand pounds, but was in want of friends to establish himself at London." The liberty of the press is one of those privileges of which the English are extremely jealous. The law does not permit assembling and haranguing the people; but it allows of conversing with the whole Nation in writing. The Government caused all the printing-offices to be searched; but having no right to shut up any, except a crime is proved against them, they let them alone.

The consternation was manifest at London, when the news arrived that Prince Edward had advanced to Carlisle, and had taken the town*; that his army increased; and at length that he was at Derby in England itself, about thirty leagues from London†. It was now that he had for the first time national Englishmen in his troops. Three hundred inhabitants of the County of Lancaster enlisted into his Manchester regiment. Mean time report, which always augments things, made his army thirty thousand strong. It was rumoured that the whole County of Lancaster had declared for him. The shops and the Bank at London were shut up for a whole day‡.

* November 26.

† 'Tis 125 miles.

‡ This error cannot be passed over in silence. The consternation indeed was very great when the news was brought to London, that the rebels were in possession of Derby, and on the point of marching forward to the capital; but terror was only visible on the countenances, and expressed in the conversation of the inhabitants. Neither the public order nor tranquility of the City were disturbed: the Bank and all public offices as well as tradesmen's shops were open, and business transacted as usual. The panic was even much greater on the day following, on Sunday; a report having been spread that the Roman Catholics in London, to favour the rebellion, had conspired to rise and massacre the Protestant inhabitants in the churches, in the time of divine service. Some anonymous letters ambiguously mentioning the horrid plan were received, particularly by some of the principal housekeepers in Spitalfields, which occasioned the stationing large detachments of the City militia in the Church-yards of the principal Churches in London. *Translator.*

C H A P. XXV.

*Continuation of the Adventures of Prince Charles-Edward.
His Defeat; his Misfortunes, and those of his Party.*

FROM the day that Prince Edward landed in Scotland, his friends solicited France for succours in their enterprize; and the greater his progress, the more pressing were their solicitations. Some Irish officers in the French service were of opinion, that a descent into England towards Plymouth would be practicable. The passage from Calais or Boulogne to these coasts is short. They did not approve of a fleet of men of war for this expedition, as much time would be lost in the equipment, and the preparations alone give the English squadrons timely notice to oppose their landing. They pretended that they could land eight or ten thousand men with their cannon in the night; that only some merchant-ships and a few privateers were wanted for such an attempt; and they maintained that a party in England would join the French army as soon as they were disembarked, and that they might soon after unite with the Prince's troops near London. In short, they represented it as an easy and complete revolution. They demanded the Duke de Richelieu to head this enterprize, who, by his signal services at the battle of Fontenoy, and the great reputation he had in Europe, was better qualified than any other General for conducting with proper spirit this bold and ticklish affair. They intreated so much, that at last their demand was granted. Colonel Lally, who was afterwards Lieutenant-General, and came to so tragical an end, was the soul of this enterprize. The Writer of this History, who was connected with him a long time, can affirm, that he never saw a man more zealous, and that his failure in this enterprize arose only from its impracticability. They could not put openly to sea in the face of the English squadrons, so strictly

were the coasts guarded; and this project was regarded in a very ridiculous light in London.

Some small succours only of men and money could be sent over to the Prince, and that by the way of the German Ocean, and the east of Scotland. Lord Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth, an officer in the French service, opportunely arrived with some piquets, and three companies of the Royal Scotch regiment. When he landed at Montrose he immediately published, "That he was come by order of the King of France to succour his ally the Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, and to make war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover." Then the Dutch troops, who by their capitulation could not serve against the King of France, were forced to adhere to the law of arms, which had been a long time eluded; they were therefore sent back to Holland, and the English Court sent for six thousand Hessians in their place. This necessity for foreign troops was a confession of the danger in which they thought themselves. The Pretender distributed fresh manifestoes in the north and in the west of England, by which he invited the Nation to join him, declaring that the prisoners of war should be treated as his own men; and expressly renewed to his officers his prohibition of attempting the life of the reigning King, or of any of his family. These proclamations, which appeared so generous in a Prince on whose head a reward had been set, met with a fate which nothing but state-policy can justify:—they were burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

It was of more importance and more urgent to oppose the progress of the Pretender than to burn his manifestoes. The English militia re-took Edinburgh, and covering the County of Lancaster, cut off his supplies, which obliged him to retreat. His army was sometimes strong, sometimes weak, because he had not the means of retaining it constantly under his standard by an exact payment; yet about eight thousand men still remained with him. Scarcely was the Prince informed that the enemy was within six miles of him, near Falkirk

marthes,

marshes, than he flew to attack them *, although they were almost double in numbers, engaging in the same manner, and with the same impetuosity, as at Preston-pans. His Highlanders, seconded by a violent storm, which blew directly in the faces of the English, threw them into disorder at first ; but soon after they were broke themselves by their own impetuosity. Six piquets of the French troops covered them, maintained the battle, and gave them time to rally. Prince Edward always said, that if he had had only three thousand regular troops, he should have made himself master of all England.

The English dragoons began the flight, and the whole army followed, regardless of the commands of the Generals and officers, and regained their camp in the dusk of the evening, which was entrenched, and almost surrounded by a morass.

The Prince remaining master of the field of battle, instantly took the resolution of attacking them in their camp, notwithstanding the storm, which continued with redoubled violence. The Highlanders lost some time in finding their musquets in the dark, which, according to custom, they had thrown away in the action. The Prince then began the march with them to give a second battle, and penetrated, sword-in-hand, almost to the enemy's camp. Universal terror prevailed, and the English troops, beaten twice in one day *, although with little loss, fled to Edinburgh, having not quite six hundred men killed in these actions, but left their tents and baggage in the conqueror's power. These victories greatly redounded to the Prince's honour, but contributed little to his interest. The Duke of Cumberland marched into Scotland, and arrived the 10th of February at Edinburgh. Prince Edward was obliged to raise the siege of Stirling-Castle. The winter was extremely severe, and subsistence failed. His chief resource was in the assistance of a few friends, who made excursions sometimes on the side of Inverness, and at others towards Aberdeen, to collect the few troops and the little money that they run the hazard to supply him

him with from France. The largest of these vessels sent to him with succours were warched and taken by the English fleet. Three companies of Fitz-James's regiment luckily found means to escape and land. Whenever a little vessel arrived, it was received by the inhabitants of the North with the loudest acclamations of joy. The women ran to meet the troops, and led the officers horses by their bridles. The smallest succours in these circumstances were reported to be considerable reinforcements; but his army was not less pressed by the Duke of Cumberland. They were retired into Inverness, and all the country did not side with him. The Duke at last crossed the river Spey, and marched towards Inverness, and a decisive battle could not be avoided.

The Prince had nearly the same number of troops as at the battle of Falkirk; and the Duke of Cumberland had fifteen battalions and nine squadrons, besides a body of Highlanders. The advantage in point of numbers was always necessarily on the side of the English, who had also a cavalry and an artillery well served, which were still greater advantages; and they were at last accustomed to the Highlanders manner of fighting, which no longer intimidated them. They had likewise to repair under the eyes of the Duke the shame of their former defeats. The Duke gained the battle by making every other rank reserve their fire; so that after the Rebels had fired and flung down their muskets, they closed in with their broad-swords as usual, and were received by the Duke's troops with a reserved fire, when they advanced up to the very muzzles of their guns: it was great generalship. The two armies came in sight of each other on the 27th of April, 1746, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at a place called Culloden. The Highlanders did not make the attack with their usual impetuosity. The battle was entirely lost; and the Prince, slightly wounded, was carried off the field in the most precipitate manner. Time and place constitute the importance of an action. In the present war, in Germany, in Italy, and in Flanders, we have seen battles fought with one hundred thousand men which had no great

great consequences ; but here an action between only eleven thousand on one side, and about seven or eight on the other, decided the fate of three Kingdoms. In this engagement not more than nine hundred of the Rebels (the appellation which their miscarriage fixed on them, even in Scotland) were slain, and three hundred and twenty made prisoners. They all fled to the neighbourhood of Inverness, and were pursued by the conquerors. The Pretender, accompanied by an hundred officers, was obliged to leap into a river three miles from Inverness, and to swim over it. When he had gained the other side, he saw afar off the flames of a barn, in which perished between five and six hundred Highlanders, the conqueror having set fire to it ; and he heard their cries.

Prince Edward had several women in his army. One among the rest, whose name was Madame Seaford, fought at the head of the Scotch troops she brought to his assistance, and escaped the pursuit ; but four others were taken. All the French officers were made prisoners of war ; and he who transacted the business of French Minister to the Prince, surrendered himself prisoner at Inverness. The English had only fifty men killed, and two hundred and fifty-nine wounded, in this decisive affair.

The Duke of Cumberland distributed five thousand pounds sterling (making about one hundred and twenty thousand French livres) to the soldiers. This was money he had received from the Lord-Mayor of London. It was the contribution of some citizens, and had been presented to him for this very purpose. This singularity is a farther testimony that the richest party must be victorious. Not a moment's repose was given to the vanquished ; for they were every where closely pursued. The common soldiers easily retired to their inaccessible mountains and desarts. The officers found it more difficult to escape. Some were betrayed and delivered up to the conqueror ; others surrendered in hopes of a pardon.

Prince Edward, Sullivan, Sheridan, and some others of his adherents, retired at first to the ruins of Fort Augustus, which they were soon obliged to quit. The farther

farther he retreated, the more he observed the decrease of his friends. A spirit of discord seized them, and they reproached each other with their common misfortunes. In all disputes concerning the measures they should take, they exasperated each other. Several of them withdrew; and of all those who accompanied him from France, only Sheridan and Sullivan remained with him.

With them he marched five days and nights without taking one moment's repose, and often wanting nourishment. His enemies traced him. All the environs were filled with soldiers upon the search after him; and the price set upon his head redoubled their diligence. The horrors of his fate entirely resembled that to which his great-uncle Charles II. was reduced after the battle of Worcester, as fatal as that of Culloden. There has been no example upon earth of such a chain of calamities so singular and horrible as those which had afflicted all his House. He himself was born in exile; and he quitted it only to bring his party, after some victories, either to the scaffold, or to the necessity of hiding themselves in the mountains. His father, driven in his infancy from the royal palace, and from the throne of which he had been acknowledged the lawful heir, had, like him, made several efforts to regain his throne, which had all terminated in the destruction of his followers. All this long succession of singular misfortunes continually presented itself to the mind of this Prince; yet he did not despair. He marched on foot, without having his wounds dressed, without succours, through the midst of his enemies, and arrived at last in a little port named Arizaig, in the North-west of Scotland.

Fortune at this moment seemed to administer comfort to him. Two privateers of Nantz sailed towards this port, and brought him men, money, and provisions; but before they had landed, the continual searches made after his person obliged him to quit that only spot where then he might have found safety; and they were but a few miles from the port, when he was informed that these vessels had anchored and set sail again. His losing
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this opportunity aggravated his misfortunes. He was continually obliged to fly and to secrete himself. O'Neal, one of his partizans, an Irish officer in the Spanish service, who had joined him in these cruel circumstances, told him, that he might find a safe retreat in a little neighbouring Isle called Stornaway, the last Island to the North-east of Scotland. They embarked in a fishing-boat, and arrived at this asylum; but they were scarcely on shore when they understood that a detachment of the Duke of Cumberland's army was in the Island. The Prince and his friends were obliged to pass the night in a moor, to elude so close a pursuit; and at break of day ventured to re-enter their boat, and put out to sea without any provisions, or knowing what course to steer. They had hardly rowed two miles, when they were surrounded by the enemy's fleet.

Their only means of preservation was to run a-ground between the rocks, upon the borders of an almost inaccessible little desert Island. What at other times would have been regarded as the most cruel misfortune, was to them their only resource. They hid their boat behind a rock, and in this desert waited either the departure of the English fleet, or the arrival of death, to put a finishing stroke to such a complication of disasters. Nothing was left the Prince, his friends, and the sailors, but a little brandy to sustain their miserable lives; but by chance they found some dried fish which the fishermen, driven off by storms, had left upon the shore. When the English fleet disappeared, they rowed from Isle to Isle, and at last gained that very Island of Wist on which he had first landed upon his arrival from France. Here he found a little succour and repose. But this small consolation lasted him not long, the Duke of Cumberland's troops arriving at this new asylum in about three days after him; and death or captivity appeared inevitable. He with his two companions secreted themselves three days and three nights in a cave, and thought themselves happy to escape, and embark for another desert Isle, where they remained eight days upon some provisions of barley-bread, brandy, and a few salt-fish.

To depart this Island, and endeavour to regain Scotland, was to run the risk of falling into the hands of the English, who lined the sea-coast; but they must either hazard this, or perish with hunger.

They then put to sea, and landed in the night, wandering upon the shore, having nothing to cover them but the torn rags of the Highland habit. At break of day they met with a lady on horseback, followed by a young domestic, and ventured to speak to her. This lady was of the family of the Macdonalds, which was strongly attached to the Stuarts. The Prince, who had seen her in his prosperity, knew her again, and discovered himself, when she immediately threw herself at his feet. The Prince, his companions, and Miss Macdonald, shed tears; and those which she let fall on this extraordinary and affecting interview, were redoubled by the peril in which she saw the Prince. Every step they advanced they were in danger of being taken; and she advised him to hide himself in a cave which she shewed him at the foot of a mountain, near the cottage of a Highlander who was known by her, and in whom she could confide, promising to come herself and take him from this retirement, or send some trusty person who should take charge of his safe conduct.

Prince Edward with his faithful friends were again forced to enter a cavern, the peasant furnishing them with a little barley-flour mixed with water. But they lost all hope, when, after having passed two days in this shocking situation, no person came to their succour. All the environs were strictly watched by the militia, and these unhappy fugitives had nothing left to subtilize on. A cruel disorder weakened the Prince: his body was covered with ulcerated boils. This condition, with what he had already suffered, and what he had to fear, filled up the measure of the most horrid misery that human nature could endure; but he was not yet arrived at the end of his sufferings.

Miss Macdonald sent at last a messenger to the cave, who informed them, that a retreat to the Continent was impossible; that they must again fly into another little Island

Island called Benbecula, and take refuge there in the house of a poor gentleman which the guide would shew them; that Miss Macdonald would meet them there, and consult with them upon what methods were most proper to be taken for their safety. The same boat which brought them here transported them to this Island; and upon their landing, they went immediately to this gentleman's house, and the lady embarked some miles distance to come to the rendezvous. But no sooner were they arrived than they learned that the gentleman with whom they had hoped to find an asylum, had been carried off in the night-time, with all his family. The Prince and his friends once more concealed themselves in the marshes. At last, O'Neal ventured from his concealment, and found Miss Macdonald in a little cottage. She told him she could save the Prince by dressing him in the cloaths of a maid-servant which she had brought with her; but she could not undertake to conceal any more than him, for that more than one person would give cause of suspicion. These two faithful friends preferring the safety of their Prince to their own welfare, parted with him in tears, and he followed Miss Macdonald in a servant's dress, taking the name of "Betty." Notwithstanding this disguise, dangers still threatened him, and he fled for refuge with this lady to the Isle of Sky, lying to the west of Scotland.

They were in a gentleman's house when it was suddenly invested with the enemy's troops. The Prince himself opened the door to the soldiers, and had the good luck not to be discovered by them, but presently after it was known in the Island that he had been in this house. It then became necessary for him to separate from Miss Macdonald, and abandon himself alone to his destiny. He walked ten leagues, attended only by a single waterman. At last, pressed by hunger, and ready to sink, he hazarded the entering into a house, the master of which he well knew to be not of his party. "The son of your King (said he) is come to demand bread and cloaths of you. I know you are my enemy; but I believe you have virtue enough not to abuse my confidence

" and

“and my misfortunes. Take these miserable garments
 “I now wear, and keep them; one day or other you may
 “bring them to me in the palace of the Kings of Great-
 “Britain.” The gentleman to whom he addressed him-
 self was affected, as well he might. He rendered him
 all the assistance which the poverty of this country would
 admit of, and kept his secret*.

From hence he once more regained Scotland, and
 shewed himself to the Clan of Morar, which was well
 affected to him. He wandered afterwards through
 Lochabar and Badenoch. Here he was informed that
 his benefactress, Miss Macdonald, and almost all who
 had favoured him, were arrested; and saw a list of all
 his partizans who were condemned for contumacy, which
 in England is called *An Act of Attainder*†. He was
 always in danger himself; and the only news which he
 heard, was of the imprisonment of his friends, for whom
 death was preparing.

A report now prevailed in France that the Prince was
 in the hands of his enemies. His Agents at Versailles,
 alarmed, implored the King to permit his Minister at
 least to write in his favour. The number of English
 prisoners of war in France inspired the officers of the
 Pretender with hopes, that this consideration might re-
 strain the vengeance of the English Court, and prevent
 that effusion of blood which they expected to be shed on
 the scaffold. The Marquis d’Argenson, at that time
 Minister for foreign affairs, and brother to the Secretary
 at War, addressed himself to Mont. Van Hoey, Amba-
 sador from the United Provinces, and entreated him to
 become a mediator. These two Ministers agreed in a
 principle which distinguished them from most Statesmen.

* N. B. There were thirty thousand pounds offered for his head.
 Why is not his name mentioned? It would be an ornament to History.
Translator.

† Contumacy is not an Act of Attainder; though such a Bill may
 be framed upon that or any other misdemeanor. Contumacy, in Law,
 is only a contempt shewn to every order issued from a Court or any
 superior jurisdiction; and the concealing and assisting of any pro-
 secuted person is of this nature. *Ibid.*

They made use of sincerity and humanity, where others employed little else but policy.

The Ambassador Van Hoey wrote directly a long letter to the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State, in these terms: "May you banish this pernicious art which discord has brought forth to excite mankind to a mutual destruction of each other! Miserable notions of policy, which substitute vengeance, hatred, jealousy, and avidity, to those divine precepts which constitute the glory of Kings, and the welfare of their subjects."

This exhortation seemed in its substance and expressions to be adapted to other times than ours. It was styled a homily. Instead of softening the King of England, it provoked him. He complained to the States-General of the behaviour of their Ambassador, who had dared to send him remonstrances from a King who was his enemy, concerning his conduct towards his rebellious subjects. The Duke of Newcastle wrote, that it was an unprecedented proceeding. The States strongly reprimanded their Ambassador; ordered him to make his excuses to the Duke, and to repair his fault. The Ambassador, convinced that he had not been guilty of any, yet obeyed, and wrote to the Duke, "That if he had erred, it was the inseparable lot of human nature." He might have failed with regard to the laws of policy, but not to those of humanity. The English Ministry and the States-General ought to have been sensible how far the King of France had a right to intercede for the Scotch. They ought to have recollected, that when Louis XIII. had taken Rochelle, which was in vain succoured by the naval army of King James I. the English Monarch sent the Chevalier Montagu to the King of France to implore his mercy in behalf of the Rochelle rebels; and that his intercessions were regarded. The English Ministry had not the same clemency.

The Government now endeavoured to render Prince Charles despicable in the eyes of the people, because he had been formidable. The standards which had been taken at Culloden were publicly carried through Edinburgh;

burgh; the hangman bearing that belonging to the Prince; the others being borne by chimney-sweepers; and the executioner burnt them all together in the market-place. This farce was the prelude of those bloody tragedies which ensued.

On the 10th of August, 1746, seventeen officers were executed, the most considerable of whom was the Colonel of the Manchester regiment, named Townley. He was drawn, with eight other officers, on sledges, to Kennington-Common, near London, which was the place of execution; and after they had hanged them, they plucked out their hearts, flung them in their faces, and cut their bodies in quarters. This method of punishment is a remnant of ancient barbarism. Formerly, the criminals hearts were torn out when they were yet breathing; but now, this bloody action is done after they are strangled. Their death is less cruel; and preserving this barbarous solemnity which is added to it, serves to terrify the populace. There was not one of these unhappy men who suffered but protested that he died in a just cause, and strenuously excited the people to persist in it. Two days after, three Scotch Peers were condemned to be beheaded*.

It is known that the laws of England consider none as nobility but Lords; that is to say, the Peers. They are tried for the crime of high-treason in a manner different from the rest of the Nation. At their trial, a Peer is chosen to preside as judge, who bears the title of Lord-High-Steward of the Kingdom. This title nearly corresponds with that of Grand Seneschal. The Peers of Great-Britain on these occasions receive his orders. By letters under his own seal, written in Latin, they are summoned to assemble in the great Hall at Westminster. He must have at least twelve Peers of accord with him, to enable him to pronounce judgment. This session is held in the most solemn manner. The Lord-High-Steward sits under a canopy, and the Clerk of the Crown delivers his commission to a King of Arms, who presents

* Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Cromarty.

it upon his knees. Six mace-bearers always attend him, and wait at the doors of his coach on his going in or coming out of the Hall. He is paid a hundred guineas each day during the continuance of the trial. When the accused Peers are brought before him and the other Peers their judges, a Serjeant at Arms cries three times *Oyez*; in the old French language. A Serjeant of the Court carries before them an axe, the edge turned towards the High-Steward; and when sentence of death is pronounced, it is turned towards the criminal.

With these melancholy ceremonies the Lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Cromarty, were conducted to Westminster-Hall. The Lord-Chancellor performed the office of High-Steward. They were all three convicted of having borne arms for the Pretender, and condemned according to law to be hanged and quartered *. The Lord-Steward, who pronounced their sentence, informed them at the same time, that the King, by virtue of his royal prerogative, changed their punishment into that of being beheaded. Lady Cromarty, who had already eight children, and was big with the ninth, went with her family and prostrated herself at the King's feet, and obtained pardon for her husband:

The two others were executed †. Kilmarnock on the scaffold shewed signs of repentance. Balmerino behaved with unshaken intrepidity, and went to death in the regimental uniform under which he had fought. The Governor of the Tower having, according to custom, cried, "Long live King George!" Balmerino answered with an elevated voice, "Long live King James and his worthy son!" and died braving death as he had braved his judges.

Executions were almost daily spectacles, and the prisons were filled with impeached persons. A Secretary of Prince Edward, named Murray, preserved his life by disclosing such secrets as convinced the King of the danger he had escaped. He discovered, that both in London and in the Counties there was a concealed party, and that they had furnished the Prince with large

* August 12, 1746.

† August 29.

sums of money. But whether these informations were not sufficiently circumstantiated; or rather, whether the Government were fearful of irritating the Nation by too close researches; they contented themselves with prosecuting those only who were taken in open rebellion. Ten were executed at York, ten at Carlisle, and forty-seven at London; and in the month of November, every twentieth man of all the inferior officers and soldiers were drawn by lot and suffered death, and the rest were transported to the Colonies. In the same month also, seventy were executed at Penrith, at Brumpton, and at York, ten at Carlisle, and nine at London. An English Priest who was imprudent enough to ask of Prince Edward the Bishoprick of Carlisle, at the time he was in possession of that city, was led to the gallows and executed in his pontifical habit. He harangued the people with vehemence in favour of the family of King James, and prayed to God for all those who had perished like him in this quarrel.

But of all these unhappy sufferers, the fate of Lord Derwentwater seemed most to be lamented. His eldest brother was beheaded at London in 1715, for having fought in the same cause. He had his son brought upon the scaffold, though an infant, and addressed him in these terms: "Be covered with my blood, and learn to die for your Kings." His youngest brother, who had escaped at that time and entered into the French service, was included in the same condemnation. As soon as he knew that he could be useful to Prince Edward, he set out for England; but the vessel in which he embarked with his son and several officers, provided with arms and money, was taken by the English. He suffered the same death as his brother, and with the same firmness, saying, "The King of France would take care of his son;" who not being an English subject, was released, and returned to France, where the King made good his father's expectations, by giving him and his sister a pension.

The last Peer who suffered by the hands of the executioner was Lord Lovat; a man of eighty years of age,

It

It was he who was the first mover of the enterprize. He had laid the foundation of it ever since the year 1740. The chief malcontents used to assemble privately at his house. He engaged to raise the Clans when Prince Charles-Edward embarked in 1743. He employed all the chicanery of the law to defend a remnant of life which he lost at last on the scaffold ; but he died with as much greatness of soul as he had shewn dexterity and finessè in his conduct. He pronounced aloud this verse of Horace before he received the stroke :

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

But the most strange event, and such as is scarcely to be met with out of England, was, that a young student of Oxford, named Painter, devoted to the Jacobite party, and intoxicated with that fanaticism which produces so many extraordinary things in fiery imaginations, requested to suffer in the place of this old man. He made the most pressing entreaties, to which no regard was paid *. This young man did not personally know Lord Lovat ; but he knew that he had been the chief of the conspiracy, and he looked upon him as a respectable and necessary man.

The Government joined to past vengeance future precautions. An embodied militia was kept up towards the frontiers of Scotland. The Scotch Lairds were deprived of their hereditary jurisdictions, which attached their Clans to them ; and the Chiefs who had remained faithful to Government, were indemnified by pensions and other advantages.

The Court of France, in its solicitude for the fate of Prince Edward, had sent out two small frigates in the month of June, which happily arrived on the western coast of Scotland, where the Prince had landed at the beginning of this unfortunate enterprize. He was sought for in vain in this country, and in several neighbouring Isles

* Nor could they. Our laws admit of no vicarious atonements. We cannot perform penances for one another, as they do under papal jurisdiction. *Translator.*

of the coast of Lochabar. At length, on the 29th of September, the Prince arrived by unfrequented roads, and through a thousand new perils, at the place where he was expected. What is astonishing, and proves that all hearts were with him, is, that the English were not apprised, neither of the arrival of these vessels, nor of their stay, nor of their departure.

They brought the Prince within sight of Brest; but they found an English fleet opposite that port. They then stood out to sea again, and returned afterwards upon the coast of Britany, on the side of Morlaix. Here they found another English fleet. They hazarded passing thro' the enemy's ships; and at last, after so many dangers and misfortunes, the Prince got safe into the port of St. Paul de Leon, on the 10th of October, 1746, with some few of his partizans who had like him escaped the vigilance of the conquerors. Thus ended an adventure which, in times of knight-errantry, might have proved fortunate; but could not be expected to succeed in an age when military discipline, artillery, and above all money, in the end decides every thing.

While Prince Edward had been wandering up and down in the isles and mountains of Scotland, and scaffolds had been prepared every where for his adherents, his conqueror, the Duke of Cumberland, was received in triumph at London. The Parliament settled an annuity on him of twenty-five thousand pounds per annum, which is about five hundred thousand livres of France, besides his former revenue. The English Nation performs itself what Sovereigns do elsewhere.

Charles-Edward was not yet at the end of his calamities; for having taken refuge in France, and finding himself obliged to leave that country to satisfy the English, who insisted on it in the treaty of peace, his courage, grown desperate by so many shocks, refused to yield to the necessity of the times. He resisted remonstrances, intreaties, and commands, pleading that the promise ought to be observed which had been made never to abandon him. They were obliged to seize on his person. He was arrested, pinioned, thrown into prison, and

conducted out of France. This was the finishing stroke to the misfortunes with^d which Fate had oppressed a race of Kings for three hundred years.

Charles-Edward from this time concealed himself from all the world. Let private persons, who repine at their little misfortunes, read the history of this Prince and his ancestors *!

C H A P. XXVI.

The King of France failing in his Attempt to restore Peace, gains the Battle of Laufeld. Bergen-op-zoom taken by Assault. The Russians at last march to the Assistance of the Allies.

WHILE this fatal scene was transacting in England, Louis XV. completed his conquests. Unfortunate in all parts where he was not present, and victorious in every enterprize in which he accompanied Marshal Saxe, he continually urged a pacification necessary for all the parties, who had now no longer any pretence left for destroying each other. It did not appear to be the interest of the new Stadtholder to continue the war at the commencement of an authority not yet thoroughly established, and which was not supported by any fixed stipend. But the public animosity against the Court of France was carried so far, and the ancient jealousies were so inveterate, that a Deputy of the States, when he presented the Stadtholder to the States-General, on the day of his installation, said in his speech, "That the Republic stood in need of a Chief, against an am-

* All these circumstances were written in 1748, under the direction of a person who accompanied the Prince a considerable time, both in his prosperities and adversity.

The History of this Prince properly falls in with the memoirs of the war 1741. But it has entirely escaped the researches of those who have pirated, disfigured, and sold a part of that manuscript.

Voltaire.

as before.

“bitious and perfidious neighbour, who made a jest of the faith of treaties:”—strange expressions, while they were yet negotiating; and for which Louis XV. took no other revenge than not to make any ill use of his victories; which ought to appear still more surprising.

This violent rancour was universally fomented by the Court of Vienna, which constantly resented the attempt made to strip Maria-Theresa of her hereditary dominions, in violation of the faith of treaties. Louis had repented of this procedure; but the Allies were not satisfied with this. The Court of London, during the conferences at Breda, intrigued with all Europe to raise new enemies against him.

At length the Ministry of George II. produced a formidable succour from the extremities of the North. Elizabeth Petrowna, daughter of the Czar Peter I. and Empress of all the Russias, ordered fifty thousand men to march into Livonia, and promised to equip fifty galleys*. This armament was to be at the absolute disposal of the King of England, on the payment of only one hundred thousand pounds sterling. It cost four times as much for the eighteen thousand Hanoverians who served in the English army. This treaty, which had been concerted long before, could not be concluded until the month of June, 1747.

There had been no example hitherto, of so great a succour coming from so distant a quarter; and nothing could be a stronger proof that Czar Peter the Great, in changing the face of affairs throughout his extensive dominions, had laid the foundation of great alterations in the politics of Europe. But while the very extremes of the earth were thus excited against the King of France, his conquests increased. Dutch Flanders was taken as rapidly as the other places had been. The grand object with Marshal Saxe always was, the conquest of Maastricht. This is not one of those places which might

* Marshal Saxe is reported to have said, *en Gajconade*, upon this occasion, “I’m glad they are coming, for ’twas quite out of our way to go look for them.” *Translator.*

be easily taken by a victorious army, like most of the towns in Italy. After the possession of Maeltricht, it was designed to have attacked Nimeguen; and in that case it is not to be doubted but the Dutch would have sued for peace before a single Russian could have come to their assistance: but Maeltricht could not be besieged 'till a considerable battle had been fought and completely gained.

The King was at the head of his army, and the Allies were encamped between him and the city. The Duke of Cumberland still commanded them. Marshal Bathiani conducted the Austrians, and the Prince of Waldeck the Hollanders.

The King chose to engage; Marshal Saxe made the disposition*; and the event was the same as at the battle of Liege. The French were conquerors; but the Allies were not so completely routed, that the grand object of the siege of Maeltricht could be accomplished. They retired under the cannon of this city after being beaten, and left Louis XV. not only the glory of a second victory, but the full liberty of pursuing all his operations in Dutch Brabant. The English troops signalized themselves again in this battle, by making the bravest resistance. Marshal Saxe himself charged them at the head of some brigades. The French lost the Count de Baviere, natural-brother of the late Emperor Charles VII.; the Marquis de Froulay, a Field-Marshal; and a most promising young man; Colonel Dillon, a name in high repute with the Irish Brigades; Brigadier Erlach, an excellent officer; the Marquis d'Autichamp, and the Count d'Aubeterre, the brother of him who was killed at the siege of Brussels. The number of the slain was considerable. The Marquis de Bonac, whose father had acquired great reputation as an Ambassador, lost a leg. The young Marquis de Segur had an arm taken off. He had lain at the point of death for a long time with the wound he had formerly received, and had but just recovered, when this new disaster reduced him to the same condition. The King said to the Count de Segur, his father, "Your son "merited to be invulnerable." The loss was nearly equal

July 2, 1747.

on both sides. Between five and six thousand men killed or wounded on each part signalized this day. The King of France made it famous by his speech to General Ligonier, who was brought to him a prisoner: "Would it not be better (said the King to him) to think seriously of peace, than to destroy so many brave men?" This General Officer of the English army was born his subject, and the King placed him at his table; but natives of Scotland, though officers in the French service, had been put to an ignominious death in England for the unfortunate enterprize of Prince Charles-Edward*.

After every victory, after every conquest, Louis XV. always proffered peace, but in vain; he was not listened to. The Allies depended on the succour of the Russians; on their success in Italy; on the alteration in the government of Holland, which would give birth to new armies; on the Cycles of the Empire; and on the superiority of the English fleets, which constantly menaced the possessions of France in Asia and America.

The fruit of this victory was still wanting. It was resolved to lay siege to Bergen-op-zoom; a place deemed impregnable, less on account of its being the masterpiece of the celebrated engineer Cohorn, than because it was continually supplied with ammunition and all kinds of necessaries by the river Scheldt, which forms an arm of the sea behind it. Besides these advantages, and a numerous garrison, there were lines near the fortifications, and in these lines a body of troops which could at every instant relieve the town.

Of all the sieges that had ever been formed, this perhaps was the most difficult. The conduct of it was given to Count de Lowendhal, who had already taken part of Dutch Brabant. This General, a native of Denmark, had been in the Russian service. He had distinguished himself at the assaults of Oczakow, when

* This is an unfair and invidious comparison. An open war and a clandestine rebellion are very different cases, and to distinguish in the Law of Nations. *Translator.*

the Russians forced the Janissaries in that city. He spoke almost all the languages of Europe; he knew all its Courts, their politics, the genius of the several inhabitants, and their manner of fighting; and had at last given the preference to the French service, into which, through the friendship of Marthal Saxe, he was received in the rank of Lieutenant-General.

The French and the Allies, the besieged and even the besiegers themselves, all thought the enterprize would fail. Lowendhal was almost the only person who seemed to think the success certain. Every measure was taken by the Allies; the garrison was reinforced; provisions of all sorts arrived by the Scheld; the artillery was well served, the besieged made several sallies; attacks were made by a considerable body of troops which protected the lines near the city, and mines were sprung in several places. A sickness among the besiegers, encamped on an unwholesome spot, seconded the resistance of the garrison. These contagious disorders rendered more than twenty thousand of the French army incapable of service; but their place was easily supplied. At last, after three weeks open trenches, Count Lowendhal demonstrated that there are occasions when it is necessary to go beyond the established rules of art. The breaches were not yet practicable; but there were three works slightly damaged, the ravelin of Edem, and two bastions, one of which was called the Maiden, and the other the Coborn. The General resolved to carry the town by an assault on these three places at once.

The French in regular engagements often find their equals, and sometimes their masters, in the art of war, but they have no rivals in those coups-de-main, and in those rapid enterprizes, where impetuosity, agility, and audour, surmount all obstacles. The troops having received their orders in whispers, and all being ready in the dead of the night, when the besieged thought themselves in security, they descended into the fosse and ran to the three breaches. Twelve grenadiers alone made themselves masters of the fort of Edem, killing all who resisted, and making the rest throw down their

² September 17, 1747.

arms in dismay. The Maiden and the Cohorn were assailed and carried with the same vivacity; the troops climbing up in crowds. Every thing is carried; they push on to the ramparts, where they form, and enter the city with bayonets fixed. The Marquis de Lujac seized on the gate leading to the harbour, the Commandant of that fortress surrendering at discretion. All the other forts were surrendered in the same manner. The old Baron de Cromstrom, who commanded within the town, fled to the lines. The Prince of Hesse-Philippstadt making some resistance in the streets with two regiments, the one Scotch and the other Swiss, they were cut to pieces. The rest of the garrison fled towards the lines for protection, and spread terror where-ever they came, till the flight became general, and arms, provisions, baggage, and every thing else was abandoned. The city was pillaged by the victorious troops. They seized, in the King's name, on seventeen large barges in the port, laden with ammunition of all sorts, and refreshments sent to the besieged by different cities of Holland. On the chests were written in large characters, "For the invincible garrison of Bergen-op-zoom." The King, when he received the news, made Count Lowendhal a Marshal of France. The surprise was very great at London: but the consternation throughout Holland was inexpressible, and the army of the Allies were disheartened. Notwithstanding all this good fortune, it was still very difficult to conquer Maastricht. This enterprize was reserved for the year 1748. Marshal Saxe said, "That the peace lay in Maastricht."

The campaign was opened with the preparations for this important siege. Nearly the same measures were to be taken as at the siege of Namur; to open to themselves and secure all the avenues, to force an entire army to retreat, and to render it incapable to act. This was the most skilful manœuvre of the whole war. The enterprize could not succeed, but by engaging the enemy to change their position. It was necessary to deceive them, and, at the same time, to keep the real object a secret from their own army. The marches must

be

be so combined, that each march should deceive the enemy, and that all should answer the main design. All this was planned by Marshal Saxe, and arranged by Monsieur de Ciemille.

The enemy was at first made to believe that the French had a design on Bréda. The Marshal himself conducted a large convoy to Bergen-op-zoom, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and seemed to turn his back on Maastricht*. Another division marched at the same time to Tirlmont, on the road to Liege; another to Tongres; another threatened Luxemburg; and all at last marched towards Maastricht on the right and on the left of the Meuse.

The Allies, separated into different bodies, did not discover the Marshal's design till it was too late to oppose it. The city found itself invested † on both sides of the river, so that no succours could possibly enter. The enemy, to the number of near eighty thousand men, were at Mazeik and at Ruremonde; and the Duke of Cumberland could do no more than be a witness of the taking of Maastricht.

To combat this constant superiority of the French, the Austrians, English, and Dutch, expected thirty-five thousand Russians instead of fifty thousand, on which number they had at first relied. This succour, which came from ~~too~~ a distance, arrived at last. The Russians were already in Franconia; an indefatigable set of men, accustomed to the most rigid discipline. They slept upon the bare ground, covered only with a single cloak, and often upon the snow; the coarsest food satisfied them; and at this time they had not four sick in any one regiment of their army. What might render this succour still more important was, that the Russians never desert; their religion differing from all the other Latin Communions, their language having no relation to the rest, and their aversion to strangers, rendering desertion, so frequent in other armies, totally unknown among them. in a word, it was the same Nation who had conquered the Turks and the Swedes. But the Russian soldiers, who had become such excellent

* April 5, 1743.

† April 13.

cellent troops, were at this time in want of good officers. The national troops knew how to obey, but their Captains did not know how to command; and they had no longer a Munich, a Lasci, a Keil, nor a Lowendhal, to head them.

While Marshal Saxe besieged Maestricht, the Allies put all Europe in motion. They prepared for a renewal of the war in Italy with fresh vigour, and the English had already attacked the French settlements in Asia and America. It will now be necessary to observe the great exploits they performed with a small force, both in the old and in the new world.

C H A P. XXVII.

The Voyage of Admiral Anson round the Globe.

FRANCE or Spain cannot be at war with England, but the shock given in Europe must be felt to the extremities of the earth. If the industry and bravery of our modern Nations boast an advantage over the rest of the globe, and beyond all antiquity, it is owing to our maritime expeditions. We are not perhaps so much astonished as might be expected, to see fleets sent out from the ports of inconsiderable Provinces, scarce known in former times by the ancient civilized Nations, one single ship of which would have destroyed all the fleets of the Greeks and Romans. On one side, these fleets sail beyond the Ganges to fight battles with each other in sight of the most powerful Empires, which remain the quiet spectators of an art and a rage which have not yet reached them; on the other, they go beyond America, and contest for slaves in a new world.

The success is seldom proportionable to these enterprises, not only because all the obstacles are not foreseen, but because the means are seldom adequate to the end proposed.

Admiral

Admiral Anson's voyage shews clearly, what an intelligent and resolute man may accomplish, notwithstanding defective preparations and excessive perils.

We may recollect, that when England declared war against Spain in 1739, the Ministry sent Admiral Vernon to the Gulf of Mexico; that he there destroyed Porto-Bello, and failed in his attempt on Carthagena. George Anson was ordered at the same time to make an irruption into the Kingdom of Peru by the South Sea, in order to ruin if possible, or at least to weaken, at both extremities, the extensive conquests which Spain had made in this part of the world. Anson was made Commodore, that is to say, Commander of a Squadron. They gave him five ships of the line; a kind of small frigate mounting eight guns, and carrying about one hundred men; and two private ships laden with provisions and merchandize. These two vessels were to carry on a traffic in favour of the enterprize; for it is peculiar to the English to connect commerce with war. The whole crew of this squadron consisted only of four thousand seven hundred men, amongst whom there were seven hundred old invalids, and two hundred young recruits. This was but a very small force, and they sailed too late in the year; for this armament did not get to sea 'till the end of September 1740.

Anson sailed by the island of Madeira, belonging to Portugal. He advanced to Cape Verd, and cruised along the coast of Brasil. He put into a little island called St. Catharine, which is always covered with verdure and with fruits, in the 27th degree of the southern latitude; and after coasting along the cold and uncultivated country of the Patagomans, of which so many fables have been invented, towards the end of February, 1741, he entered the Streight of La Maire, beyond one hundred degrees latitude, and got clear of it in five months. The little sloop of eight guns, named the Trial, was the first of the kind that had ventured to double Cape Horn. She afterwards took a private ship of six hundred tons in the South Sea, whose crew consisted

not comprehend their being taken by a bark coming from England into the Pacific Ocean.

However, in doubling Cape Horn, after having passed the Streight of Le Maire, Anson's Squadron was buffeted by very severe storms, and dispersed. An inveterate scurvy likewise destroyed one-half of his people; and the Commodore's vessel alone made the desert island of Fernandes in the South Sea, in their way back towards the tropic of Capricorn.

The rational reader, who must observe with some degree of horror the prodigious pains that men take to render themselves and their fellow-creatures unhappy, will learn with satisfaction that Anson, finding in this island a most serene climate and fertile soil, sowed on it the seeds of several plants and fruits, and some nuts, which he had taken with him, and which soon after covered the whole island. Some Spaniards who put in there a few years after, and since then had been carried prisoners to England, judged that it could be no other than Anson who had repaired the evils of war by this liberal action, and thanked him as their benefactor.

He found upon the coast a great many sea-lions, whose males fought desperately with each other for the females; and his people were astonished to see a number of goats in the plains with their ears cut, which served to verify the adventures of one Selkirk, an Englishman, who, being left upon this island, had lived there several years. Let me be permitted to soften by the relation of these little circumstances a melancholy history which is only a recital of murders and calamities. A more interesting observation was that of the variation of the compass, which was found conformable to Halley's system. The Needle followed exactly the route which this great Astronomer had traced for it. He gave laws to the magnetic powers, as Newton had done to all Nature: and this little Squadron, which traversed unknown seas only with a view of plunder, proved useful to philosophy without designing it.

Anson, who was on board a sixty-gun ship, having been joined by another man of war, and by the *Thetis*

sloop, took several pretty considerable prizes in cruising off this Island of Fernandes. But soon after, advancing towards the equinoctial line, he ventured to attack the city of Païta, situated on the same coast of America. He did not make use of his men of war, nor yet of the remainder of his crew, in attempting this bold stroke. Fifty soldiers in a row-boat performed this expedition. They landed in the night; the surprize was sudden; and the confusion and disorder being redoubled by darkness, multiplied and augmented the danger.

The Governor, the garrison, and the inhabitants, fled on all sides. The Governor went up the country, got together about three hundred horse, and raised the militia in the neighbouring places. The fifty English soldiers in the mean time, for three days together, transported to their ships the treasures they found in the Custom-house and in private houses without the least interruption. The negro-slaves who did not fly (a species of animals who belong to the first that seizes on them), assisted in carrying off the riches of their former masters. The men of war then approached the town, and the Governor had neither the courage to return into the city and defend it, nor the prudence to treat with the conquerors for the ransom of the place and of the remaining effects. Anson therefore ordered Païta to be reduced to ashes, and then set sail, having plundered the Spaniards with as much ease as they had formerly stripped the Americans*. The loss sustained by the Spaniards amounted to upwards of fifteen hundred thousand piastres, and the English gained about one hundred and eighty thousand, which, added to the prizes taken before, already enriched the squadron; and the great number taken off by the scurvy, left a larger share for the survivors. This little squadron appeared afterwards off Panama, on the Pearl coast, and advanced to Acapulco, at the back of Mexico. The Government at Madrid were ignorant at this time of the danger they were in of losing that considerable part of the globe.

If Admiral Vernon, who had besieged Carthagena on the opposite sea, had succeeded, he might have assisted

Com-

Commodore Anson. The Isthmus of Panama to the right and left would have been taken by the English, and the centre of the Spanish dominions lost.

The Spanish Administration, long before apprised of this, had taken its precautions, which an unparalleled misfortune rendered useless. They had provided against Anson's squadron by a more numerous fleet, with a greater number of men and more cannon, under the command of Don Joseph Pizarro. The same tempests which had assailed the English, dispersed the Spaniards before they could make the Streight of Le Maire. They were not only attacked with the same scurvy which had carried off half the English, but the provisions they expected from Buenos Ayres not arriving, famine was added to the distemper. Two of their ships, whose crews were at the point of death, were bulged on the coasts, and two more were shipwrecked. The Commander was obliged to leave his own ship at Buenos Ayres, because there were not hands enough left to steer her, and this ship could not be repaired under three years; so that he returned to Spain in 1746 with not quite an hundred men, out of two thousand seven hundred that he carried out: a fatal event, which serves to shew that the sea-service is more dangerous than that of the land; since, independent of engagements, they are almost always liable to the most horrible dangers and the most dreadful extremities.

The misfortunes of Pizarro left Anson at full liberty in the South-Sea; but the loss he had sustained on his part, put it out of his power to undertake any considerable enterprizes by land, especially since he had heard from his prisoners of the failure of the siege of Carthage, and that Mexico had been secured.

Anson then centered all his schemes and his great hopes in the single object of taking an immense galleon which the Mexicans send every year into the Chinese Seas to the Island of Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, so called because they were discovered in the reign of Philip II.

This galleon, laden with silver, would not stir out of port while any English ships were seen on the coasts, nor set sail till a considerable time after their departure. The Commodore therefore traversed the Pacific Ocean, and all the climates opposite to Africa, between our tropic and the equator. Avarice, rendered honourable by fatigue and danger, made him run over the whole globe with two men of war. The scurvy pursued his crew to these seas; and one of the ships proving leaky in several parts, they were obliged to abandon and burn her at sea, lest some of her wreck should be carried into any of the Spanish Islands, and prove serviceable to them. The remainder of the sailors and marines belonging to this ship were taken on board the *Centurion*, the Commodore's ship, which, with two sloops, were all that remained of his squadron. The *Centurion*, which had singly escaped so many dangers, but was greatly impaired, and had almost all her crew sick, happily for them, put into one of the Marianne Islands called *Tinian*, at this time almost entirely deserted; and when peopled, it contained scarcely thirty thousand souls, the greatest part of whom had perished by an epidemical disease, and the remainder had been transported to another Island by the Spaniards.

Their residence at *Tinian* saved the crew. This Island, more fertile than that of *Fernandes*, presented on all sides wood, spring-water, tame animals, fruit, vegetables, and every thing that was necessary for food, for the conveniencies of life, and for refitting a ship. But the most singular thing they found on it was a tree the taste of whose fruit resembled the best bread: a real treasure, which, if it were possible to transport it into our climates, would be far preferable to those imaginary riches snatched from the extremities of the globe in the midst of the greatest perils. From this Island they coasted along that of *Formosa*, and steered to *Macao* towards *China*, at the entrance of the river *Canton*, to complete the repair of the only remaining ship.

Macao during one hundred and fifty years has belonged to the Portuguese. The Emperor of *China* permitted them

them to build a town in this little Island, which is only a rock, but was necessary for their commerce. The Chinese from that time have never violated the privileges granted to the Portuguese. This fidelity, in my opinion, invalidates the testimony of the English author who has published the history of this expedition of Admiral Anson *. This historian, in other respects judicious, instructive, and a good citizen, never mentions the Chinese but as a contemptible people, without fidelity and without industry. As to their industry, it is indeed of a different nature from ours ; and as to their manners, I imagine we should form our judgment of a powerful Nation rather from its Governors than from the populace at the extremities of a province. It appears to me, that the faith of treaties observed by the Government for a century and a half, does more honour to the Chinese, than they derive shame from the avarice and treachery of a low race of people inhabiting one of the sea-coasts of this vast empire. Must the most ancient and the best policed Nation in the world be insulted, because some poor wretches wanted to defraud the English by little thefts and illicit profits of the twenty thousandth part of what the English had taken by force from the Spaniards in the Chinese Sea ? It is not long since travellers had experienced much greater oppressions in more than one country of Europe. What would a Chinese have said, if, having been shipwrecked on the coasts of England, he had seen the inhabitants running in crowds greedily to seize before his face on all his shipwrecked effects ?

The Commodore having put his ship into very good condition at Macao by the assistance of the Chinese, and having received on board some Indian and Dutch sailors who appeared to him to be useful hands, set sail again, feigning to go to Batavia, and even giving it out to his crew ; but having in reality no other design than to return to the Philippine Islands in pursuit of the galleon, which he presumed would now be in this latitude. As

* Created an Admiral upon his return.

soon as he was out at sea, he imparted his project to his people. The idea of so rich a prize inspired them with joy and hope, and redoubled their courage. In fine, on the 9th of June, 1743, they discovered this so much desired ship advancing towards Manilla. It mounted sixty-four guns, twenty-eight of which were only four-pounders. The crew consisted of five hundred and fifty men. The treasure it carried amounted to no more than about fifteen hundred thousand piastras in silver, with some cochineal ; for the whole treasure, which is commonly of twice that amount, having been divided, had been transported in another galleon.

The Commodore had only two hundred and forty men on board the *Centurion*. The Captain of the galleon, perceiving the enemy, chose rather to risk the treasure than to lose his honour by flying from an Englishman, and boldly crowded all his sail to come to engage him.

The rage of seizing on riches, which is stronger than the duty of preserving them for a Sovereign ; the expertness of the English, and the skilful manœuvres of the Commodore ; gained him the victory. He had only two men killed in the engagement. The galleon lost sixty-seven, and had eighty-four wounded ; yet still the Captain had more people left than the Commodore when he surrendered. The conqueror returned to Canton with this rich prize ; and there supported the honour of his Nation, by refusing to pay the Emperor of China the duties which are laid on all foreign ships. He insisted that a man of war was not subject to any, and his resolution carried the point. The Governor of Canton gave him an audience, to which he was conducted through a double file of soldiers, to the number of ten thousand ; after which he returned home by the Islands of Sunda and the Cape of Good Hope. Having thus made the tour of the world victorious, he landed in England on the 4th of June, 1744, after a voyage of three years and a half.

He caused the treasures he had taken to be carried to London in triumph in thirty-two waggons, amidst the acclamations of the populace and the music of drums and trumpets. His prizes in silver and gold were esti-
mated

mated at ten millions of French money, which were the sole property of the Commodore, his officers, sailors, and soldiers; the King claiming no part of the fruit of their fatigues and of their valour. These riches soon circulating in the Nation, contributed to enable her to support the immense expences of the war.

Some common privateers, however, took more considerable prizes. Captain Talbot with a single vessel took two French ships, which he imagined at first came from Martinico, and contained only common merchandize; but these two Malouin vessels having been freighted by the Spaniards before war had been declared between France and England, thought to return home in safety. A Spaniard, who had been Governor of Peru, was on board one of these ships; and they were both laden with treasures consisting of gold, silver, diamonds, and the most valuable merchandize. This prize was estimated at twenty-six millions of livres. The privateer's crew were so astonished at the riches they saw, that they did not condescend, as usual, to take away the jewels which the Spanish passengers wore. Though there was scarce any that had not a sword mounted in gold, and a diamond ring upon his finger, yet they did not touch one of them; and when Talbot arrived with his prizes safe at Kinsale, in Ireland, he gave twenty guineas to each of the sailors and to all the Spanish servants.

The booty was divided between two privateers, one of which had been Talbot's companion; but left him to pursue, though without success, another vessel named the *Elperance*, which was the richest of the three. Each sailor of the two privateers had eight hundred and fifty guineas for his share. The two Captains had each three thousand five hundred guineas; and the remainder was divided among the owners of the privateers, after it had been transported in triumph from Bristol to London in forty-three waggons. The greatest part of this money was lent to the King himself, who paid interest for it to the proprietors. This single prize was worth more than a year's revenue of all Flanders. One may judge how

far

far such adventures encouraged the English to go a-cruizing, and raised the hopes of one part of the Nation, who saw such prodigious advantages arising in the midst of the public calamities.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Louisburg. Sea Engagements. Immense Prizes made by the English.

ANOTHER enterprize, begun later than that of Admiral Anson, shews what a Nation may accomplish which is at once commercial and warlike. I mean the siege of Louisburgh. This was not an operation of the Cabinet-Council at London: it was the fruit of the valour of some private merchants in New-England. This Colony, one of the most flourishing belonging to the English Nation, is situated at about eighty leagues distance from the Island of Louisburg, or Cape Breton; an Island at that time of great importance to the French, being situated towards the mouth of the river St. Laurence, which is the key to their possessions in North-America. This territory had been confirmed to France by the peace of Utrecht. The cod-fishery carried on in those parts was the source of an advantageous commerce, which employed annually above five hundred vessels belonging to Bayonne, St Jean de Luz, Havre-de-Grace, and other sea-ports in France; and they brought home at least three thousand tons of oil proper for a variety of manufactures. It was a nursery for sailors; and the commerce in oil, joined to that of the cod fishery, gave employment to ten thousand men, and circulated ten millions of money.

A merchant, of the name of Vaughan, proposed to his fellow-countrymen of New-England to raise troops to besiege Louisburg. This idea was received with applause; and a lottery was set on foot, the produce of which

which paid a small army of four thousand men, which was raised, accoutred, and provided with transports at the sole expence of the inhabitants. They nominated a General ; but it was necessary to have the consent of the Court of London, and the assistance of some ships of war. The requisition was no sooner made than granted. The Court sent Admiral Warren with four men of war to protect this enterprize of a whole country.

Louisburg was a place that might have been defended, and have rendered all these efforts useless, if it had been provided with sufficient ammunition ; but it is the fate of most settlements at a distance, that we very rarely send them what is necessary in proper time. On the first news of the preparations making against this Colony, the French Minister of the marine department sent off a sixty-four gun ship laden with every thing that was wanting at Louisburg. This ship arrived just to be taken at the entrance of the harbour by the English. The Governor of the town, after a vigorous defence of fifty days, was obliged to surrender. The English prescribed their own terms ; one of which was, that they themselves would transport the garrison and all the inhabitants, amounting to two thousand people, to France. Some months after they were surprised at Brest to see an entire French Colony left upon their strand by English ships.

The taking of Louisburg was besides fatal to the French East-India Company, which had undertaken to farm the fur trade of Canada ; so that their ships, on their return from India, often came and anchored at Louisburg. Two large ships belonging to the Company arrived there immediately after it was taken and surrendered. This was not all : a fatality not less singular farther enriched the new possessors of Cape Breton. A large ship named the *Esperance*, which had escaped the privateers, thought, like the others, that she should be safe in the harbour of Louisburg, and likethem was lost. The lading of these three ships, which came from the heart of Asia and America only to surrender themselves

in this manner, amounted to twenty-five millions of livres. It war for a long time has been allowed to be a game of chance, we may say that the English in one year won at this game about three millions of livres sterling. The conquerors not only made sure of keeping possession of Loubourg for ever, but they made preparations for seizing on all New France.

It should seem, however, as if the English ought to have undertaken more important maritime enterprises, for they had at this time six men of war of one hundred guns, thirteen of ninety, fifteen of eighty, twenty-six of seventy, thirty-three of sixty, thirty-seven from fifty to fifty-four; and under this rate, from the largest frigates of forty guns down to the least, they reckoned one hundred and fifteen: they had besides fourteen bomb-veils and ten fire-ships: in all, two hundred and sixty-three ships of war, besides letter-of-marque sloops and transports. This navy was provided with forty thousand sailors. No Nation ever possessed such a maritime force. All these ships could not be armed at once: far from it; the number of men was too disproportionate. But in fine, in the years 1746 and 1747, the English had a one time a fleet in the Irish and Scotch seas, another at Spithead and another in the East-Indies, another off Jamaica, another at Antigua, and they still kept fitting out new fleets as occasion required.

France was obliged to act on the defensive by sea during the whole war, having in all only thirty-five ships of the line to oppose this formidable power. It became every day more difficult to support the Colonies. If large supplies were not sent them, they remained entirely at the mercy of the English fleets. If the convoys set sail from France or from the Islands, they ran the risk of being taken, with the ships that escorted them. In fact, the French suffered sometimes the most terrible losses; for a fleet of merchantmen coming from France to Martinico *, convoyed by four men of war, was met by an English fleet. Thirty of the merchant-ships were taken,

* October, 1745.

sunk,

sunk, or run ashore; and two of the men of war, one of which was an eighty-gun ship, fell into the hands of the enemy.

A fruitless attempt was made to pass to North America, in order to attempt the retaking of Cape Breton, or to destroy the English Colony of Annapolis, in Nova-Scotia. The Duke d'Anville, of the House of Rochefoucault, was sent there with fourteen ships of war. He was a man of great bravery, and endowed with that politeness which the French alone preserve amidst the ferocity which is remarkable in the sea-service; but his bodily strength was not equal to the greatness of his soul. He died of sickness on the savage coast of Chebucto, after having seen his fleet dispersed by a violent storm. Several of the ships were lost, and others were separated so far from the rest, that they fell into the hands of the English.

However, it often happened that expert officers, who convoyed fleets of French merchantmen, knew how to conduct them home in safety, notwithstanding the numerous fleets of the enemy.

A very successful instance of this was given in the skilful conduct of Monsi. du Bois de la Motte, at that time Captain of a man of war, who, as he was conducting a convoy of eighty sail from the French-American Islands, was attacked by an entire squadron, and had the dexterity to draw all the enemy's fire upon himself, while his convoy slipped away, which he afterwards rejoined and conducted to Port Royal, in St. Domingo. From thence he engaged the enemy a second time, and brought home to France upwards of sixty sail; but of course the English navy in the end destroyed that of France, and ruined its commerce.

One of their most signal advantages at sea was the engagement off Cape Finisterre; an engagement in which they took six of the King's large ships, and seven belonging to the East-India Company armed like men of war; four of which struck during the combat, and the three

others afterwards ; the crews amounting to four thousand men.

London is full of merchants and sea faring men, who interest themselves much more in successes at sea, than in all that passes in Germany or Flanders. The transports of joy in that city were unparalleled, when the same Centurion, which had been so celebrated for sailing round the world, arrived in the Thames, and brought the news of the victory off Finisterre, gained by the same Anson (who with great justice had been created Vice-Admiral), in conjunction with Admiral Warren. Twenty-two waggons arrived at London soon after with the gold, silver, and other effects taken from the French fleet. The loss of these effects, together with the ships, was estimated at more than twenty millions of French livres.

Of the silver taken at this time some money was coined, the legend of which was the word *Invictus*, which served both as a flattering remembrance of the victory, and an encouragement to the people. It was a glorious imitation of the ancient custom among the Romans of engraving in this manner on the current coin, as well as on their medals, the most remarkable events of the empire. This victory was not so surprising as it was happy and useful. The Admirals Warren and Anson had fought with seventeen ships of the line against six of the French, the best of which, in point of construction, was not equal to the smallest ship of the English fleet.

But it was really astonishing that the Marquis de la Jonquiere, who commanded this squadron, after having maintained the engagement for a long time, should be able to manage so as to afford his convoy, which he had brought from Martinico an opportunity to escape. The Captain of the *Windor* expresses himself in these terms in a letter on the subject of this engagement : " I never saw better behaviour than that of the French Commodore : and to say the truth, all the officers of that Nation shewed great bravery ; nor one of them surrendered till it was impossible to work the ship any longer."

The French had now only seven ships remaining in these seas, destined to convoy the merchant-ships to the

American Isles, under the command of Monsieur de l'Estandue. They were met by fourteen English ships. They fought as at Fiomterre, with the same valour and the same fortune. Numbers carried the day; and Admiral Hawke conveyed six of the seven French ships he had beaten into the Thames.

France had then only one man of war remaining; and the mismanagement of Cardinal Fleury in neglecting the marine, was experienced in its full extent. This fault is not easily repaired. The marine is an art, and a great one. Sometimes an excellent land army has been formed in two or three years by experienced and assiduous Generals; but it takes a long time to establish a formidable maritime force.

C H A P. XXIX.

State of Affairs in India, Madras, and Pondicherry. The Expedition of La Bourdonnais. The Council of Da Plin, &c.

WHILE the English were carrying their victorious arms over so many seas, and the whole globe was become the theatre of war, they began to feel its effects in their Colony of Madras. A person named Mahé de la Bourdonnais, who was at once a merchant and a soldier, avenged the honour of the French flag in the heart of Asia.

To render this event more intelligible, it is necessary to give some idea of India, of the European commerce in that rich and extensive country; and of the rivalry subsisting among them, which is often supported by force of arms.

The European Nations have swarmed into India, where they have established large settlements and carried on war, and where many have amassed immense fortunes; but few have applied themselves to the study of the antiquities of that country, formerly more famous for its laws

laws and sciences than for its riches, which are now become the only object of our voyages.

An English gentleman *, who resided thirty years in Bengal, and who understands the ancient and modern language of the Bramins, has destroyed all the idle collection of errors which has hitherto filled our histories of India, and has confirmed the opinions which a small number of the learned had long entertained †. This country without dispute was the most early civilized in the world ; even the learned Chinese themselves resign the superiority. The most ancient monuments that the Emperor Camhi had collected in his cabinet of curiosities were all Indian. This learned and indefatigable Englishman, who in the year 1754 copied their most ancient written law, named the *Shasta*, prior to their *Vedam*, asserts, that at that time it was four thousand six hundred and sixty-six years old ; and if we may believe him, this book or laws, the most ancient in the world, was a long time before that period religiously preserved by tradition, as well as by ancient hieroglyphics.

It is a common practice in all the histories of India, copied without examining one another, to divide all the Indian Nations into Mahometans and idolaters ; yet it is affirmed, that the Bramins and Banians, far from being idolaters, have always acknowledged one God, creator, whom their books every where stile THE ETERNAL ; and they still reverence him amidst all the superstitions which disfigure their ancient religion. We have hitherto believed, on seeing the monstrous figures exposed in their temples for public worship, that they adore Devils, although they never heard of the Devil ; these symbolical representations being only emblems of the Virtues. They generally describe Virtue as an handsome woman, with ten arms to resist temptations. She wears a crown, is mounted on a dragon, and holds in one of her right

* Mr. Holwell.

† “ I have studied (says he) all that has been written concerning the Indians, from Arrian down to the Abbe Guion, and have found nothing but errors and falsehoods.” Page 5th of the Preface.

hands a pike, resembling at the point a flower-de-luce. This is not a proper place to enter into a detail of all their ancient ceremonies, which they have preserved even to our times, nor to explain the *Shastabad* and the *Vedam*, nor to shew how far the modern Bramins have degenerated from their ancestors : yet, notwithstanding their subjection to the Tartars, and the great avarice and debauchery of the Europeans settled on their coasts, have in general made them wicked and deceitful ; the author, who lived long amongst them, observes, that the Bramins who are not corrupted by conversing with the European merchants, nor by intriguing at the Courts of the Nabobs, “ afford the purest model of true piety “ which is to be found on the face of the earth*.”

The climate of India is without doubt the most favourable of any to human nature ; nor is it there uncommon to see people six score years of age. The melancholy narratives of our India Company inform us, that in a battle between two tyrants of that country, one of them named Anaverdikan, whom we caused to be assassinated by a treacherous attendant, was one hundred and seven years old, and that he rallied his troops twice to the charge. The Emperor Aurengzebe lived above one hundred years ; and Nisán Elmóluk, Grand Chancellor of the Empire under Mahomet Shah, who was dethroned and restored by Shah Nadir, died upwards of one hundred years old ; so that whoever lives soberly in that country enjoys a long and healthful life.

If the Indians had remained unknown to the Tartars and to us, they would have been the happiest people in the world. Though the ancient immemorial custom of their philosophers ending their days upon a pile of burning wood, in hopes of again beginning a new life ;

* The high-priest of the Island of Cheringam, in the Province of Arcot, who justified the Chevalier Law against the accusations of Governor Du Pleix, was an old man, aged one hundred years, and respected for his incorruptible virtue. He understood the French language, and was of great service to the East-India Company. It was he that translated the *Ezour-Vedam*, the manuscript of which I sent to the royal library.

and that of the women being burned on the bodies of their husbands, in order to be born with them again under a different shape ; prove them to be very superstitious, yet it shews a courage to which we do not approach. Formerly they dreaded killing their fellow-creatures, but had no fear of destroying themselves. Indeed, the women of the cast * of the Bramins continue to burn themselves ; tho' not so frequently as before. Our penitents afflict their bodies ; but those destroy them : and both act against the intention of nature, with the notion that this body will thereby be rendered more happy.

The aversion to spill the blood of beasts in that ancient Nation, encreased that of destroying mankind ; but such mildness of manners made them always very bad soldiers ; and it is to that virtue their misfortunes and slavery owe their origin. The Tartar government, precisely the same with that of our ancient grand siefs, subjects almost all the people to petty plunderers †, who are named by the Viceroys, which latter are appointed by the Emperor. All these tyrants are very rich, but the people very poor. Such is the policy which was established in Europe, Asia, and Africa, by the Goths, Vandals, Franks, and Turks, who all came originally from Tartary ; a government entirely contrary to that of the ancient Romans, and still more so to that of the Chinese, the best in the world, next to that of the small number of civilized States who have preserved their liberty.

The Mahrattas are almost the only free people in that extensive free country. They inhabit the mountains behind the Malabar coast, between Goa and Bombay, for the space of above seven hundred miles. They are the Swiss of India ; alike warriors, less policed, but more numerous, and therefore more formidable. The Viceroys, who are often at war with one another, purchase their assistance. They pay and fear — them.

The vast superiority of genius and strength which the Europeans possess over the oriental Asiatics, is sufficiently

* Tribe, or sect. † Lairds, of Clans, called Hoides.

proved by the conquests gained by our people in those Nations, and for which they are constantly fighting with each other. The Portuguese, who were the first that settled on the coasts of India, carried their arms and religion to the extent of more than two thousand leagues; having factories and forts which mutually assisted each other, from the Cape of Good Hope as far as Molucca. When Philip II. was master of Portugal, he might have formed an Empire in India at least as advantageous as that of Mexico and Peru; and had it not been for the courage and industry of the Dutch, and afterwards of the English, the Pope would have conferred more real Bishoprics in those immense territories than he bestows in Italy, and have drawn from thence more money than he can from all the people that are subject to the papal chair.

It is well known, that the Dutch have the largest settlements in that part of the world, which extend from the islands of Sunda to the coast of Malabar; next to them the English, who are powerful on the two coasts of the Peninsula of India, and as far as Bengal; and the French, who came last, have the smallest share; so that they have not been more fortunate in the East-Indies than they were in the West.

The French Company which was established by Louis XIV. dissolved in 1712, and again set on foot at Pondicherry in 1720, as has been observed, appeared to be in a flourishing condition: it had a great many ships, some Factors, Directors, and even artillery and soldiers; but it never could by its trade yield the smallest dividend to the proprietors. This is the only trading Company in Europe that comes under the same predicament; for, in fact, neither proprietors nor creditors have received any payment but what arose from the King's grant of part of the duties on tobacco, which is entirely foreign to their trade. By that alone it flourished at Pondicherry; for the returns in money were applied to augment its funds, to fortify and embellish the town, and procure useful allies among the Indians.

Du Pleix, a man as active as intelligent, and as studious as laborious, had, a long time presided in the Factory of Chandénagore upon the Ganges, in the rich and fertile Province of Bengal, about eleven hundred miles from Pondicherry. He had there formed a considerable settlement, had built a town, and fitted out fifteen ships. This was a conquest by genius and industry, greatly preferable to all others. The Company then found it to their interest to allow every individual to trade for his own benefit. The manager in their service acquired an immense fortune, while every body became enriched. He likewise made another settlement at Patna, going up the Ganges, within thirty leagues of Banaras, the ancient school of the Bramins.

So many services justly procured him the entire government of the French settlements at Pondicherry, in the year 1742, when the war broke out between England and France. It has already been remarked, that the repercussions of these wars are always felt to the extremities of the world, in Asia and in America.

The city of Madras, in the Province of Arcot, which belongs to the English, is about ninety miles distant from Pondicherry; and that settlement is of as great consequence to England as Pondicherry is to France. These two cities are rivals; but the commerce between that part of the world and ours is so great, the European industry so active, and so much superior to that of the Indians, that these two Colonies might enrich themselves without hurting each other.

Du Pleix, as Governor of Pondicherry, and Commander in Chief of the French Nation in India, had proposed a neutrality to the English Company, than which nothing could be more suitable to traders, who ought not to sell silks and pepper sword-in-hand; as commerce is intended to be the tie of Nations; to comfort the earth, and not to lay it waste. Humanity and reason dictated this proposal, rejected by pride and avarice. The English promised themselves, not without some probability, to become conquerors on the Indian

dian seas, as in other parts of the globe, and to put a period to the French East-India company.

Mahé de la Bourdonnaie, like the Du Quesnes, the Barts, and the Du Gué-Trouins, was capable of doing a great deal with little, and was no less conversant in commerce than skilful in sea-affairs. He was Governor of the Islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, by the King's appointment, but acted under the direction of the Company. Those Islands had flourished under his administration. He armed nine ships of war, with ^{July 6,} which he sailed from Bourbon, having on board ^{1746.} about two thousand three hundred white and eight hundred black troops, all disciplined by himself, and whom he had made excellent cannoniers. An English squadron, under the command of Admiral Barnet, was cruising in those seas, and not only defended Madras but molested Pondicherry, and took a great number of prizes. This fleet he attacked and dispersed, and then without loss of time went to lay siege to Madras.

Some deputies came to represent to him, that it was not allowed to attack the territories of the Great Mogul. They were in the right; for it is the greatest weakness in the Asiatic Monarchs to suffer it, and the height of European audacity to attempt it. The French, however, landed without resistance, and planted their cannon before the walls of a place badly fortified, with a garrison of only five hundred soldiers for its defence. The English settlement consisted of Fort St. George, where the magazines were all kept; of the White-Town, inhabited only by Europeans; and of the Black-Town, peopled by merchants and mechanics from all the Nations of India, Jews, Banaons, Armenians, Mahometans and Pagans, also red Indians, and others of a copper colour. This multitude amounted to about fifty thousand souls. The Governor was soon forced to surrender, and the ransom of the city was valued at eleven hundred thousand pagodas, which amount to about nine millions of French livres.

Bourdonnaie had positive orders from the Ministry
 " not to hold any of the conquests that he might make " in

“ in India ;” orders as inconsiderate, perhaps, as all are which are given at a distance on subjects that are not therefore within the reach of knowledge. However, he punctually obeyed his instructions, and received hostages and sureties for the ransom of this conquest, which he did not keep. Never was known more punctual obedience, accompanied with greater service. He had the merit also of establishing order in the town ; of calming the terrors of the women (who had all fled for refuge into the churches and pagodas) ; to deliver them with honour from their fears ; and at last to make the victorious Nation respectable, and even to be esteemed by the conquered.

It has almost always been the fate of France, that its enterprizes and even successes out of its frontiers have become fatal. Du Pleix, Governor of the India Company, had the misfortune to be jealous of Bourdonnaie. He annulled the capitulation, seized his ships, and would even have put him under arrest.

The English, and the inhabitants of Madras, who relied upon the Law of Nations, were struck with astonishment at this infraction of the treaty and the word of honour given by Bourdonnaie. But their indignation was raised to its highest pitch, when Du Pleix, having taken possession of the Black-Town, destroyed and laid it in ruins. This piece of barbarity was greatly injurious to the innocent Colonists, without being of the least advantage to the French. The ransom which should have been received, was lost ; and the French name became detestable throughout all India.

In the midst of the discontent, reproaches, and resentment, which were occasioned by such a behaviour, Du Pleix made the Council and principal citizens of Pondicherry, who were under his command, sign the most violent memorials against his rival, accusing him of having demanded too small a ransom for Madras, and of having received for himself presents of too great a value.

At last, as a reward for such a signal service, the conqueror of Madras on his arrival at Paris was shut up in the Bastille, where he remained three years and a half,

while they were sending to India for evidences to appear against him ; nor was he permitted to see his wife and children. Thus cruelly punished on suspicion only, he contracted a mortal distemper in the prison ; but before it had put a period to his life, he was declared innocent * by the Commission of the Council appointed for his trial. It was doubted whether in such a case it was a consolation or an additional grief to be justified so late, and to so little purpose ; nor was any recompence made to his family by the Court. Indeed, the public bestowed upon him the flattering title of “ La Bourdonnaie, the avenger of France, and the victim of envy †.”

But soon after, the same public forgave his enemy Du Pleix, when he defended Pondicherry against the English, who besieged it by sea and land under the command of Admiral Boscawen, who attacked it with about four thousand English and Dutch soldiers, and as many Indians, reinforced by the greatest part of the sailors from his fleet, consisting of twenty-one sail. Mr. Du Pleix then acted as commander, engineer, matross, and commissary of stores. His indefatigable care was well-seconded by Mr. de Buffly, who often repulsed the besiegers at the head of a body of volunteers. All the officers there gave proofs of courage which deserved the gratitude of their country ; so that the capital of the French Colonies, which was thought to be unable to resist, was for this time saved ‡. This was one of the operations which at last procured the grand ribbon of St. Louis to Mr. Du Pleix ; an honour which had never been conferred on any person out of the military service. We shall see in what manner he became the protector and conqueror of the Indian Viceroys, and what catastrophe followed so much glory.

* Feb. 3, 1761. † A sad story, indeed ! *Translator.*

‡ October 17, 1748.

C H A P. XXX.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

IN this flow and ebb of successes and losses, almost common in every war, Louis XV. continued to be victorious in the Low-Countries. Maestricht was already on the point of surrendering to Marshal Saxe, who besieged it after one of the finest manœuvres that was ever attempted by any General; and from thence all was open to Nimeguen. The Dutch were under great consternation, there being near thirty-five thousand of their soldiers prisoners in France; and more dreadful disasters than those of the year 1672 seemed to threaten that Republic. But what France gained on one side, she lost on the other. Her Colonies were exposed, her commerce ruined, and her navy destroyed. As all the contending Nations were sufferers, so all of them stood in need of a peace, as it happened in the former wars. Near seven thousand sailing vessels belonging to France, Spain, England, and Holland, had been taken in the course of their reciprocal depredations. From hence it may be concluded, that above fifty thousand families had sustained considerable losses. In addition to these misfortunes was the vast number of slain, and the difficulty of raising recruits, which happens in every war. One-half of Germany and Italy, together with the Low-Countries, had been laid waste; and to create and prolong so many disasters, the money of England and Holland had engaged thirty-five thousand Russians, who were then in Franconia; so that the same troops which had conquered the Turks and Swedes, were about to approach the frontiers of France.

But what particularly distinguishes this war is, that after every victory gained by Louis XV. he made offers of peace, which had never been accepted. At last, indeed,

deed, when they saw Maestricht was going to fall after Bergen-op-zoom, and that Holland was in danger, the enemy in their turn sued for peace *, which was become necessary to all parties.

The Marquis de St. Severin †, one of the Plenipotentiaries from France at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, began by declaring, that he came to fulfil the words of his master, "That he would make peace not as a merchant, but as a King."

As Louis XV. required nothing for himself, but used his interest for his allies, by that peace he confirmed the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his relation Don Carlos. He likewise settled his son-in-law Don Philip in Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla; and his ally the Duke of Modena, son-in-law to the Duke of Orleans, formerly Regent, was reinstated in the possession of his territories, which he had lost in espousing the cause of France. Genoa again enjoyed all its rights. Thus it appeared more honourable, and even more advantageous to the Court of France to think of nothing but the good of its allies, than to insist upon having two or three towns in Flanders, which would only have been an eternal object of jealousy.

England, which had no other particular interest in this general war besides that of one ship, lost in it a great deal of blood and treasure; and the affair of that ship remained, after all, in the same situation. The King of Prussia was the greatest gainer: he retained the conquest of Silesia at a time when all the Powers agreed not to suffer the aggrandizing of any Prince. The Duke of Savoy King of Sardinia stood next to the King of Prussia in point of advantage, the Queen of Hungary having given him part of the Milanese for his alliance.

* Every other Historian contradicts this assertion of M. Voltaire, by maintaining, that though none of the belligerent Powers could conceal their hearty desire to terminate the war; yet all the measures taken for holding the Congress which produced the peace of 1748, were in consequence of the repeated instances of the Ministers of Louis XV. at the several Courts of Europe, but particularly at those of Vienna, the Hague, and London.

† October 16, 1748.

After this peace France re-established itself in the same manner as after the peace of Utrecht, and became still more flourishing. At that time, the Christian part of Europe was divided into two great parties, who watched one another, and who on each side supported that balance * which had been the pretext for so many wars, though it ought to have insured continual peace. The States of the Empress-Queen of Hungary and part of Germany, Russia, England, Holland, and Sardinia, formed one of these grand factions; while France, Spain, the Two Sicilies, Prussia, and Sweden, composed the other. As all the Powers continued in arms, a lasting tranquility was expected, even from the fear with which one-half of Europe seemed to inspire the other.

Louis XIV. was the first who kept up those numerous forces which obliged the other Princes to make the same efforts; so that after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the Christian Powers of Europe had about a million of men under arms, perhaps to the detriment of arts and necessary professions, but particularly to agriculture. They flattered themselves that for a long time there would be no aggression, because all the States were armed to defend themselves; but they flattered themselves in vain.

C H A P. XXXI.

The State of Europe in 1756. Lisbon destroyed. Confiscations and Punishments in Sweden. Decisive Wars for some Territories towards Canada. The Taking of Port Moresby by Marshal Rubeau.

EUROPE never enjoyed such happy times as from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, to about the year 1755. Trade flourished from Peterburg even to Cadiz; the fine arts were every where respected; a

* The balance of power between the States of Europe.

general harmony prevailed among all nations; and Europe resembled a large family reconciled after a quarrel. The fresh troubles of Europe seemed to be announced by earthquakes, which were felt in several countries, but in a more terrible manner at Lisbon than any where else. One-third of that city was thrown down upon its inhabitants, and thirty thousand souls perished in its ruins. This shock extended into Spain, where the small town of Setubal was almost destroyed, others damaged; and the sea rising higher than the quay at Cadiz, swallowed up all that came in its way. The earthquakes which shook Europe, were likewise felt in Africa; and the same day that the inhabitants of Lisbon perished, the earth opened near Morocco, where a whole tribe of Arabs was buried in the abyss; and the cities of Fez and Mequinez suffered still more than Lisbon.

This scourge ought to have roused mankind to some reflections, and have made them consider, that they were alike victims to death, and should therefore comfort one another. The Portuguese believed that the mercy of God might be obtained by burning some Jews, and other Heretics, in what they call an *Auto-da-fé*, or *act of faith**, which other nations, less instructed, regarded as an act of barbarity; but even from that time, measures were taken in other parts of Europe to dye with blood that earth which had been just before shaking under our feet.

The first fatal catastrophe happened in Sweden. That Kingdom had become a Republic, of which the King was only a first Magistrate, being obliged to conform to the plurality of voices in the Senate. The States, composed of the Nobility, Burgesses, Clergy, and Peasants, could indeed alter the laws of the Senate, but the King did not possess that power.

Some noblemen, more attached to the King than to the new laws of the country, conspired against the Senate in favour of the Monarch. The plot was discovered, and the conspirators were punished with death†. That which might have been deemed a virtuous action in a State purely

June 25, 1756.

† June, 1756.

monarchical,

monarchical, was looked upon as an infamous treason in a country become free. Thus the same actions are crimes or virtues, according to the times or places of their being put in execution *.

This event alienated the Swedes from their King, and it contributed afterwards to cause war to be declared (as we shall see) against Frederic, King of Prussia, whose sister was married to the King of Sweden.

From that period, the revolutions which the same King of Prussia and his enemies were preparing, resembled a flame smothering under the ashes. The fire soon blazed forth, and spread over Europe; but the first sparks came from America.

A slight quarrel between France and England for some desert lands towards Acadia †, gave rise to a new system of politics among all the Sovereigns of Europe. It is proper to observe, that this quarrel was the fruit of the negligence of all the Ministers who in 1712 and 1713 concluded the treaty of Utrecht. By that treaty France had ceded to England, Acadia, adjoining to Canada, with all its ancient limits, but they had not specified what were those limits; to which, indeed, they were strangers. This is a fault which is never committed in contracts between individuals; and debates necessarily arose from that omission. Were philosophy and justice to interfere in the quarrels of men, they would make them see, that the French and the English disputed for a country over which they had not the smallest right; but those first principles never enter into the affairs of the world. A similar dispute among common merchants would have been adjusted in two hours by arbitration; but among crowned heads, the ambition or caprice of a Commissary is sufficient to involve twenty States. The English were accused of seeking the entire destruction of the French trade in that part of America. As they were greatly superior,

* What a strange argument is this! An attempt to subvert the political constitution of any State must ever surely be deemed an act of treason. This is one of M. Voltaire's *many ipse dixits*. *Translator*.

† Nova Scotia.

by their rich and numerous Colonies in North America, so they were still more so at sea by their fleets; and having destroyed the navy of France in the year 1741, they flattered themselves that nothing could resist their power, either in the new world, or on our seas: but they were soon undeceived.

In 1755 they began by attacking the French on the borders of Canada *, and without any declaration of war took above three hundred merchant-ships, as if they had been only smuggling cutters: they even seized some vessels belonging to other nations, which were carrying goods to the French. Upon this occasion the King of France acted quite differently from Louis XIV. He contented himself with immediately demanding justice, and did not even allow his subjects to fit out cruisers. Louis XIV. had often spoken to other Courts with superiority; but Louis XV. made all the Courts sensible of the superiority affected by the English. Louis XIV. had been reproached for an ambition tending towards universal monarchy upon land; Louis XV. made known the real superiority assumed by the English on the seas.

In the mean time, Louis XV. took some revenge: his troops defeated the English near Canada, in 1755; he got ready a considerable fleet in his harbours; and proposed to attack George II. by land in his Electorate of Hanover. Such an irruption into Germany threatened Europe with the conflagration which had been lighted up in the new world; and it was then that all the political views of Europe were altered. The King of England a second time called from the extremities of the North thirty thousand Russians, whom he took into his pay. As the Russian Empire was in alliance with the Emperor and the Empress-Queen of

* Here the partiality of Voltaire, as a French historian, breaks forth again. It is an incontestible truth, that the French began their encroachments on our back settlements along the river Ohio; and that the Court of Versailles refused to give a satisfactory answer to the complaints made by the British Ministry on that head, many months before the seizure of any French ship at the *Toronto*.

Hungary, the King of Prussia had reason to apprehend that the Russians, Imperialists, and Hanoverians, might fall upon him. He had about one hundred and forty thousand men in arms: he did not hesitate to unite with the King of England, to hinder the Russians from entering Germany, on the one hand; and, on the other, to block up the road to the French. Here then all Europe is again in arms, and France again plunged in new calamities, which she might have shunned, if she could have avoided her fate.

The King of France raised with ease, and in a moment, all the money he wanted, by one of those ready resources which cannot be known in a kingdom less opulent than France. Twenty new places of Farmers-general, and some loans, sufficed to support the first years of the war; a destructive facility, which in a short time ruined the Kingdom!

France pretended to threaten the coasts of England. It was no longer such times as when Queen Elizabeth, by the assistance of the English only, having Scotland to fear, and being scarcely able to keep Ireland in subjection, withstood the prodigious efforts of Philip II.; for George II. King of England thought himself obliged to bring over some Hanoverians and Hessians to defend his coasts. The English, who had not foreseen this consequence of their undertaking, murmured to see an inundation of strangers; and the courage of several citizens degenerating into fear, they trembled for their liberty.

The English Ministry were mistaken with regard to the intentions of the French. They were afraid of an invasion, and never thought of the island of Minorca, the fruit of such immense expence lavished in a former war for the possession of Spain.

The English, as is well known, had taken Minorca from the Spaniards. The possession of that place, which had been confirmed to them by all the treaties, was of more importance than Gibraltar, which has no harbour, and gave them the empire of the Mediterranean. About the end of April 1756, the King of France sent the

Marquis

Marshal Duke de Richelieu into that Island with near twenty battalions, escorted by twelve ships of the line, and some frigates, which the English did not suspect to be in so much readiness: all was so at a fixed time and nothing was ready on the side of the English. They attempted, however, though too late, to attack the French fleet, commanded by the Marquis de la Galissonniere, in the month of June following. That engagement could not have preserved the Island of Minorca, but it might have saved their reputation. The expedition was unsuccessful: the Marquis de la Galissonniere threw their fleet into disorder, and repulsed it*. The English Ministry saw with regret for some time, that it had compelled the French to establish a formidable navy.

The English still had hopes of defending the citadel of Port Mahon, which, next to Gibraltar, they regarded as the strongest place in Europe, by its situation, by the nature of the ground, and by thirty years attention which they had employed to fortify it. It was every where an entire rock: there were moats twenty feet deep, and in some places thirty, cut into the rock; there were fourscore mines under some works, before which it was impossible to open the trenches. It was every where impenetrable to cannon, and the citadel was every where surrounded with those exterior fortifications cut into the solid rock.

The Marshal de Richelieu formed a bolder enterprise than that of Bergen-op-zoom, which was to make an assault at one time on all the works which defended the body of the place; and in this daring attempt he was seconded by the Marquis de Maillebois, who always displayed great talents in this war.

* It would have been nearer the truth if Mr. Voltaire had said, that neither of the fleets gained any advantage over the other; but it surpasses the limits of common partiality to give the honour of the day to Galissonniere, who took the earliest opportunity to avail himself of Mr. Byng's misconduct, by flying towards the close of the action, as soon as he had joined the van of his fleet, which had actually been defeated. *Translate.*

The people of London were so exasperated at their not being able to conquer the French at sea, that Admiral Byng, who had fought the Marquis de la Galissonniere, was condemned by a court-martial to be shot, by virtue of an old law passed in the reign of Charles II. Marshal Richelieu, who from the height of a plain country had seen all the engagement, and who could form a judgment of it, in vain sent a declaration to the author of this history in justification of Admiral Byng, which soon reached the King of England. It was also in vain that the judges themselves recommended him in the strongest terms to the mercy of the King, who possessed the prerogative of pardoning; for, after all, the Admiral was executed. He was son of another Admiral, who gained the victory off Messina, in 1718. He died with great resolution, and before his execution sent his vindication to the author, and his acknowledgments to Marshal Richelieu *.

The French descended into the fossées, in spite of the fire of the English artillery; they placed scaling-ladders thirteen feet high, and the officers and soldiers, when arrived at the last round, sprung upon the rock, climbing up one another's shoulders. It was by such a boldness, not easily to be comprehended, that they made themselves masters of the out-works. The troops behaved with so much the more courage, as they had to contend with near three thousand English, assisted by all that art or nature could do for their defence.

The next day the place surrendered †. The English could not conceive how the French had scaled the fossées, into which a man in cool blood would hardly descend. This action acquired great glory to the General and to the nation, but it was the last of their successes against England.

* This is a melancholy story, reader; yet no more sad than true. Reasons of State are mysteries to the vulgar. *Translator.*

† June 29, 1756.

C H A P. XXXII.

The War in Germany. An Elector of Brandenburg resists the House of Austria and the German Empire, together with Russia and France. Remarkable Events.

IT was worthy of admiration that Louis XIV. alone should be able to resist Germany, England, Italy, and Holland, united against him; but we have seen a more extraordinary event; an Elector of Brandenburg singly withstand the forces of the Houses of Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and one-half of the Empire.

This is a prodigy which we can only attribute to the discipline of his troops, and to the superior talents of the General. It is true, chance may gain a battle; but when the weak resist the strong for seven years in a country entirely open, and repair the greatest losses, this cannot be the work of fortune: it is in this respect that this war differs from all others which have desolated the world.

We have already seen that the second King of Prussia, being the only Prince in Europe who had a treasure, and the only one who had introduced proper discipline among his troops, had thereby established a new dominion in Germany; and we have seen how much the preparations of the father emboldened the son to brave alone the power of Austria, and to make himself master of Silesia.

The Empress-Queen waited for a favourable conjuncture to recover that Province. Formerly, it would have been an object of indifference to Europe whether a small territory annexed to Bohemia should belong to one House more than another; but politics being refined more than improved in Europe, as well as all the other objects of the human mind, this trifling dispute occasioned five hundred thousand men to rise in arms. There
never

never were so many effective soldiers employed, neither in the Crusades, nor in the irruptions of the conquerors in Asia. In this manner the new scene was opened.

Elizabeth Empress¹ of Russia was leagued with the Empress Maria-Theresa by ancient treaties, by the common interest which united them against the Turks, and by reciprocal affection. Augustus III. King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, being reconciled to the Empress-Queen and attached to Russia, to which he owed the title of King of Poland, was closely connected with these two Sovereigns. These three Potentates had each their complaints against King Frederic. Maria-Theresa had seen Silesia torn from her House; Augustus and his Council wanted an immediate indemnification for Saxony, ruined by the King of Prussia in the year 1741; and there subsisted between Queen Elizabeth and Frederic some personal subjects of complaint, which have often more influence than is generally thought upon the destiny of States.

These three Powers, being exasperated against the King of Prussia, carried on a strict correspondence among themselves, of which that Prince dreaded the effects. While the troops of Austria were augmenting, those of Elizabeth were ready; but the King of Poland Elector of Saxony was not in a condition to undertake anything. The revenges of his Electorate were exhausted, and he had no garrisoned town remaining to hinder the Prussians from marching to Dresden. Thus order and œconomy had rendered Brandenburg formidable, as much as dissipation had weakened Saxony. The King of Poland's Saxon Council hesitated much about entering into measures which might prove fatal to them.

The King of Prussia lost no time; for from the year 1755 he had taken alone, and without consulting any one, the resolution to prevent the designs of those Powers of whom he had conceived such suspicions. He signed a treaty * instantly with the King of England Elector of Hanover; he made sure of the Landgrave

* January 16, 1756.

of Hesse and of the House of Brunswick, and in this manner renounced his alliance with France.

It was now that the ancient enmity between the Houses of France and Austria, which had continued increasing ever since the time of Charles V. and Francis I. gave way to a friendship which appeared cordially established, to the astonishment of all the Nations of Europe. The King of France, who had carried on so cruel a war against Maria-Theresa, became her ally; and the King of Prussia, who had been allied to France, became her enemy. France and Austria were thus united, after three hundred years spent in a bloody discord. What so many treaties of peace and so many marriages had not been able to accomplish, was effected in a moment, by a disgust received from an Elector. This was called an unnatural alliance by the people of England; but being necessary, it was very natural. It might even have been hoped, that the union of those two powerful Houses, seconded by Russia, Sweden, and several States of the Empire, would be able to restrain the rest of Europe.

The treaty was signed at Versailles by Louis XV. and Maria-Theresa. The Abbé Bernis (now Cardinal) had the sole honor of this treaty, which destroyed the whole system of Coalition, which then seemed to raise another more cruel and extensive. He was soon after Minister of State, and almost as soon disgraced. We see nothing more conclusive both in public and private affairs.

The King of Prussia, threatened on all sides, was only the more ready to take the field. He marched his troops into Saxony, which was almost defenceless, proposing to make that Province a rampart against the power of Austria, and a road to its frontiers. Leipzig immediately fell into his hands, while a part of his army presented itself before Dresden. King Augustus retired, as his father did before Charles XII. He quitted his capital and went

* JANUARY 1756. (1756.)

and occupied the camp of Pirna, near Kœnigstein, on the road to Bohemia, and on the river Elbe, where he thought himself in safety.

Frederic entered Dresden as master, under the name of Protector. The Queen of Poland, daughter of the Emperor Joseph, had not quitted the place. They asked her for the keys of the archives ; and on her refusing to deliver them, preparations were made to force open the doors. The Queen placed herself before them, flattering herself that they would respect her person and resolution ; but they shewed no respect to either, and that depository of the State was opened before her eyes. It was of great consequence to the King of Prussia to find the proofs of the designs of Saxony against him. In fact, he found testimonies of the dread which he had occasioned ; but that same dread, which should have obliged the Court of Dresden to put itself in a state of defence, only served to render it a victim to a powerful neighbour. They were sensible, when it was too late, that according to the situation of Saxony for some years past, they ought to have spent all upon war and nothing on pleasures. There are situations in which people have no other part to take but that of preparing themselves to fight, to conquer, or to perish.

On the report of this invasion, the Aulic Council * of the Emperor declared the King of Prussia to be a disturber of the public peace and a rebel ; but it was difficult to give any weight to this declaration against a Prince who had near one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men under his command. He answered the laws by a battle which was † fought between him and the Austrians, whom he went to meet at the entrance of Bohemia, near a town named Lowositz.

Though this first engagement was indecisive by the number of slain, yet it was not so by its consequences. Nothing could now prevent the King from blooding up the Saxons in the camp of Pirna itself, where the Austrians could not assist them ; and that small army of the King of Poland, consisting of thirteen or fourteen thousand

* Sept. 20, 1756.

† Oct. 11, 1756.

sand men, surrendered prisoners of war seven days after the battle.

Augustus, in this singular capitulation, the only military event between him and the King of Prussia, asked no more than that his guards should not be made prisoners. Frederic replied, "That he could not listen to his request; that those guards would infallibly serve against him; and that he did not chuse to have the trouble of taking them a second time." This answer was a severe lesson to all Princes, that they must render themselves powerful when they have a powerful neighbour.

The King of Poland being thus deprived of his Electorate and his army, demanded passports from his enemy to go into Poland, which were readily granted; and they had the insulting politeness to furnish him with post-horses for his journey. He went from his hereditary estates into his elective Kingdom, where he found nobody even propose to take arms in defence of their King. All the Electorate was laid under contribution; and the King of Prussia in making war found the means of supporting it in the invaded country. The Queen of Poland, who did not follow her husband, but remained at Dresden, died soon after of grief. All Europe pitied that unfortunate family; but in the course of these public calamities, millions of families experienced hardships not less great, though more obscure. The Magistrates of Leipsig remonstrated against the contributions imposed on them by the conqueror, which they said they could not pay.—They were sent to prison, and then paid them.

There never were so many battles fought in any former war as there were in this. The Russians entered the territories of Prussia by the way of Poland. The French became auxiliaries to the Queen of Hungary, and were fighting to restore to her the same Silesia of which they had helped to strip her some years before, when they were allies to the King of Prussia. The King of England, who had been the most avowed friend of the House of Austria, was now one of its most dangerous foes; and

Sweden, which had formerly given such great shocks to this Imperial House of Austria, served it then against the King of Prussia, on account of nine hundred thousand livres given by the French Ministry; though it was Sweden that did the least mischief.

Germany now saw itself torn to pieces by many more national and foreign armies than had been in it during the famous war of thirty years.

While the Russians were coming through Poland to assist Austria, the French entered by the Duchy of Cleves and by Wesel, which were abandoned by the Prussians. They took possession of all Hesse, and marched towards the country of Hanover against an army of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, commanded by the same Duke of Cumberland who had attacked Louis XV. at Fontenoy.

The King of Prussia went in search of the Austrian army in Bohemia, and sent a considerable body to oppose the Russians. The troops of the Empire, which were called the troops of execution, were ordered to penetrate into Saxony, which had fallen entirely under the Prussian power; so that Germany was a prey to six formidable armies, which devoured it at the same time.

The King of Prussia then hastened to attack Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the Emperor, and General Brown, near Prague. This battle * was bloody; the Prussians were victorious; and a party of Austrian infantry were obliged to throw themselves into Prague, where they remained blocked up more than two months by the conqueror. A number of Princes were in the city; Provisions began to fail short; and it was thought that Prague would soon submit to the yoke, and that Austria would be more overpowered by Frederick than by Gustavus Adolphus.

By endeavouring to carry every thing at once, the conqueror lost all the fruits of his victory. The Count de Daunitz, Prime-minister to Maria-Theresa, a man active in the cabinet at the King of Prussia was in the

* May 6, 1757

field, had already collected an army under the command of Marshal Daun. The King of Prussia without hesitation went immediately to attack that army, which was supposed to have been intimidated by the reputation of his victories. If that army could once have been dispersed, Prague, which had been bombarded for some time, would of course have surrendered at discretion, and he would have become absolute master of Germany. Marshal Daun entrenched his troops on the brow of a little hill. The Prussians assailed it seven times, as at a general assault, and were as often repulsed and overthrown*. The King lost about twenty-five thousand men killed, wounded, prisoners, and deserters. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had been shut up in Prague, sallied out and pursued the Prussians. This revolution was as great as the expectations of the King of Prussia had been before the engagement.

The French on their side strongly seconded the Emperors's alliance. Marshal d'Éstrées, who commanded them, had already passed the Weser. He followed the Duke of Cumberland step by step towards Minden, overtook him near Hastenbeck, gave him battle, and gained a complete victory†. In that action the Princes of Condé and de la Marck first signaled their arm, and the royal blood of France supported the glory of their country against that of England. A Count de Laval-Montmorancy and a brave officer of the House of Bully lost their lives. A musquet-shot, which was at that time thought to be mortal, pierced the Count de Charleval, of the House of Lorraine. He was son of the celebrated Marchioness de Charleval, whose name will never perish in the memory of those who know that this French lady wrote a comment on the great Newton.

Let us observe here, that by the intrigues at Court the command was already taken from Marshal d'Éstrées; and that while he was gaining a battle, the orders were dispatched to pass that assault upon him. They affected to complain at Court that he had not yet taken the whole Electorate of Hanover, and that he had not marched as far as Magdeburg. They thought that very thing ought to

* July 18, 1757. † July 23, 1757.

be terminated in one campaign. Such had been the confidence of the French when they made an Emperor, that they believed they could dispose of the estates of the House of Austria in 1741. Such it had been at the beginning of the Age of Louis XIV. and Philip V. then masters of Italy and Flanders, and seconded by two Electors. They thought of giving laws to Europe, and were always mistaken. Marshal d'Estrées said, "that it was not enough to advance into Germany, but they ought to provide the means to get out of it." His conduct and valour proved, that when an army is once sent, the management of it should be left to the General; because, if they have made choice of him, they have had confidence in his abilities.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Sequel of memorable Events. The English Army forced to capitulate. The Battle of Rastach. Revolutions.

THE French Ministry had already dispatched Marshal Richelieu to command the army of Marshal d'Estrées, before they had received the news of the important victory obtained by that General. The Marshal de Richelieu, so well known for the accomplishments of his person and genius, become still more famous for his defending Genoa and taking Minorca, went immediately to attack the Duke of Cumberland. When he had pushed him as far as the mouth of the Elbe, he there forced him to capitulate with all his army. That capitulation, more singular than a battle won, was not less glorious. The army of the Duke of Cumberland was obliged by stipulation to retire beyond the Elbe*, and leave the field open to the French against the King of Prussia. He ravaged Saxony; but his own territories

* Sept. 8, 1757.

were also laid waste. The Austrian General Haddick had surprised the city of Berlin, and spared it from being pillaged, for a ransom of eight hundred thousand of our livres.

The destruction of his Prussian Majesty seemed at that period inevitable. His great defeat near Prague; his troops being overcome near Landshut, at the entrance of Silesia; and an indecisive but bloody battle against the Russians, all tended to weaken him.

He was liable to be surrounded on one side by the army of Marshal Richelieu, and on the other by that of the Empire, while the Austrians and Russians entered Silesia: indeed, his ruin seemed so certain, that the Aulic Council without hesitation declared that he had incurred the ban of the Empire*, and that he was deprived of all his fiefs, rights, favours, privileges, &c. He seemed himself at that crisis to despair of his fortune, and only looked forward to a glorious death. He framed a sort of philosophic testament; and such was the freedom of his mind in the midst of his misfortunes, that he wrote it in French verse. This is a singular anecdote.

The Prince de Soubize, a General of a cool and settled courage, of a good understanding, and of cautious conduct, marched into Saxony against him at the head of a strong army, which the Ministry had reinforced by a part of that under Marshal Richelieu. This army was joined to that of the Circles, commanded by the Prince of Hildbourghausen.

Frederic, surrounded by so many enemies, took the resolution to die sword-in-hand in the ranks of the army of the Prince de Soubize; but, at the same time, took every measure to conquer.

After reconnoitring the army of France and the Circles, he immediately retreated before them in order to possess himself of an advantageous situation. The Prince of Hildbourghausen was resolved to attack him, and his opinion of course prevailed, because the French were only auxiliaries. They therefore marched near to Roi-

Aug. 2, 1757.

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bach and Mersbourg to attack the Prussian army*, which was apparently encamped; but all of a sudden the tents were struck, and the Prussians appeared in order of battle, between two eminences lined with artillery.

This unexpected fight amazed the French and Imperialists. For several years it had been used to exercise the French troops after the Prussian method; afterwards several evolutions had been altered in the exercise, so that the soldier did not know what he was doing. his old way of fighting was changed, and he was not perfect in the new. When he saw the Prussians advance in that singular order, unknown almost every where else, he imagined he saw his masters. The King of Prussia's artillery was also better served, and much better posted than that of his enemies. The troops of the Circles fled almost without engaging; the French cavalry were dispersed in an instant by the Prussian cannon; a panic fear spread every where; and the French infantry retired in disorder before six battalions of Prussians. In fact, this was not a battle, but a whole army which offered to fight, and then dispersed. History has scarcely any examples of a similar action; only two regiments of Swiss remained in the field, and the Prince de Soubize went through the middle of the firing, to make them retreat with deliberation.

The regiment of Colonel Duffach, in particular, sustained for a long time the firing of the cannon and musquetry, and the attacks of the cavalry; and it was owing to the Prince de Soubize that it was not broken, he partaking of all its dangers†. This strange battle entirely changed the face of affairs. Murmurs were universal at Paris. The same General obtained a victory over the Hessians and Hanoverians the year following, and it was hardly mentioned. We have already

* November, 1757.

† It is against Colonel *Duffach* that one La Beaumelle has been pleased to rail, in a little book intitled *Mes Pensées*, as well as against the *D'Erlachs*, the *Simms*, and all the illustrious families of Switzerland, who have lavished their blood these two centuries past for the Kings of France. The impudent abominations of this fellow ought to be chastised on all occasions. *Voltaire*.

observed, that such is the spirit of a large city, happy and idle, and whose applause is so much coveted.

At the same time new disasters overwhelmed the army of Marshal Richelieu, which had been lessened by the Ministry, who were unwilling to ratify the convention and the conditions which Marshal Richelieu had imposed on the Duke of Cumberland. By this conduct the English (not without reason) thought themselves disengaged from their promise. The ratification from Versailles did not arrive till five days after the misfortune of Rosbach: after this, the English recovered Hanover in a very short time.

If the affair of Rosbach was uncommon, what the King of Prussia did after this unexpected victory was still more extraordinary. He flew into Silesia, where the Austrian conquerors had defeated his troops, and were in possession of Schweidnitz and Breslau; and had it not been for his great expedition, he would have lost Silesia, and the battle of Rosbach had been of no service.

In the course of a month he arrived opposite to the Austrian army, which he immediately attacked with great fury at Lissa. The battle lasted five hours; Dec. 5. and Frederic, completely victorious, re-entered 1757. Schweidnitz and Breslau; after which there was nothing but a continual vicissitude of frequent engagements, gained or lost. The French alone were almost always unlucky; but the Government was never discouraged, and France drained herself to send armies constantly into Germany.

The King of Prussia greatly weakened himself by so many battles. The Russians took the whole Kingdom of Prussia from him, and ravaged Pomerania, while he was laying waste Saxony. The Austrians, and afterwards the Russians, entered Berlin. Almost the whole of his father's treasures, and those which he himself had amassed, were necessarily expended in this war, so ruinous to all parties; he was therefore obliged to have recourse to the subsidies of England. The Austrians, French, and Russians, were never discouraged, but pursued him continually.

nually. His family durst no longer remain in Berlin, so frequently exposed; they were obliged to take refuge in Magdebourg; and as for himself, after so many different successes, he was in 1762 entrenched under Breslau. Maria-Theresa seemed to be on the point of recovering Silesia. He had lost Dresden, and all that part of Saxony which borders on Bohemia; and the King of Poland was in hopes of re-entering his hereditary estates, when the death of Elizabeth Empress of Jan. 6, 1762. Russia gave again a new face to affairs, which had so often changed.

As the new Emperor, Peter III. had long been a secret friend to the King of Prussia, as soon as he ascended the throne, he not only made peace with him, but became his ally against the same Empress-Queen to whom Elizabeth had always been a constant friend. Thus, all on a sudden, we see the King of Prussia, who had been so pressed by the Russians and Austrians, preparing to enter Bohemia by the assistance of an army of the same Russians who had fought against him some weeks before.

This new situation was as quickly disordered as it had been formed. A sudden revolution altered the affairs of Russia.

Peter III. wanted to divorce his wife, and set the Nation against him. He had said, one day, when he was intoxicated with liquor, to the regiment of Preobasinski on the parade, that he would beat them with fifty Prussians. It was that regiment which prevented his designs, and dethroned him. The soldiers and the people declared against him. He was pursued, taken, and put into a prison, where he comforted himself in drinking punch for eight days together, at the end of which he died*. The army and citizens with one voice pro-

* The imperfect account given by M. de Voltaire of this strange revolution, the contemptuous manner in which he speaks of the unfortunate Emperor, and the erroneous account he gives of his death, are all fresh proofs of his partiality. In a very few words he might have given a clearer idea of the truth. Peter, with no talents for such vast projects, had resolved to introduce a number of innovations

claimed his wife, Catherine Anhalt, Empress, although she was a foreigner; being of the House of Ascania, one of the most ancient in Europe. It is she who has since become the real legislatrix of that vast Empire. Thus Russia has been governed by five women successively: Catherine, widow of Peter the Great; Ann, niece of that Monarch; the Dutchess of Brunswick, Regent under the short reign of her unhappy son, Prince Ivan; Elizabeth, daughter of Czar Peter the Great and of Catherine I.; and in fine, this Catherine II. who in so short a time has raised herself so great a name. This succession of five women without interruption is a singular event in the history of the world.

The King of Prussia being deprived of the succours of the Russian Emperor, who wanted to fight under him, did not carry on the war with less vigilance against the House of Austria, one-half of the Empire, France and Sweden.

It is true, that the exploits of the Swedes were not those of Gustavus Adolphus. His sister, wife of the King of Sweden, had no inclination to do him mischief. It was not the Court of Stockholm who took arms against him, it was the Senate; and the Senate did it because France gave them money. Though the Court

into his Government. He began with the army and the clergy; he exasperated both; and not having concerted his measures with that precaution and deliberation which such enterprizes require, before they are carried into execution, he fell a victim to his want of understanding, and his ambition to imitate Emperors, Kings and Legislators, men of the first abilities, and blessed with heroic fortitude. Peter the Great and the King of Prussia were the models he had in view, without the least capacity to copy after the drawings of these celebrated warriors and legislators. As to the manner of his death, it is well known that the resentment of a slighted woman, whose affection (if ever she had any for her husband) was changed to extreme hatred, occasioned it, and that in the most cruel manner. The priests and his wife glutted their fury, by making him expire under the most horrid tortures. The Editor of this translation saw a copy of the memoirs of this revolution, (printed at London, bought up, or otherwise suppressed by the Russian Minister) in which all the circumstances of his tragic end are related at large.

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was not able to prevent the Senate from sending troops into Pomerania, yet it was powerful enough to render them useless; and, in reality, the Swedes only made a semblance of making war for the little money that was given them.

It was chiefly in Germany that blood was continually spilt, the frontiers of France being never attacked. Germany became a gulf which swallowed up the blood and treasures of France. The limits of this history, which is only a summary, will not allow a detail of the prodigious number of engagements which happened from the banks of the Baltic as far as the Rhine: hardly any battle had great consequences, because each of the Powers had constant resources. It was quite otherwise in America and India, where the loss of twelve hundred men is irreparable. Even the battle of Rotbach was not followed by any revolution. The battle lost by the French near Minden*, in 1759, and the other checks they suffered rendered their affairs retrograde, but they still maintained their ground in Germany. When they were again overcome at Crevelt†, between Cleves and Cologne, they continued, however, still masters of the Duchy of Cleves, and of the City of Gueldres.

What was the most remarkable thing in the action of Crevelt, was the loss of the Count de Gisors, uncle son of the Marshal de Belle-Isle, who was wounded fighting at the head of his Carabiniers. He was a young man of the greatest hopes, being equally instructed in affairs of state and in the military art; he was capable of great or lesser undertakings; his politeness was equal to his courage; he was beloved at Court and in the army. The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who took him prisoner, took care of him as of a brother, and did not leave him till his death, which he honoured with his tears. He loved him so much the more, as in him he met with his own character.

This is the same Prince of Brunswick who has since travelled through France and a great part of Europe, and whom I have seen enjoying his great reputation, and

* August 1. † June 23, 1758.

the praises due to him, with so much modesty. He at that time fought sometimes as chief, sometimes under his uncle the Prince of Brunswick, brother-in-law to the King of Prussia, who acquired a great reputation, and who had the same modesty, the true concomitant of glory, and the characteristic of his family. On several occasions the Hereditary Prince commanded separate bodies, and was often as successful as enterprising.

The battle of Crevelt, which was mentioned at Paris with the greatest discouragement, did not hinder the Duke de Broglie from obtaining a complete victory at Bergen, near Frankfort *, against that same Prince of Brunswick, elsewhere victorious, and of meriting the dignity of Marshal of France, after the example of his father and grandfather. It was the same Prince who gained the battle of Warburg †, where the Marquis de Castres, the Prince de Rohan-Rochefort his cousin, the Marquis de Betisi, the Count de la Tour du Pin, the Marquis de Valence, and a prodigious number of French officers, were wounded. Their misfortunes were proofs of their valour.

The Count de Montbarey, at the head of a regiment of the Crown, withstood the efforts of the enemy a long time. He was wounded by the discharge of a cannon, and received two musquet-shots also.

The brave actions of so many officers and soldiers are innumerable in all these wars; but there were some so singular, so *unique* in their kind, that one must be deficient to his country to suffer them to sleep in oblivion. I shall mention one as an example, which merits to be ever preserved in the memory of the French.

The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick had a design to surprise a detachment of the army commanded by the Marquis de Castres near Wesel ‡. This French General, suspecting the purpose of the Prince, sent out as a scout Mr. d'Assas, a Captain in the regiment of Auvergne. This officer had not marched far, when some grenadiers of the enemy lying in ambush, surrounded and seized

* April 13, 1759. † July 16, 1759. ‡ Oct. 15, 1758.

him at a little distance from his regiment. They presented their bayonets and told him, that if he made the least noise he was a dead man. Mr. d'Affas, collecting all his force in order to strengthen his voice, cried out, "Come on, my good regiment of Auvergne, here are your enemies!" He was instantly stabbed to death.

This devotement, so worthy of the ancient Romans, would have been immortalized by them. In those times they used to raise statues to such men. In our days they are forgotten; and it was not till a considerable time after my having written the former edition of this history, that I was informed of this memorable action*.

The frequent successes of the young Hereditary Prince did not, however, prevent the Prince of Condé (much about his age, and his rival in glory) from getting the advantage of him six leagues from Frankfort, towards Weteravia†. It was there that the Prince of Brunswick was wounded, and that all the French officers were interested as much for his cure as for their own.

What was the result of this innumerable multitude of battles, of which even the recital at this day is tedious to those who there signalized themselves? What remains after so many efforts? Nothing but blood spilt to no purpose in uncultivated and ruined countries; villages destroyed; families reduced to beggary; and but rarely

* This memorable story is very obscurely or imperfectly told by Mr. Voltaire. It requires some *guess-work*, or *fillings-up*, to entitle Captain d'Affas to the Roman honour here claimed for him by our author. It is to be supposed that this exertion of voice by Mr. d'Affas, was in order to warn the regiment d'Auvergne either to retreat or put themselves in a posture of defence. But then the finesse of the Marquis de Castries does not seem warrantable. It might be thought a much better and safer *ruse de guerre* to have sent the scout forward, with running centries behind to convey an alarm to the camp, than to risk the loss of the whole regiment d'Auvergne, which might have been surrounded as well as the scout; the disposition of the ambuscade not having been known at the time that this cunning device was framed. But I leave the Marquis and the Captain in quiet possession of the laurels that M. Voltaire has so elaborately twined for them, and humbly take my leave of the subject. *Translator.*

† Aug. 30. 1762.

even a whisper of those calamities reached so far as Paris, always profoundly engaged in pleasures, or in disputes equally frivolous.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The French unfortunate in the Four Quarters of the World. Disasters of Governor Du Pleix. The Punishment of General Lally.

FRANCE at that time seemed to be more drained of men and money in its alliance with Austria, than it had appeared to have been in two hundred years war against it. In the same manner it cost Louis XIV. more to assist Spain, than had been spent in fighting against it since the time of Louis XII. The resources of France have healed those wounds; but they have not been yet able to repair those received in Asia, Africa, and America.

The French appeared at first triumphant in Asia, and the India Company to its misfortune was victorious. Ever since the irruption of Shah-Nadir, the Empire of India was nothing but anarchy. The Subahs, who are Viceroys, or rather tributary Kings, bought their Kingdoms at the Court of the great Padishah-Mogul, and resold their Provinces to Nabobs, who for ready money ceded whole districts to the Rajas. It often happened that the Ministers of the Great Mogul, having given a patent for a King, gave the same patent to him who would pay more. Subahs, Nabobs, and Rajas, used the same method; and every one supported with arms the right which he had dearly purchased. As for the Mahrattoes, they declared for him who would pay them best, and plundered both friends and foes. Two battalions of French or English could beat those undisciplined multitudes, who had no art, and who (the Mahrattoes excepted) even wanted courage. The weakest then implored the
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protection of merchants settled there from France and England to enable them to be Kings in India, because they could furnish them with officers and soldiers from Europe. It was on these occasions that a simple Captain could sometimes make a greater fortune in that country, than any General can among us.

While the Princes of the Peninsula were fighting among themselves, we have seen that those French and English merchants were engaged in war also, because their respective Kings were at variance in Europe.

After the peace of 1748, Governor Du Pleix kept in pay the few troops that he had left, as well the soldiers from Europe, whom they call whites, as the blacks of the Islands transplanted into India, and the seapoyas and pion Indians.

One of the under-tyrants of those parts, named Chandasaeb, who was an Arabian adventurer, born in the desert south east of Jerusalem, and transplanted into India to push his fortune, had become son-in-law to a Nabob of Arcot. This Arab assassin robbed the Indian his brother, and his nephew; and having experienced a reverse of fortune proportioned to his crimes, he took recourse to Governor Du Pleix, who then was Nabob of Arcot, on which Pondicherry is dependent. Du Pleix forthwith lent him twenty ten thousand livres, which, joined to the wrecks of the fortune of the Nabob, procured him the Viceroyship of Arcot. By his money and intrigues he obtained the appointment of Viceroyship. As soon as he was in possession of it, Du Pleix lent him troops. With those troops united to his own he fought the real Viceroys of Arcot. This was the same Anaverdikan, aged one hundred and seventy, whom we have already mentioned, and who was killed at the head of his army.

The conqueror Chandasaeb, being possessed of the treasures of the deceased, distributed to the amount of two hundred thousand livres amongst the soldiers from Pondicherry. He heaped presents upon the officers, and afterwards made a gift of thirty-five Aldées to the India Company. Aldée signifies a village. It is a term still used

used in Spain since the invasion of the Arabs, who predominated equally in Spain and in India; the traces of whose language are left in more than one hundred provinces.

This success awakened the English: they immediately took the part of the vanquished family. There were two Nabobs; and as the Subah or King of Decan was in alliance with the government of Pondicherry, so another King, his competitor, joined himself to the English. Thus a bloody war was again lighted between the factions of France and England on the coasts of Coromandel, at a time when Europe enjoyed peace. They consumed in this war, both on one side and the other, all the funds appropriated to commerce, and each party hoped to reimburse itself from the treasures of the Indian Princes.

Both sides shewed great courage. Messieurs d'Auteuil, de Buffly, Lafl, and a great many more, signalized themselves by actions which might have gained applause in the annals of Marshal Saxe. Above all, there was an exploit as astonishing as it is indubitable; which is, that an officer named Mr. de la Touche, followed by three hundred Frenchmen, surrounded by an army of eighty thousand men, which threatened Pondicherry, penetrated in the night into their camp, killed twelve hundred men without losing more than two soldiers, put that great army into consternation, and entirely dispersed it. This action was superior to that of the three hundred Spartans at the pass of Thermopylae, since the Spartans perished there, whereas the French were conquerors. But perhaps we do not know how to celebrate enough what deserves praise; and the innumerable multitude of our battles extinguishes their glory.

The King protected by the French was named Mouza-Feringue. He was nephew to the King favoured by the English. The uncle had taken the nephew prisoner, and had not put him to death, according to the custom of the family. He kept him loaded with irons in the retinue of his armies, with a part of his treasures. Governor Du Pleix managed so well with the officers of

the enemy, that in a second battle the conqueror of Mouza-Ferlingue was assassinated. The captive became King, and the treasures of his enemy were his conquest. There were in the camp seventeen millions in specie, the greatest part of which Mouza-Ferlingue promised to the India Company. The little French army divided twelve hundred thousand livres. All the Officers were better rewarded than they would have been by any Potentate of Europe.

Du Pleix received Mouza-Ferlingue in Pondicherry, as a great King does the honour of his Court to a neighbouring Monarch. The new Subah, who was indebted to him for his crown, gave his Protector eighty Aldées, a pension of two hundred and forty thousand livres for himself, as much for Madame Du Pleix, and one of forty thousand crowns to a Daughter of Madame Du Pleix by a former marriage. Chandasab, the benefactor and dependant, was appointed Viceroy of Arcot. The pomp of Du Pleix at least equalled that of the two Princes. He went before them carried in a palanquin, escorted by five hundred guards, preceded by martial music, and followed by armed elephants.

After the death of his dependant Mouza-Ferlingue, who was killed in a sedition of his troops, he again named another King, and received from him four small provinces as a gift for the Company. He was flattered from all quarters, that before the expiration of a year he would make the Great Mogul tremble. He was Sovereign in fact; for having bought a patent of Viceroy of the Carnatic at the Chancery of the Great Mogul, for the moderate sum of two hundred and forty thousand livres, he found himself equal to his creature Chandasab, and much superior to him by his credit. Tho' he was a Marquis in France, and decorated with the Grand Order of St. Louis, yet those feeble honours were but trifling, when compared to his dignity and power in India. I have seen letters wherein his wife was treated as a Queen. So much success and glory dazzled the eyes of the Company, of the Proprietors, and even of the Ministry.

Ministry. The heat of their enthusiasm was almost as great as in the beginning of the scheme; and their hopes were very differently founded, because it appeared, that the lands alone which were ceded to the Company produced about thirty-nine millions of livres yearly. In common, they sold goods to the amount of twenty millions every year in France, at Port l'Orient. It seemed that the Company might reckon upon fifty millions yearly, all expences paid. There is not a Sovereign in Europe, nor perhaps on earth, who is possessed of such a revenue, when all charges are defrayed. Even the excess of those riches ought to have rendered them doubtful. And in fine, all that grandeur and prosperity vanished like a dream; and France a second time perceived that its opulence had been only imaginary.

The Marquis Du Pleix insisted on laying siege to the capital of Madura, in the neighbourhood of Arcot. The English sent succours to that place. The officers represented to him the impossibility of the enterprise: he was obstinate; and having given orders more like a king who would be obeyed, than like a man employed for the service of the Company, it happened that the besiegers were vanquished by the besieged. One-half of his army was killed, and the other taken prisoner*. The immense expences lavished for those conquests were lost; and his dependant Chandaseeb, having been taken in the rout, was beheaded. It was the famous Lord Clive who had the principal hand in the victory; and it was by that he began his glorious career, which has since procured almost all Bengal to the English Company. He acquired and preserved the grandeur and riches of which Du Pleix had a glimpse. In fine, ever since that day, the French Company has fallen into the most fatal decay.

In 1753 Du Pleix was recalled. To him who had played the part of a great king, they gave a successor who only acted as a good merchant. Du Pleix was

* March, 1752.

reduced to litigate the sad remains of his fortune in Paris with the India Company, and to solicit audience of his Judges in the antichamber. He died soon after of vexation; but Pondicherry was reserved for still greater misfortunes.

The fatal war of 1756 having broke out in Europe, the French Ministry being afraid, with too great reason, for Pondicherry, and for all the settlements in India, sent thither Lieutenant-General Count Lally. He was an Irishman, of one of those families which came over to France with that of the unfortunate James the Second. He had so distinguished himself at the battle of Fontenoy, where he had taken several English Officers, with his own hand, that the King made him a Colonel on the field of battle; and it was he who formed the plan, more daring than practicable, of landing in England with ten thousand men, when Prince Charles-Edward was there disputing the crown. His hatred against the English, and his courage, gained him the preference to go to fight them on the coast of Coromandel. But unfortunately, he did not join to his valour the prudence, moderation, and patience, necessary for so difficult a commission. He figured to himself that Arcot was still the country of riches,—that Pondicherry was well provided with every thing,—that he should be completely assisted by the Company, by troops, and especially by his old Irish regiment, which he carried over with him. But he was deceived in all his expectations.—He found no money in the coffers,—little ammunition of any sort,—blacks and seapoys unarmed,—some individuals rich, and the colony poor, without any subordination. These objects provoked him, and kindled that ill temper in him which is so unbecoming in a Commander, and which is always hurtful in all affairs: whereas, if he had kept fair with the Council, and had caressed the principal officers, he might have been able to have procured assistance in money, to have established union, and put Pondicherry in safety.

The Directors of the India Company in Paris had intreated him, at his departure, to “reform the numerous

"abuses, the excessive prodigality, and the great disorder which had absorbed the revenues." He availed himself too much of that request, and made himself enemies of all those who were to obey him.

Notwithstanding the dismal aspect under which all things appeared to him, he at first met with good success. He took fort St. David*, some leagues distant from Pondicherry, from the English, and razed its walls. If we want to know the source of his catastrophe, so interesting to all the military, it is necessary to read the letter which he wrote from the camp before St. David, to M. de Leyrit, who was Governor of Pondicherry for the Company.

"This letter†, Sir, shall be an eternal secret between you and me, if you furnish me with means to complete my enterprize. I have left you one hundred thousand livres of my money to help you to defray the expences which it requires. On my arrival, I have not found a resource for one hundred pence in your purse, nor in that of your whole Council. You have both refused to employ your credit in it for me. In the mean time, I look upon you both to be more indebted to the Company than I am, who unluckily had not the honour of knowing it, but to lose one-half of my substance in 1720. If you continue to let me want for every thing, and be exposed to face a general discontent, I shall not only acquaint the King and the Company of the great zeal which their agents here shew for their service; but I shall take effectual measures not to be dependent, during the short stay which I wish to make in this country, upon the spirit of party and personal motives, with which I see every member occupied, to the total risque of the Company."

Such a letter was not calculated to gain him friends, nor to procure him money. Though he did not extort money, yet he indirectly shewed so much envy against those who had enriched themselves, that it increased the

* April 28, 1748.

† May 18, 1758.

public resentment against him. All the operations of war suffered for it. I find in a journal of India, written by a principal officer, the following words: "He speaks of nothing but chains and dungeons, without any regard to the rank and age of persons. He has just treated Mr. de Moracir himself in this manner. Mr. Lally complains of all the world, and all the world complains of him. He said to Mr. the Count de * * * * I am sensible that they detest me and that they would be glad to see me at a great distance. I engage my word of honour, and I will give it you under my hand, that if Mr. Levrit will give me five hundred thousand livres, I will lay down my charge, and go to France in the frigate."

The journal adds afterwards: "We are to day at Pondicherry in the greatest embarrassment. It is impossible to raise one hundred thousand ruppes, and the soldiers threaten to go over to the enemy."

Notwithstanding this dreadful confusion, he had the resolution to lay siege to Madras, and immediately took possession of the Black Town*; but that was precisely what hindered him from succeeding before the French Town, or Fort St. George. He wrote thus from his camp before that Fort, the 11th of February, 1759: "If we fail of Madras (as I believe we shall), the principal reason to which it must be attributed, is the pillage of fifteen millions at least, wasted and distributed among the soldiers; and I am ashamed to tell it, there are among the officers too, who are not afraid of using my name, in employing the chelingees, seapoys, and others, in order to convey to Pondicherry a booty which you should have arrested on account of its enormous quantity."

I have the journal of a General Officer which I have already quoted. The author is no friend to Count Lally; very far from it: his testimony is on that account the more acceptable, when he confirms the same

* December, 1758.

grievances which occasioned Lally to despair. He expresses himself thus particularly :

“ The immense pillage made by the troops in the Black Town, had brought plenty among them. Large warehouses of strong liquors had led them to drunkenness, and all the evils which it produces. This circumstance should have been foreseen. The works and the entrenchments were all in the hands of drunkards. The regiment of Lorraine alone was free from that contagion; but the other troops distinguished themselves in it. The regiment of Lally surpassed them all. From thence arose the most shameful scenes, and the most destructive of subordination and discipline. Officers were seen wrestling with the soldiers, and a thousand other infamous actions; the detail of which, confined within the bounds of the most strict veracity, would appear to be a monstrous exaggeration.”

Count Lally wrote, in still greater despair, this mournful letter * : “ I li has spewed me into this country of wickedness; and I wait, like Jonas, for the whale to receive me in its belly.”

While such disorder prevailed, nothing could succeed: the siege was raised, after losing part of the army. The other enterprises were still more unfortunate, both by sea and land. The troops revolted, and were with difficulty appeased. They were twice led by the General to engage in a small Island, named Vandavachi, where he had retired. In the second engagement he was entirely defeated. Bussy, Marshal of the camp, the most useful man in India for war and negotiations, was taken prisoner †. General Lally remained alone, for some time, on the field of battle, abandoned by all his forces. The Mahrattoes obtained this victory; and this proves how formidable those Indian republicans are ‡.

* Dec. 27, 1758. † Jan. 22, 1760.

‡ Several writers say, that they have a King; but they have only an elective Chief.

After a great many other losses, it was at last necessary to retire to Pondicherry. An English squadron of sixteen men of war, after an indecisive action, obliged the French squadron, sent to the assistance of the Colony, to quit the harbour of Pondicherry, to refit in the Isle of Bourbon.

There was in the town sixty thousand black inhabitants, and five or six hundred European families, with very little provisions. The General at once proposed to turn out the blacks, who furnished Pondicherry; but how chase away sixty thousand? The Council durst not attempt it. The General having resolved to stand the siege to the utmost extremity, and publishing a ban by which it was forbidden to speak of surrendering on pain of death, was forced to order a strict search to be made after provisions in all the houses of the town. This search was made, without distinction, in the houses of the Intendant, of all the Council, and of the principal officers. This measure completely irritated the minds of the people in general, already too much alienated from him. It was but too well known with what contempt and severity he had treated all the Council. He had said publicly, in one of his expeditions, "I will not wait long for the ammunition which they have promised me; but will harness Governor Lery and all the Council to the draught, if necessary." This Governor Lery showed a letter to the officers, addressed a long time before to him, in which were the following words: "I would rather go to command the Castles than remain in this Sodom, which must sooner or later be destroyed by the English fire, for want of that of Heaven."

In this manner, by his complaints and turbulent passions, Lally had made himself as many foes as there were officers and inhabitants in Pondicherry.

They returned outrage for outrage, sticking up at his gate libels far more insulting than his letters or discourses. He was agitated to such a degree, that, at some particular times, he appeared to be light headed choleric and inquietude often produces this sad effect.

A son

A son of the late Nabob Chandasaeb was at this time a refugee in Pondicherry, with his mother. An officer lately landed with the French fleet which is returned, a man equally impartial and credible, reports, that this Indian having often seen the French General lying on his bed totally naked, singing rials and the psalms, seriously demanded of an officer very well known, "If it was customary for the King of France to choose a madman for his Grand Vizir?" The officer being astonished, said to him, "Why do you ask me so strange a question?" "Because," replied the Indian, "your Grand Vizir has sent us a madman to settle the affairs of India."

By this time the English had blocked up Pondicherry, both by sea and land, and the General had no other resource than to treat with the assailants, who had beaten him. They had promised to assist him with eighteen thousand men; but suspecting he had no money to give them, not one appeared, and Pondicherry was obliged to be surrendered*, the Council of which summoned the Count de Lally to capitulate. He called a council of war, and the officers concluded to surrender themselves prisoners of war, according to the established cartels; but General Coote would have the town submitted at discretion. The French having destroyed St. David's†, the English had a right to make a descent on Pondicherry, Count Lally in vain laying claim to the castle, both by word of mouth and in writing. The people perished with hunger in the town, which was delivered up to the conquerors, who soon after razed the fortifications, the walls, the magazines, and all the principal works.

At the very time the English entered the town, the conquered loaded each other with reproaches and abuse. The inhabitants fought the General's life, and the English Commander was obliged to give him a guard, and he was removed as a sick person in a Palanquin. He had two pistols in his hands, with which he threatened

* January 14, 1761. † January 16.

the lives of the mutineers, who, respecting the English guard, ran to the Commissary of war, who was an ancient officer, Intendant of the army, and a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, who drew his sword; and one of the most furious advancing towards him, was wounded by it, but killed him.

Such was the deplorable condition of Pondicherry, the inhabitants of which did themselves more harm than they received from their conquerors. The General and above two thousand prisoners were transported into England; and even in their long and dangerous voyage they reciprocally accused each other with their common misfortunes.

They were hardly arrived in London, when they wrote against Lally and the small number of persons who had been attached to him. Lally and his party wrote against the Council, the officers, and the inhabitants. He was so far pursued that they were all reprehensible, and that he only was in the right, that he came to Montauban, though an English prisoner, and offered to surrender himself up into the Bastille *. He was taken at his word; and as soon as he was confined, the crowd of his enemies, instead of being diminished by compassion, were augmented. He remained fifteen months in prison without being once examined.

In the year 1704 there died at Paris one Lavaur, a Jesuit, who had been a long time employed in those sort of missions in the Indies, where, under pretence of spiritual affairs, the priests employ themselves in prophane ones, and oftener gain more money than souls. This Jesuit demanded from the Ministry a pension of four hundred livres to retire, and take care of his soul at Perigord, which was his country; and they found in his box about one million one hundred thousand livres of effects, either in bills, money, or jewels. The like has been also lately seen at Naples, at the death of the famous Jesuit Peppe, whom they were ready to canonize. They did not canonize Lavaur,

November, 1762.

but

but sequestered his treasure. In this box he had a long memorial minuted in detached papers against Lally, in which the latter was accused of embezzlement and high-treason. The writings of the Jesuits held at this time as little credit as their persons, being banished France; but this memorial appeared with such circumstances, and the enemies of Lally made it of such importance, that it served as a testimony against him.

Lally was at first brought before the Chatelet, and soon after before the Parliament. The process was two years preparing. Of treason he was not guilty; since, if he had kept a secret correspondence with the English, or had sold Pondicherry, he would have remained with them. The English, besides, are not absurd; and they would have been quite so, if they had bought a place nearly starved that they were sure of taking, being masters both at land and sea. Of embezzlement he could not be guilty, as he had neither the charge of the King's or the Company's money; but of cruelty, of abuse of power, and oppressions, the Judges saw much in the unanimous depositions of his enemies.

Being always firmly persuaded that he had been only rigorous and not culpable, he carried his imprudence to that pitch as even to insult, in his juridical memorials, officers who had the general approbation. He strove to dishonour them and all the Council of Pondicherry. The more he persisted in his obstinacy of clearing himself at their expence, the blacker he appeared. Each of these officers had a number of friends, and he had none. This public censure serves sometimes for proof, or at least adds force to testimony. The Judges could give sentence only according to the depositions; and they condemned Lieutenant-General Lally to be benedicted, as duly convicted "of having betrayed the interests of
" the King, of the State, and of the India Com-
" pany; of abuse of authority, vexations, and exac-
" tions."

* May 6, 1766.

tion

It is necessary to remark, that these words "betrayed" the interests of the King," have a different signification to what is termed in England *High-Treason*, and by us *leze-majesté*. In our definition it signifies only a bad conduct, to forget the advantage of some person, to be unmindful of his interests, and not to be perfidious and traitorous. When his sentence was read to him, his surprize and indignation were so violent, that having by chance a pair of compasses in his hand, with which he amused himself in prison in drawing charts of the coasts of Coromandel, he would have stabbed himself, but was withheld; and behaved with greater insolence towards his judges, than he had yet displayed against his enemies. This is, perhaps, a fresh proof of that firm persuasion he always remained in, that he was rather deserving of reward than of punishment.

Those who have a knowledge of the human heart are sensible, that commonly the guilty do justice on themselves by a conscientious conviction: that they do not rage against their judges, but remain in a melancholy stupor. There has never been a single instance of a condemned person acknowledging his crimes, and yet charging his Judges with injustice and reproach. I do not pretend that this was a proof of Calley's entire innocence, but it was a proof that he believed himself so. A gag was put into his mouth, which projected out of his lips, and being passed in a cart, he was conducted to the place of execution. Men are so inconsiderate, that this hideous spectacle drew more compassion than his punishment.

The sentence confiscated his wealth, after raising a sum of one hundred thousand crowns for the poor of Pondicherry, and an answer has been returned, that this sum cannot be raised out of it. I never affirm what I am unacquainted with*. If any thing could convince

* Almost all the Journals have affirmed that the Parliament of Paris had sent Letters to the King, that he should permit them not to execute his sentence to death. This is very false. Such a resolution, incompatible with justice and humanity, would be cast upon the Parliament an universal reproach.

us of that fatality which attends all events in the chaos of the public affairs of the World, it must be, to see an Irishman driven from his country with his royal master's family, commander (at six thousand leagues distance) of French troops in a Merchant's war, upon coasts unknown to the Alexanders, Gengis's, or Tamerlanes, dying at last an ignominious death upon the banks of the Seine, for having been taken by the English, in the ancient Gulph of the Ganges.

This catastrophe, which appears to me worthy of being transmitted to posterity in all its circumstances, has not permitted me to give a detail of all the misfortunes that the French experienced both in India and America. I now resume the melancholy recital.

C H A P. XXXV.

The Losses of the French.

THE first loss of the French in India was that of Chandernagore *, an important post, of which the French India Company were in possession, towards the mouth of the Ganges. It was from thence they drew their best merchandizes.

After taking of the Town and Port of Chandernagore, the English never ceased running the commerce of the French in India. The government of the Emperor † was so weak and bad, that he could not prevent the European Merchants from making leagues and wars in his own kingdom. The English had even the boldness to come and attack Surat, one of the finest towns in India, and the greatest place of trade belonging to the Emperor. They took it, pillaged it, destroyed the French Factories ‡, and gained immense riches, without the Court of the Grand Mogul, as weak as it was pompous, seeming to resent this outrage, which had, in

* March, 1757. † The Great Mogul. ‡ March 1756.
the

the reign of Aurengzebe, exterminated all the English in Asia.

In short, nothing more was left to the French in this part of the world, than the regret of having expended, in the space of above forty years, immense sums to support a Company, who had never made the least profit, and who had paid nothing to the Proprietors and their Creditors from their commercial advantages; and which in its Indian administration had subsisted only by means of clandestine plunder, and was supported only by a part of the tax on tobacco, which the King had granted it. A memorable example, though perhaps useless, of the small knowledge that the French nation have had, even yet, of the great and ruinous commerce of India.

At the same time that the fleets and armies of England had thus ruined the French in Asia, they also drove them out of Africa *. The French were masters of the river Senegal, which is a branch of the Niger. There they had forts, and a great commerce of elephants teeth, gold dust, gum arabic, ambergrease, and particularly a traffic of Negroes, who are sometimes sold by Princes as if they were cattle, and who often sell their own children, and sometimes themselves, to serve the Europeans in America. The English took all the forts which the French had built in these countries, and more than three millions of livres Tournois†, in the richest commodities.

The last establishment that remained in the possession of the French on the Continent of Africa was Gorée, surrendered at discretion; and there is nothing now remaining to them in all that quarter of the Globe ‡.

But in America they had sustained much greater losses. Without entering here into the detail of an hundred skirmishes, and the loss of all their forts, one after the other, let it suffice to say, that Louisbourg

* May, 1757.

† A Livre Tournois is something more than the Paris Livre.

‡ December 29, 1758.

was a second time taken by the English *, its fortifications and provisions being in as bad a situation as they were the first time. Lastly, at the very time that the English entered Surat, at the mouth of the Indus, they took Quebec†, and all Canada, to the bottom of North America; and the troops which had ventured a battle in defence of Quebec, were beaten and almost destroyed, in spite of the efforts of General Montcalm, who was killed in the engagement‡, and much regretted in France. Thus fifteen hundred leagues of dominion were in one day lost to France.

These fifteen hundred leagues, three parts of which were frozen deserts, were not perhaps a real loss. Canada cost a great deal, and remitted very little. If the tenth part of the money thrown away upon this Colony had been employed to cultivate the waste lands in France, it would have been of considerable advantage; but they were fond of keeping Canada, and they had one hundred years of trouble, and all the money squandered, without any return.

To complete the misfortune, almost all those who had been employed in the King's name in this miserable Colony, were accused of the most horrible frauds, and they were arraigned before the Chatelet at Paris, during the time that the Parliament were proceeding against Lally. He, after having an hundred times exposed his life, lost it by the hands of the executioner; while the Canadian extortioners were obliged only to make restitution, and pay fines. Such is the difference in the decision of affairs, which, to appearance, are all the same!

At the time that the English thus attacked the French on the Continent of America, they also dislodged them from the sea coasts of the Islands. Guadeloupe, though small yet flourishing, and where the finest sugars are manufactured, fell into the English hands without a stroke in its defence.

* July 26, 1758.

† March 2, 1759.

‡ Sept. 13, 1759.

In short; they also took Martinico, which was the richest and best Colony the French possessed.

The Kingdom of France could not suffer these great disasters, without losing likewise all the ships which were sent to prevent them. Scarcely was a fleet put out to sea but it was either taken or destroyed. They built and armed vessels with the greatest hurry, which was only working for the English, to whom they soon became a prey.

When they would revenge such a succession of losses by making a descent into Ireland, it cost them immense sums for an abortive undertaking; for as soon as the fleet destined for this descent was sailed from Brest, it was either dispersed or taken, or lost in the mud of the river called La Vilaine, where they had in vain sought a refuge. Lastly, the English took Belleisle in sight of the coasts of France, which could not succour it.

The Duke d'Anguillon alone revenged the coasts of France of so many affronts and losses. An English fleet having made another descent at St. Cas, near St. Maloe, all the country was exposed. The Duke d'Anguillon, who commanded in that province, marched instantly thither, at the head of the Bretagne Nobility, some battalions and the militia whom he met upon the road*. He forced the English to re-embark. One party of their rear-guard was killed, and another made prisoners of war. But the French were unfortunate every where else.

The English never had such a superiority at sea as at this time; but they ever maintained it over the French. They destroyed the marine of France in the war of 1741. they annihilated that of Louis XIV. in the war of the Spanish succession; they triumphed at sea in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Henry IV. and more so in the unhappy times of the League. Henry VIII. of England had the same advantage over Francis I.

If we examine into the preceding times, we shall find that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip de Valois could not withstand those of the Kings of England Henry V. and Edward III.

* September 1, 1750.

What can be the reason of this continual superiority? Is it not that the sea is essentially necessary to the English, which the French may well enough do without, and that nations always succeed (as I have already remarked) in those things for which they have an absolute occasion? Is it not also because the capital of England is a sea-port, and that Paris knows only the boats of the Seine? Is it that the English climate produces men of a more vigorous constitution, and a more steady mind, than that of France, as it produces the best horses and dogs for hunting? But from Bayonne even to the coasts of Picardy and Flanders, France has men of indefatigable industry, and Normandy only has formerly subdued England.

Affairs were in this deplorable condition both by sea and land, when a man of an active and bold genius, but prudent, having views as great as those of Marshal Belleisle, with more sense observed, that France could not alone repair so many enormous losses. He found means to engage Spain to support the quarrel; he made it the common cause of all the branches of the House of Bourbon. By this means Spain and Austria were joined with France in the same interest. Portugal was in effect an English Province, from whom she drew fifteen millions yearly. It was necessary to begin at this corner; and this was what determined Don Carlos, King of Spain (by the death of his brother Ferdinand), to enter Portugal. This manœuvre was perhaps the greatest politic scheme of which modern history makes mention. But yet this did not succeed; for the English repulsed Spain, and saved Portugal. Formerly under Philip II. Spain alone was formidable to all Europe; and now, though joined to the French, could do nothing with England. Count de la Lippe Schömbourg, a Westphalian Lord, was sent to the succour of Portugal by the King of England. He had never commanded in chief, and had but few troops. However, as soon as he arrived, he gained the superiority over the Spaniards and French united, withstood all their efforts, and established Portugal in

At the same time an English fleet made them pay dear in America for their tardy declaration in favour of France*.

The Havannah, built upon the north coast of Cuba, the greatest American Island at the entrance of the Gulph of Mexico, is the rendezvous of this new world. The harbour, as large as it is safe, could contain a thousand vessels; it is defended by three forts, from whence went a cross fire, which rendered the landing impossible to enemies. The Earl of Albemarle and Admiral Pocock came to attack the Island, but did not attempt approaching the port. They descended* upon a distant flat shore, which was imagined impossible to be landed on. The most considerable fort they besieged by land, which they took; and forced the town, the forts, and all the island to surrender, with twelve ships of war which were in the port, and twenty-seven vessels laden with treasure. They found in the town twenty-four millions of livres in specie, which was divided between the conquerors, who set aside the sixteenth part of this booty for the poor. The ships of war belonged of right to the King, but the merchantmen to the Admiral and all the officers of the fleet; and the whole booty amounted to more than eighty millions. It has been remarked, that in this and the preceding war, Spain lost more than it had drawn from America during the space of twenty years.

The English, not content with having taken the Havannah in the Mexican sea, and the Island of Cuba, extended their conquests to the Philippine Islands in the Indian sea, which are very near the antipodes of Cuba. These Islands are not much less than those of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and would be richer if they were well managed, one of them having gold mines, and their coasts producing pearls. The great Aca-pulco vessel, loaded to the value of three millions of piastres, arrived at Manilla, the capital, which the English took, with the isle and this ship†, notwithstand-

* August 13, 1762. † October 13, 1762.

ing the assurances given by the Jesuit, in the name of St. Potamienne, (the patron of the town) that Manilla would never be taken.

Thus the war, which impoverished other nations, enriched one part of England, while the other groaned under the weight of the most heavy taxes, as well as all other Nations engaged in the war.

France was at this time more unfortunate. All its resources were exhausted; almost all the citizens, by the King's example, carried their plate to the mint. The principal towns and some societies agreed to furnish men of war at their own expence; but these ships were not yet built, and had they been ready, there were not experienced seamen sufficient to man them.

Past misfortunes render people fearful of future ones. The capital, which is never exposed to the scourge of war, exclaimed even louder than the suffering Provinces, "No more succours, money, or credit." Those who had been chosen to manage the finances, after some months administration, were turned out; and others refused this employment, in which, at this juncture, it was impossible to do any good.

In this sorrowful situation, which discouraged all orders of the Kingdom, the Duke de Praslin, then Minister* for foreign affairs, was ingenious and happy enough to conclude a peace, the negotiation for which had been set on foot by the Duke de Choiseul, Minister of the war department.

The King of France exchanged Minorca (which he had before restored to Spain) for Belleisle, which the English restored to the French; but they lost (probably for ever) all Canada, with Louisbourg, which had cost so much money and pains only to be so often a prey to the English. All the land upon the left of the great river Mississippi was ceded to them. Spain, to encompass their conquests, also gave them Florida. Thus, from the twenty-fifth degree to the Pole, almost all is in the possession of the English, who divided the Ame-

* February 10, 1763.

rican Hemisphere with the Spaniards. The latter possess the lands which produce the riches of convention; the former the real riches purchased by silver and gold, all the necessaries of life, and every thing useful for manufactures. The English coasts, for the space of six hundred leagues, are divided by navigable rivers, by which their merchandizes are conveyed for forty or fifty leagues inland. The Germans were induced to people this acquired country, where they found a liberty which they possessed not in their own. They became English; and if all these colonies remain united to their metropolis, it is not to be doubted but this establishment will some time or other make the most formidable Power. The war commenced for a few pitiful huts, and England has gained two thousand leagues of empire.

The small Islands of St. Vincent, Grenades, Tobago, and Dominica, were likewise gained by them; and it is by the means of these Islands, as well as Jamaica, that they maintain an immense commerce with the Spaniards; ---a commerce severely prohibited, and always carried on, because the subjects of both Nations gain by it, and that the law of necessity claims the preference to all others.

France could obtain only (and that with great difficulty) the right of fishing towards Newfoundland, and a little uncultivated Island, named Michelon, to dry their cod-fish, under the restriction of not making the least establishment; a pitiful right, always subject to insults.

She was also excluded in the Indies from her establishment upon the Ganges. She ceded her possession at Senegal in Africa, and was obliged to demolish all the fortifications at Dunkirk on the sea-side.

This Nation lost, in the course of this unfortunate war, great part of the flower of its youth, more than half of the current money of the Kingdom, its navy, commerce, and credit. It was believed, that it was very easy to have prevented all these misfortunes, by giving up to the English a little piece of litigated ground towards Canada. But some ambitious persons, to make themselves

themselves necessary and important, plunged France into this fatal war. It was the same in the year 1741. The selfishness of two or three individuals is sufficient to desolate all Europe. France had so pressing an occasion for this peace, that they considered the conclusers of it as the saviors of their country. The national debt was greater than that of Louis XIV. The extraordinary expences of this war amounted in one year to four hundred millions. Judge of the rest by this. France would have been greatly a loser, had she even been victorious.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Interior Government of France. Quarrels and Adventures, from 1750 to 1762.

FOR a long time before this unhappy war, and during its continuance, the interior parts of France were troubled with that ancient and indeterminable war between the secular jurisdiction and the ecclesiastical discipline. The extent of their power having never been limited, as it now is in England, in other countries, and particularly in Russia, dangerous dissensions will always arise, as long as the rights of the Monarchy and those of its different members are in dispute.

About the year 1750, a Minister of the finances was found bold enough to issue an order that the Clergy and the religious orders should give an account of their wealth, to the end that the King might see, by what they possessed, how far they were taxable. Never was a proposition more just; but the consequences of it appeared to be a sacrilege. An old Bishop of Marseilles wrote to the Comptroller-general thus: "Do not drive us to the necessity of disobeying either God or our King; you are sensible which of the two should have the preference." This letter from the Bishop, worn out with age, and incapable of writing, was written by a Jesuit, named Le Maire, who governed the Bishop and his house.

house. This Jesuit was a zealous fanatic;—a sort of men who are always dangerous.

The Minister was obliged to drop an undertaking that he ought not to have hazarded, if it could not be supported. Some individuals of the Clergy imagined now, that they could fully employ Government by an embarrassing diversion, and put the spiritual body in arms in order to make the temporal respect them. They knew that the famous bull *Unigenitus* was held in execration by the people. It was resolved to demand of dying persons confessional notes; and it was made necessary that these notes should be signed by priests adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, no extreme unction; and these two consolations were refused without pity to all appellants, and to those who confessed to appellants. The Archbishop of Paris engaged deeply in this manœuvre, more from a theological zeal than a factious spirit.

On the instant every family was alarmed, the schism was declared, and many of the sect of Jansenists began to exclaim, that if the sacraments were to be obtained with such difficulty, the people would soon dispense with them, in imitation of other nations. These civil dissensions engaged the attention of the Parisians more than all the important interests of Europe. They were a kind of insects sprung from the carcasses of Molinism and Jansenism, which, buzzing round the city, stung all the citizens. No remembrance of Metz, of Fontenoy, of their disgraces or victories, or of any of those great events which had agitated all Europe. In Paris, there were fifty thousand persons possessed like devils, who knew not in what country the Danube or the Elbe flowed, and who thought the universe overturned by these notes of confession.—Such are the populace!

A curate of St. Etienne-du-Mont, a little parish of Paris, having refused the sacrament to a counsellor of the Chatelet, the Parliament committed him to prison.

The King beholding this little civil war excited between the Parliaments and Bishops, forbade his Courts of Judicature to intermeddle with the affairs of the sacraments,

craments, and reserved the cognizance thereof to his Privy-Council. The Parliaments complained that the exercise of the general police of the Kingdom was thus taken from them, and the Clergy suffered with impatience the royal authority to interfere in any religious quarrels. Thus animosities increased on all sides.

The place of Superior of the hospital for poor girls, served to set the flames of discord in a blaze. The Archbishop claimed the prerogative of nomination; the Parliament of Paris opposed it; and the King having decided in favour of the Prelate, the Parliament ceased to perform its functions, and neglected the distribution of justice. He then found it expedient to send, by his musqueteers, lettres-de-cachet to each of the Members of the Court, commanding them to re-assume their functions, under pain of disobedience.

The Chambers then sat as usual; but when they were to hear causes, they could find no advocates. These proceedings resembled, in some measure, the times of the League; but, being stripped of the horrors of civil war, they appeared only under a form susceptible of ridicule.

This folly, however, was very embarrassing. The King resolved to extinguish, by his moderation, this fire, which caused an apprehension of a conflagration: he exhorted the Clergy not to use dangerous rigours; and the Parliament proceeded again to business.

But soon after, the notes of confession appeared again*, and fresh denials of the sacraments irritated all Paris. The same curate of St. Etienne being found guilty of a second prevarication, was sent for to Parliament, who forbade him and all the curates to give the like scandal, under pain of seizing his temporalities. The same decree invited the Archbishop to put an end to this scandal by his own authority. This term of *invitation* seemed to agree with the views of the King's moderation. The Archbishop not allowing the secular power to have the right of giving him even an invitation, repaired to

* February 1752.

Verfailles, and complained. He was supported in this by an ancient Bishop of Mirepoix, named Boyer, charged with the office of presenting to the King proper persons for ecclesiastical benefices. This man, formerly a Theatin*, afterwards Bishop, and then Minister of this department, was of a very limited understanding, but zealous for the immunities of the Church: he regarded the bull as an article of faith; and having all the credit attached to his place, insinuated that the Parliament undermined the authority of the Church. The parliamentary decree was annulled, which occasioned strong and pathetic remonstrances on their part.

The King ordered that they should restrict themselves to the giving an account of all the resolutions they should make upon these matters to him, reserving to himself the right of punishing those priests whose scandalous zeal should revive the seeds of schism. By a sentence of his Council of State, he forbade his subjects the giving one another the names of Novelists, of Jansenists, and of Semi-pelagians:—this was ordering madmen to be wise.

The curates of Paris, excited by the Archbishop, presented a petition to the King in favour of the notes of confession. Immediately the Parliament sentenced the curate of St. John's en Greve, who had framed the petition; and the King again annulled this proceeding of justice. The Parliament neglected their business, and continued their remonstrances, and the King persisted in exhorting the two parties to peace; but his cares proved useless.

A letter from the Bishop of Marseilles, condemned by the Parliament, was burnt by the hands of the hangman. A writing of the Bishop of Amiens shared the same fate. The Clergy being assembled at this time at Paris to pay five years subsidies to the King, as usual, resolved to go in their pontificals, and present their complaints; but he would not permit so extraordinary a procession.

* Theatin, a sort of religious order.

On the other side *, the Parliament condemned a bearer of the sacrament in a fine, to ask pardon upon his knees, and to be admonished; and a vicar of a parish to banishment. The King also annulled this sentence.

These troublesome affairs multiplied. The King always recommended peace, while the ecclesiastics still refused the administration of the sacraments, and the Parliament continued to proceed against them.

At last †, the King gave the Parliaments permission to judge of the sacraments, in cases brought before them; but forbade them the seeking of jurisdiction, if the parties did not complain to them. They then a second time resumed their functions ‡; and litigious clients, whose suits had been postponed on these accounts, were now left at liberty to ruin themselves at law as usual.

The fire still lay smothered under the ashes §. The Archbishop having ordered the sacrament to be refused to two poor old nuns of St. Agatha, (who had formerly understood from their director the bull Unigenitus to be a diabolical work, who feared to incur damnation if they received this bull at their deaths, and were also fearful of it if they failed receiving extreme unction,) the Parliament sent their Register to the Archbishop, praying him not to refuse the common assistance to these two women; and the prelate answering, according to custom, that he ought not to account to any one but God alone, his temporalities were seized; and the Princes of the blood and the Peers were invited to come and take their seats in Parliament.

The quarrel then might have become serious; and it was feared that the times of the Fronde and the League were again returning. The King forbade his Princes and Peers to go and vote in the Parliament upon those matters, which right he attributed to his Privy-Council. The Archbishop of Paris had even the credit to obtain a sentence of the Council ¶ to dissolve the little community of St. Agatha, where the women had so bad an opinion of the bull Unigenitus.

* Aug. 1752.

† 1752.

‡ Nov. 1752.

§ Dec. 1752.

All Paris murmured. These little vexations spread in more than one town. The same scandals, the same denials of the sacrament, divided the town of Orleans. The Parliament issued the same ordinances for Orleans as for Paris; the schism was beginning to gather strength. A curate of Rosinvilliers, in the diocese of Amiens, declared in his sermon, "That those who were Jansenists must depart the church, and that he would be the first to dip his hands in their blood." He had the confidence, also, to point out some of his parishioners, at whom the most fervent of the Constitutionaries* threw stones during the procession, without either the stoners or the stoned having the least knowledge of the meaning of the bull or of Jansenism.

Such a violence might have been punished with death. The Parliament of Paris (Amiens being within its jurisdiction) was contented to banish for life this factious and sanguinary priest; and the King approved of this sentence, which was not inflicted purely for a spiritual offence, but for the crime of sedition, and disturbance of the public peace.

In the midst of these troubles, Louis XV. was like a father busied in parting two fighting children. He forbade blows and insults; he reprimanded one party, and exhorted the other; he commanded silence, forbidding the Parliaments to judge in spiritual affairs, recommending circumspection to the Bishops, regarding the bull as a law of the Church, but not willing that they should dispute upon so dangerous a point. His paternal care could do but little, with exasperated and alarmed minds. The Parliaments pretended that they could not separate the spiritual from the civil concerns, for that spiritual quarrels necessarily introduced civil commotions.

The Parliament of Paris cited the Bishop of Orleans to make his appearance before the Court on account of the sacraments, and ordered the hangman to burn all

* *Constitutionary, or Constitutionalist*, is the name given to those who favoured the Bull. Translator.

the writings in which its jurisdiction was contested, except the ordinances of the King, sending Counsellors to register their decree in the Sorbonne, in spite of the King's orders*. The hangman was seen daily employed in burning the mandates of the Bishops, and the tribunals of justice enforced the administration of the sacraments to the sick by military aid. The Parliament in all its measures consulted only its own laws, and the maintenance of its authority. The King had a farther view, and considered those exigencies which often require the laws to be relaxed.

In short, for the third time, the Parliament ceased to distribute justice to the subject, and employed themselves solely about the refusal of the sacraments, which agitated all France.

The King sent also to Parliament, for the third time, mandatory letters, ordering them to fulfil their duties, and not to make his subjects having suits depending suffer any longer delay on account of the foreign disputes, the affairs of private persons having no relation to the bull *Unigenitus*.

The Parliament replied†, that it would violate its oath if it acknowledged the letters patent of the King, and that it could not *obtemperate*. (An old word, derived from the Latin, signifying to obey.)

The King then thought himself obliged to banish all the Members of the Court of Inquests, some to Bourges, others to Poitiers, and the rest to Auvergne; and to order four of them into confinement, who had spoken with the greatest freedom.

The Grand Chamber was spared; but they thought it not to their honour to be excepted, persisted in their neglect of their functions, and proceeded against the refractory. The King then sent them to Pontoise, a village six miles from Paris, where the Duke of Orleans had before sent them during his regency.

All Europe was astonished that they made so much noise in France for so trifling an affair; and the French

passed for a frivolous nation, who, for want of having good laws ascertained, threw every thing into disorder about a dispute every where else despised. After having seen five hundred thousand men in arms for the election of an Emperor, and Europe, India, and America desolated, that they should afterwards fall back again into this paper-war, seemed to resemble a shower of rain after a thunder-storm. But it ought to be recollected, that Germany, Sweden, Holland, and Switzerland, had formerly experienced much greater concussions for as idle follies; that the Inquisition of Spain was worse than a civil war; and that every nation has its follies and misfortunes.

The Parliament of Normandy imitated the one at Paris with regard to the sacraments*, citing the Bishop of Evreux, and also neglecting the administration of justice. His Majesty sent an Officer of his guards to cancel the Registers of this Parliament, which became at length more supple than that of Paris.

Distributive justice suspended in the capital would have been a great happiness, if mankind were just and wise; but as they are neither one nor the other, and will go to law, the King commissioned the Members of his State-Council to determine all processes brought before them in the last resort. The commission instituting this jurisdiction was ordered to be enregistered at the Chatelet; as if it were necessary for an inferior Court to give authenticity to the royal authority†. The usage of these Registers has almost always had its inconveniences; but this default of formality might, perhaps, have been still greater. The Chatelet refused to enregister; but it was obliged to it by mandatory letters. The Royal Council assembled, but the Advocates would not plead. This Royal Chamber was made a jest of in Paris; it even laughed at itself; every thing was turned into pleasantry, according to the genius of the nation, which always laughs the next day at what had terrified or animated it the day before. The Ecclesiastics laughed likewise, but it was with joy on their triumph.

* July, 1753.

† November.

Boyer, the old Bishop of Mirepoix, who had been the first author of all these troubles, though not intentionally, being fallen into a dotage, owing to his great age and the weak construction of his organs, every thing seemed to tend towards a conciliation*. The Ministry negotiated with the Parliament of Paris. This body was recalled, and came back, to the satisfaction of the whole town, ushered in with the acclamations of the populace, who cried, Long live the Parliament ! Its return was a triumph†. His Majesty, who was as much fatigued with the inflexibility of the Divines as of the Parliaments, commanded peace and silence, and permitted the secular Judges to proceed against those who disturbed either.

Yet the schism broke out from time to time in Paris and in the Provinces‡; and in spite of the measures that the King had taken to prevent the refusal of the sacraments, many Bishops endeavoured to make a merit of it at the Court of Rome. A Bishop of Nantz having given in that town this example of rigour or of scandal, was condemned by the simple Presidial of Naetz to pay a fine of six thousand francs, and paid it without any relief from the royal interposition. So heartily tired was the King grown of these disputes.

The like scenes happened in all the Kingdom; and while they afflicted the parties interested, they amused the idle multitude. In Orleans, there was an old Canon, a Jansenist, who died, to whom his brother Canons refused the communion||; and the Parliament of Paris condemned them to pay twelve thousand livres, and gave orders that the sick should receive the communion. The Lieutenant-Criminal in consequence set every thing in order for this ceremony, as for an execution; the Prebends however so contrived, that their brother died without the sacraments, and they buried him in the most pitiful manner they could.

Nothing was become more common in the Kingdom, than to administer the communion by order of Parlia-

* July, 1754. † August. ‡ September. || October.

ment. The King having banished his secular Judges for not having *obtemperated* his orders, in order to shew his impartiality, banished also such of the Clergy as were stiffly bent on schism, and began with the Archbishop of Paris*. He was confined to his house at Conflans, about three leagues from the town; a mild exile, which resembled rather a paternal reproof than a punishment.

The Bishops of Orleans and Troyes were in like manner banished to their country-houses with the same mildness. The Archbishop of Paris being still as inflexible in his house at Conflans as in his episcopal palace, was banished to a greater distance.

The Parliament of Paris, now acting without restraint, reproved the Sorbonne, who, having formerly regarded the bull with horror, now looked upon it as an article of faith. The Sorbonne threatened to stop their lectures; and the Parliament, which had itself neglected more important business, ordered this Faculty to continue theirs. They maintained the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the King approved it; but when the Parliament went too far, the King stopped them, by confirming those decrees which tended to the public good, and annulling those which appeared to him to be rash and intemperate.

This Monarch always saw himself between two powerful and incensed factions, as the Roman Emperors were between the Blue and Green. He was taken up with the maritime war which England was just beginning with him; a land one appeared inevitable; and it was no longer a time to contend about bulls.

But it was yet necessary for the King to appease the disputes subsisting between his Grand Council and the Parliaments; for scarcely any thing being determined in France by precise laws, the bounds and privileges of each body being uncertain, the Clergy being always inclined to extend their jurisdiction, the Chamber of Accounts having disputed with the Parliaments many pre-

* December, 1754.

rogatives, the Peers having often pleaded theirs against the Parliament of Paris, it was not to be wondered at that the Grand Council should likewise dispute with them.

This Grand Council was originally the King's Council, and used to accompany the Sovereigns in all their travels. Every thing by degrees altered in public administration, and the Grand Council changed also. Under Charles VIII. it was only a Court of Judicature. It decided concerning evocations*, the competency of Judges, and all proceedings respecting all the benefices of the kingdom, except the regal; and had a right also to try its own officers. A Counsellor belonging to this Court was summoned to the Chatelet for debt†. The Grand Council claimed the cause, and set aside the sentence of the Chatelet. Immediately the Parliament was in an alarm, and rendered void the sentence of the Grand Council, and the King annulled that of the Parliament. Fresh remonstrances, fresh quarrels succeeded; all the Parliaments rose against the Grand Council, and the Public divided on the dispute. The Parliament of Paris again convoked the Peers upon this infringement on their authority, and the King forbade the Peers this association. Thus this affair, like many others, remains undecided.

In the mean time, the King had more important occupations. It was necessary to carry on against the English a burthenfome war, both by sea and land; yet he established at this time the memorable foundation of the Military School, the finest monument of his reign, and which the Empress-Queen Maria-Theresa has since imitated. He wanted some aid of finance, and the Parliaments hesitated about registering the edicts which ordered the collection of two twentieths. They have been since obliged to pay three; because, whenever there is a war, either the citizens must fight, or pay those that will: there is no alternative.

* A law-term, for removing a cause from an inferior Court to a superior Tribunal.

† January, February, March, 1756.

The King held a Bed of Justice at Versailles *, where he convoked the Princes and the Peers, with the Parisian Parliament. There he ordered his edict to be registered ; but the Parliament, on its return to Paris, protested against the registry, and pretended that it not only had been deprived of the necessary liberty of examination, but that this edict required modifications which would neither prejudice the interests of the King nor those of the kingdom, which are in effect the same, which it had sworn to maintain ; adding, that its duty was not to please, but to serve : —thus zeal combated obedience.

The thorns of schism interfered with this important affair of the taxes. A Counsellor of the Parliament lying sick in the country, in the diocese of Meaux, demanded the sacraments. A curate refused them to him as an enemy to the church, and let him die without this ceremony. They proceeded against the curate, who fled.

The Archbishop of Aix made a new formulary upon the bull, and the Parliament of Aix sentenced him to pay ten thousand livres to the poor. He was obliged to pay this fine ; and thus were his formulary and his cash disposed of.

The Bishop of Troyes having troubled his diocese, the King sent him prisoner to a monastery in Alsace †. The Archbishop of Paris, who had been permitted to return from Conflans, pronounced an excommunication against those who read the ordinances and remonstrances of the Parliament upon the bull and letters of confession.

Louis XV. embarrassed by such a number of animosities, carried his circumspection so far as to ask the advice of Pope Lambertini, Benedict XIV. a man as moderate as himself, beloved throughout Christendom for the mildness and vivacity of his character, and whose loss is every hour regretted more and more. He never engaged in any affair but to recommend peace. It was his Secretary of the Briefs, Cardinal Passionei, that transacted every thing. This Cardinal, the only man

* August 2, 1756.

† September.

of letters in the Sacred College, was of so elevated a genius as to despise the disputes in question. He hated the Jesuits, who had fabricated the bull, and could not be silent upon the false step that had been made at Rome, by condemning, in this bull, virtuous maxims, whose truth is immortal, and appertaining to all times and all nations; the following, for example, "the fear of an unjust excommunication ought not to hinder us from the performance of our duty."

This maxim is throughout the world the safeguard of virtue. All the ancients, all the moderns have said, that duty ought to prevail even over the fear of death itself.

But however absurd the bull appeared in more than one point, neither Cardinal Passionei nor the Pope could retract a constitution regarded as a law of the Church. Benedict XIV. sent to the King a circular letter for all the Bishops of France, in which he acknowledged this bull as an universal law, against which no resistance could be made, "without endangering their eternal salvation;" but decided, finally, that, "to avoid scandal, it was necessary for the priest to caution sick persons, who were suspected of Jansenism, that they incurred damnation, and then to let them communicate at their risque and peril."

The same Pope, in his private letter to the King, recommended to him the episcopal rights. When a Pope is consulted upon any occasion whatever, we must expect that his advice will be conformable to his station.

But Benedict XIV. while he maintained the respect due to his rank, did all he could in favour of the King's authority, of decorum, and of the peace of the nation. His brief, addressed to the Bishops, was printed. The Parliament had the courage, or the rashness, to condemn and suppress it, by an arrêt. This proceeding offended the King still more, because it was known and sent this brief to the Bishops, which the Parliament had condemned. In this brief, neither the names of the

Gallican church, or of the royal authority, were mentioned, which the Parliament had maintained and vindicated at all times. The Court discovered in the censure of the Parliament more ill-humour than moderation.

The Council believed that they had another subject on which they could reprove the conduct of the Parliament of Paris; many other superior Courts, which bore the name of Parliaments, intitled themselves, "Classes of the Parliament of the Kingdom;" a title which the Chancellor de l'Hôpital had given them: it signified only the union of the Parliaments in the intelligence and maintenance of the laws. The Parliaments did not pretend to represent the whole State, divided into different companies, which all together making a single body, constitute the perpetual States-General of the Kingdom. This idea would have been very great, but it would have been too much, and the royal authority was jealous of it.

These considerations, joined to the difficulty that was made upon the enregistering the taxes, determined the King to come and reform the Parliament of Paris, by holding a bed of justice.

However secret the Ministry kept this measure, it transpired to the public. The King was received in Paris with a sullen silence. The public consider Parliaments only as the opposers of taxes, and never examine if these taxes are necessary; nor even make the reflection, that they sell their labour and merchandizes in proportion to them; and that the burthen falls upon the rich, who consequently are the first to complain, and to encourage the murmurs of the populace.

In this war, the English had been loaded with taxes more than the French; but that people tax themselves, and know upon what articles the imposts are to be laid. France is taxed, and never knows upon what shall be assigned the funds destined for the payment of their loans. In England, the public taxes are not farmed to individuals, who enrich themselves at the nation's expence; but this is the case in France. The Parliaments of France have always made remonstrances to their King

against this abuse; but there are times when these remonstrances, and especially making difficulties about enregistering, are more dangerous than the taxes themselves, because a war demands present succour, and the abuses of these supplies cannot be corrected, perhaps, but with length of time.

The King came to Parliament, and ordered an edict to be read, by which he suppressed two Chambers of this body, and several officers. He ordered, that the bull Unigenitus should be respected, and forbade the secular Judges to order the administration of the sacrament, permitting them only to judge of abuses and offences committed in administering them; enjoining the Bishops to prescribe to all their ministers discretion and moderation; and recommended that all past quarrels should be buried in oblivion. He ordered * that no Counsellor should have a deliberative voice † before he was twenty-five years of age; and that no one should vote in the Assembly of the Chambers 'till he had served ten years; and finally, made the most express "inhibitions against interrupting, under any pretence whatever, the ordinary business."

The Chancellor put these orders to the vote, for form's sake; but the Parliament kept a profound silence. The King then said, he would be obeyed, and that "he would punish whoever dared to swerve from his duty."

The next day fifteen Counsellors of the Great Chamber lodged their resignation at the office. One hundred and twenty-four Members of Parliament soon followed their example, and universal murmurings prevailed throughout the city.

Among such a number of disputes which occasioned a general fermentation, in the midst of a horrid war, and in this confused state of the finances, which rendered this war still more dangerous, and irritated the animosity of

* December 13, 1756.

† A power or right of arguing, reasoning, or debating upon any subject that was moved in Parliament. *Tractat.*

the malecontents ; in fine, amidst the thorns of division sown on all sides between the magistrates and the clergy ; in such a general uproar, it was very difficult to do any good, and it remained only to prevent the execution of much evil.

C H A P. XXXVII.

An Attempt against the King's Person.

THESE emotions of the people were soon buried in a general consternation, occasioned by a most horrid and unexpected accident. The King was stabbed in the Court of Versailles*, in the presence of his son, in the midst of his guards, and of the great officers of the crown. The following is an account of this strange event.

A miserable wretch, of the dregs of the people, named Robert-Francis Damiens, born in a village near Arras, had been a considerable time a servant in several houses in Paris : he was a man whose gloomy and fiery disposition had always bordered upon madness.

The general murmurs that he had heard in all public places, in the grand hall of the palace and elsewhere, heated his imagination. He went to Versailles like a distracted person, and in those agitations which his inconceivable design threw him into, he desired to be blooded at his inn. Physic has so great an influence over the minds of men, that he protested afterwards in his interrogatories, "That if his request had been complied with, he should not have committed the crime."

His design was the most unheard-of that ever entered the head of a monster of this sort : he did not intend to kill the King, as in effect he declared since, and as unfortunately he could have done, but was resolved to

* January 5, 1757.

wound him; and this is in reality what he declared in his criminal prosecution before the parliament :

“ I had not the intention of killing the King. I could have done it, had I had the inclination. All that I did, was in order that God might touch his heart, and incline him to re-establish all things as they should be, and restore the tranquility of his dominions; and the Archbishop of Paris alone is the sole cause of all these troubles *.”

This idea had inflamed his mind to such a degree, that in another interrogatory he said,

“ I have mentioned Counsellors of Parliament, because I have served one, and because almost all men are enraged at the conduct of the Archbishop†.” In a word, fanaticism had troubled the mind of this unfortunate man so far, that in the interrogatories he underwent at Versailles, are found these his own words :

“ Being interrogated what motives had excited him to assassinate the King’s person, he replied, That it was for the cause of religion ‡.”

All the assassins of Christian Princes have urged this cause. The King of Portugal had not been assassinated but by virtue of the decision of three Jesuits. It is very well known that Henry III. and IV. of France perished by the hands of fanatics; but with this difference, they lost their lives because they appeared to be enemies of the Pope, and the life of Louis XV. was attempted because he seemed to be too complaisant to him.

The assassin was furnished with a spring-knife, at one end carrying a long sharp-pointed blade, and at the other, a penknife about four inches in length. He waited for the moment when the King should step into his coach to go to Trianon. It was near six in the evening, quite dusky, and exceedingly cold; almost all the courtiers wore cloaks, which, by corruption, are

* Interrogatory of the 18th of January, Article 144, P. 132, of the process of Damien, in 4to.

† Interrogatory of the 6th of March, P. 289.

‡ P. 45. called

called *redingotes**. The assassin, thus dressed, proceeded towards the guards, and in passing run against the Dauphin: he then forced his way through the file of the *gardes-du-corps*, and of the one hundred Swits, came up to the King, and stabbed him with the pen-knife in the fifth rib, then put his knife in his pocket, and remained with his hat upon his head. The King finding himself wounded, turned about, and espying this stranger, who was covered, and whose eyes stared wildly, he said, "That is the man who stabbed me; arrest him, but do him no harm."

While every one was seized with fright and horror, the King was carried in to his bed, surgeons fought, and it was uncertain whether his wound was mortal or not, or whether the knife was empoisoned. The parricide often repeated, "Let them take care of Monseigneur le Dauphin, that he does not go out the whole day."

At these words the universal alarm redoubled. It was not doubted that there was a conspiracy against the Royal Family: every one figured to himself the greatest dangers, the greatest and most premeditated crimes.

Happily, the King's wound was but slight; but the general trouble was considerable; and fears, suspicions, and intrigues, multiplied at court. The Grand Provost of the Household, to whom the punishment of crimes committed in the King's Palace belongs, immediately seized the parricide, and commenced the proceedings in form, as practised at St. Cloud, on the assassination of Henry III. An exempt of the Provost's guard having obtained a little confidence, either seeming or real, in the disordered mind of this wretch, engaged him to be so hardy as to write a letter from his prison to the King himself†. *Damiens write to the King! An assassin write to him whom he had assassinated!*

* From the English word *riding-coats*.

† The following is a copy of this curious letter.

"Sir, I am very sorry I had the misfortune to assault you; but if you do not take your people's part before some years have

† This letter is found in page 69, of the process against Damiens, given to the public by the Criminal Register of the Parliament, by permission of his superiors.

His letter is foolish, and conformable to the meanness of his condition; but it discovers the object of his

“ expired, you and Monsieur le Dauphin and some others will perish.
 “ It will be a pity that so good a Prince, for the kindness he has
 “ for the ecclesiastics, in whom he places all his confidence, should
 “ not be sure of his life; and if you have not the goodness to re-
 “ medy it in a little time, very great misfortunes will arise, your
 “ Kingdom not being in surety. Unhappily for you, your subjects
 “ have given you their resignation; the affair proceeds not from
 “ them; and if you have not the goodness for your people, to order
 “ the administration of the sacraments in the article of death, they
 “ having refused it since your sitting in justice, on which account
 “ the Chatelet have directed the moveables of the Priests who fled,
 “ to be sold, I repeat it to you, your life is not in safety. I speak
 “ from good authority, and I take the liberty of informing you of
 “ it by the officer who brings you this, and in whom I have placed
 “ all my confidence. The Archbishop of Paris is the cause of all
 “ this trouble, by his ordering the sacraments to be refused. After
 “ the barbarous crime that I have committed against your sacred
 “ person, the sincere confession I take the liberty of making to you,
 “ gives me hope that I shall receive the goodness of your Majesty’s
 “ clemency.

“ Signed, DAMIENS.”

At the back of the said letter is written, flourished, *ne varietur*, agreeable to, and at the desire of the interrogator of Francis Damiens, dated the 9th day of January 1757, at Versailles, present, the King.

Signed, DAMIENS.

The clerks Du Brillet and Duvoigne, with flourish.

And lower down is written: To the King.

Then follows the tenor of a writing, Signed, DAMIENS.

(Copy of the billet.)

Messieurs, Chagrange, second,

Baiffé de Lisse *

De la Guionye,

Clement,

Lambert,

The president de Rieux Bonnavilliers,

President de Mussy, and almost all.

It is necessary that the King re-establish his Parliament, and support them, with a promise of doing nothing to these above-mentioned and their associates.

Signed, DAMIENS.

And lower down is written.

Flourished, *ne varietur*, agreeable to, and at the desire of the interrogator of this day, being the 9th of January 1757.

Signed, DAMIENS.

The clerks Du Brillet and Duvoigne, with flourish.

The said letter, as well as the said writing, was annexed to the minutes of the said interrogatories.

This wretch mangled the names of almost all of whom he spoke.

fury. In it is seen, that the public complaints against the Archbishop had turned the criminal's brain, and excited him to his vile attempt. It appeared by the names of the members of Parliament cited in his letter, that he knew them by serving one of their brethren; but it would have been absurd to suppose that they had explained their sentiments to him, and much less that they had ever spoken, or even dropped a word to encourage him to the crime.

So the King did not hesitate to refer his punishment to those of the Grand Chamber who had not resigned. He insisted even that the Princes and Peers should, by their presence, add more authenticity and solemnity, in all points, to the trial in the eyes of the public, who are as suspicious as curious exaggerators, and who always see in these horrid adventures beyond the truth. Never, in effect, did truth appear more clearly.

It is evident, that this madman had no accomplice. He always declared, he did not think of killing the King; but that he had formed the design to wound him, ever since the banishment of the Parliament*.

Directly, upon the first interrogatory, he said †, "That religion alone had determined him to this attempt."

He acknowledged that he only spoke bad of the Molinists ‡, and those who refused the sacraments; and that these people apparently believe in two Gods.

He cried out on the torture, "I thought I should have done a meritorious work for Heaven, and it is what I have heard said by all the priests in the Palace." He constantly persisted in saying that it was the Archbishop of Paris, the refusal of the sacraments, and the disgraces of the Parliament, that had stirred him to this act of parricide: he declared the same again to his confessors. This wretched man was no more than a foolish fanatic, less abominable, in fact, than Ravallac and John Chatel, but more mad, and having no more accomplices than those two furies had. The only ac-

Interrogatory before the Parliament, page 132, and 135.

† P. 131. ‡ P. 135. § P. 405.

complices, generally, for these monsters, are fanatics, whose heated brains light up, without knowing it, a fire in weak, desperate, hardened minds. A few words dropped by chance is sufficient to set them on flames. Damiens acted under the same illusion as Ravallac, and died in the same torments*.

What is then the effect of fanaticism, and the destiny of Kings? Henry III. and IV. were assassinated because they supported their rights against the Clergy; and Louis XV. because he was reproached with using too little severity against one. Behold three Kings upon whom the hands of parricides have fallen, in a country renowned for the love of its sovereigns!

The father, wife and daughter of Damiens, although innocent, were banished the kingdom, with a prohibition against returning, under pain of death; and, by the same sentence, all his relations were obliged to quit the name of Damiens, which was become execrable.

This event occasioned those, who by their unhappy ecclesiastical quarrels had been the cause of this great crime, to return, for some time, to their senses. It is too evidently seen what a dogmatical spirit, and the bigotry of religion, can produce. No one could have imagined that a bull, and tickets of confession, could have had such horrible events; but so it is, that the foibles and fury of mankind are closely united. The spirits of Polrot and James Clement, which were reputed to be annihilated, still subsist in the souls of the ignorant and ferocious. Reason in vain guides those of higher rank; the populace are always inclined to fanaticism; and perhaps there is no other remedy for this contagion, than to enlighten, in the end, even the lowest of the people; but, instead of that, they are educated in superstition, and afterwards men are astonished at the consequences of it.

In the mean time, sixteen Counsellors, who had resigned, were sent into exile; and one of them*, who had been clerk, and afterwards was made Counsellor of

March 28.

† L'Abbe de Chauvillon.

honour,

honour, celebrated for his patriotic principles and eloquence, established a perpetual mass, to return God thanks for having preserved the life of that King who had banished him.

Many officers of the Parliament of Besançon were confined in different towns for having refused to register the second twentieth penny, and giving a decree against the Intendant of the Province.

His Majesty, notwithstanding the wicked attempt made upon his person, and in spite of a ruinous war, constantly and carefully employed himself in stifling the quarrel of his Parliament and Clergy, endeavouring to restrict each power within its proper limits, or banishing the Archbishop of Paris once more, for having acted contrary to his laws, in the election of a superior of a Convent. He afterwards recalled this Prelate, still rendering his resolution the more respectable by his moderation. At length, the affairs even of the Parliament of Paris were accommodated; the members of this body, who had resigned, resumed their posts and functions; and every thing promised tranquility at home, till false zeal, and the spirit of party, should occasion fresh troubles.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

The Assassination of the King of Portugal. The Expulsion of the Jesuits from thence, and afterwards from France.

A RELIGIOUS order ought not to make any part of a History. No Historian of antiquity has entered into a detail of the establishments of the priests of either Cybele or Juno. It is one of the misfortunes of our European policy, that the Monks, destined by their institution to be unknown, have made as much noise in the world as princes, either by their immense riches, or the troubles they have excited, ever since their institution.

It is well known, that the Jesuits were the actual sovereigns of Paraguay, while they acknowledged the King of Spain for its master. The Spanish Court had, by a treaty of exchange, ceded certain districts of these lands to King Joseph of Portugal, of the House of Braganza. The Jesuits were accused of having opposed this cedure, and of causing the people to revolt who were to have submitted to the government of the Portuguese. This, joined to a number of other injuries, occasioned the Jesuits to be driven from the Court of Lisbon.

Some time after, the Tavora family, and particularly the Duke d'Aveiro, uncle to the young Countess Ataïde d'Atouguia; the old Marquis and Marchioness of Tavora, the parents of the young Countess; and, in short, Count Ataïde her husband, and one of this unfortunate lady's brothers, imagining that they had received from the King an irreparable injury, resolved to revenge themselves. Vengeance and superstition are mutually linked. The meditators of a wicked attempt will always seek casuists and confessors to encourage them in their villainy; and this family, thinking themselves thus abused, concerted with three jesuits, viz. Malagrida, Alexander, and Mathos. These casuists declared, that to take away the life of the King was only committing a sin that they termed venial †.

To understand this decision more clearly, it is necessary we should know that the casuists make a distinction between the sins which lead to hell, and those which conduct us to purgatory for a certain time; between the sins that the absolution of a priest can forgive, either by the means of prayer or the distribution of alms, and those which are pardoned without any satisfaction. The first are considered as *mortal*; the latter, as *venial*.

Auricular confession occasioned a parricide in Portugal, as it had done in other countries. What was introduced as an expiation of crimes, has been the means

† It is so reported in the *Acordao*, or declaration of the Royal Council of Lisbon.

of committing them. Such is, as we have often remarked in this History, the deplorable condition of humanity!

The conspirators, furnished with their pardon for this other world, waited the King's return to Lisbon from a little country-house, alone without domestics, and in the night: they fired into his coach, and dangerously wounded him *.

All the accomplices, except one domestic, were seized. Some perished by the wheel, and the others were beheaded. The young Countess d'Ataúte, whose husband was executed, went, by order of the King, to bewail in a convent those horrible misfortunes which she was thought to be the cause of. The Jesuits alone, who had advised and authorised this assassination, by the means of confession (means as dangerous as they are sacred, at that time escaped punishment.

Portugal, not having then received that intellectual knowledge which had opened the eyes of so many European Kingdoms, was under greater submission to the Pope than any other State. The King was not permitted to condemn to death, by his judges, a monk, guilty of a parricide, without the consent of Rome. Other nations were in the eighteenth century, but the Portuguese seemed to be still in the twelfth.

Posterity will scarcely believe that the King of Portugal solicited Rome, for above a year, for permission to try the Jesuits, though they were his subjects, and could not obtain it. The Courts of Lisbon and Rome were for a long time at open variance, and every body flattered themselves that Portugal would shake the yoke that England, her ally and protector, had so long trampled under foot; but the Portuguese sinners had too many crimes to dare to undertake what the Court of London had executed: however, his conduct expressed both great resolution and extreme weakness.

The Jesuits, who were not guilty, were imprisoned in Lisbon, where the King let them remain, but their defence and trial were not to be dangerous. The

were declared for ever banished the kingdom; but yet they dared not to execute those three who were accused and convicted of parricide. The King was reduced to the expedient of delivering Malagrida to the Inquisition, on suspicion of having formerly advanced some rash propositions which bordered upon heresy.

The Dominicans, the Judges of the Holy Office, and assistants to the Grand Inquisitor, were never well affected towards the Jesuits, and paid more obedience to the King of Portugal than they did to Rome. These monks discovered a little book of the "heroic life of St. Ann, mother of Mary, dictated to the reverend father Malagrida by St. Ann herself." She declared to him, that she had experienced the immaculate conception as well as her daughter, that she had spoken and cried in her mother's womb, and also that she had made the Cherubims weep. All the writings of Malagrida were of a piece with this: besides, he had made predictions, and performed miracles; and that of experiencing nocturnal pollutions in his prison, at the age of seventy-five, was not one of the least. With all this he was reproached in his process; upon which he was condemned to the flames, without there being mentioned the assassination of the King, because that was a fault against a secular only, and the other offences were against God*. Thus were the excess of ridicule and absurdity joined to the extremity of horror. The criminal was only brought to his trial as a prophet, and burnt for being a madman only, and not for having been a parricide.

While the Jesuits were driven from Portugal, this adventure roused the hatred that France bore towards them; where they were always powerful and detested. It happened that one of their order, named La Valerte, chief of the missionaries at Matenco, and the greatest merchant in the Islands, became a bankrupt for upwards of three millions. All those who were interested, brought their cause before the Parliament of Paris. They then discovered that the General of the order, resident at

Rome, had governed the affairs of the society in a despotic manner; and the Parliament decreed that the President and the whole society of Jesuits should answer for the bankruptcy of La Valette.

This process, which excited the hatred of France against the Jesuits, led them to examine into this singular institution, which rendered an Italian General absolute master over the persons and fortunes of a French society. They were surprised to find, that the order of Jesuits was never formally received in France by the major part of the French Parliaments. They examined their constitutions, and all the Parliaments found them incompatible with the laws. They then recollected all the ancient complaints which were made against this order, and upwards of fifty volumes of their theological decisions affecting the safety of the lives of Kings.

The Jesuits defended themselves only by saying, "That the Jacobins and St. Thomas had written as much;" by which they only proved that the Jacobins were as reprehensible as themselves. With respect to Thomas d'Aquinas, he is canonized; but in his *ultramontane summary* there are decisions that the Parliaments of France would burn upon his feast-day, if they were made use of to disturb the peace of the kingdom. As he in many places declares, that the Church has a right to depose a Prince who is an idol to it, so in this case he gives sanction to paricide. By such maxims as these one may gain paradise and the gallows!

The King condescended to intermeddle in the affair of the Jesuits, and endeavoured to pacify this quarrel, as he had done others. He was desirous of reforming in a parental manner the French Jesuits; but it is sad, that Pope Clement XIII. declared, that they must either continue as they were, or not exist at all; and this answer from the Pope was their ruin. They were again charged with carrying on secret assemblies. The King then abandoned them to his Parliaments, who all, one after another, deprived them of their colleges and their estates.

The Parliaments concerned themselves upon some rules only of their institution, which the King might have altered;

altered; upon horrible maxims, it is true, but such as were despised, and for the most part published by foreign Jesuits, and largely formally disavowed by the French Jesuits.

In all important affairs, there is an avowed pretext and a concealed reason. The pretext for the punishment of the Jesuits was the pretended dangers which might arise from their pernicious books, which nobody read: the true cause was, the credit which they had so long abused. In this enlightened and moderate age, it happened to them as it befel the Templars in a time of ignorance and barbarism: pride ruined them both; but the Jesuits were treated in their disgrace with mildness, and the Templars with cruelty. At last, the King, by a solemn edict in 1763, totally abolished this order, which always had persons worthy of esteem belonging to it, but more men of names; and which was, during the space of two hundred years, a subject of discord.

It was neither Sanchez, Lessius, nor Escobar, nor the absurdity of casuists, which ruined the Jesuits; it was Le Tellier; it was the bull that was the reason of their extirpation throughout almost all France. The plough that the Jesuit Le Tellier passed over the ruins of Port Royal, has produced, at the end of sixty years, those fruits which they sowed up. The persecutions that this violent and cruel man had excited against an obstinate people, rendered the Jesuits execrable in France. A memorable example, but which will not correct the Confessor of any monarch who is (what almost all courtiers are) ambitious and intriguing, and who directs the conscience of a prince but ill informed, and weakened by old age.

The order of Jesuits was afterwards driven from all the dominions of the King of Spain in Europe, Asia, and America; from the Two Sicilies, Parma, and Malta; an evident proof that they were not such great politicians as was generally imagined. The monks were never powerful but by the blindness of mankind; and in this age their eyes began to be opened. What there was worthy

of remark in their almost universal overthrow was, that in Portugal they were banished for having degenerated from their institution, and in France for having been too conformable to it*. The reason is, that the Portuguese did not dare to examine into an institution consecrated by the Popes, and the French stood not in so much awe of their authority. † The result on the whole is, that a religious order that could excite the hatred of so many nations, must certainly have deserved it.

This order was exterminated throughout all the countries which had been the theatres of its power; in Spain, the Philippine Isles, Peru, Mexico, Paraguay, Portugal, Brazil, France, the Two Sicilies, the Dutchy of Parma, and in Malta; but it preserved itself, at least for some time, in Hungary, in Poland, in one-third of Germany, in Flanders, and even in Venice, where it, however, was in no esteem, and from whence it had been formerly banished.

It appears but reasonable and just, that the Sovereigns who are dissatisfied with any religious order, should rid themselves of it; and that those Powers which approve of it, should cherish it in their states.

C. H A P. XXXIX.

Of the Bull of Pope Rêzconico, Clement XIII. and of its Consequences.

THE Infant-Duke of Parma, Don Ferdinand of Bourbon, having followed the example of all the Princes of his family in banishing the Jesuits, made in

* Stay, till we have passed the next sentence. *Translator.*

† Are we any thing the wiser now? The order of Jesuits were equally banished from France and Spain, as a Community dangerous to the State. The political difference is by no means apparent. M. Voltaire affects the stile of Tacitus, which is conciseness; but wanting his genius, the sentence in Horace may be applied to him,

Brevitas esse laus est.
Optimus scilicet.

Idem.

his

his estates several regulations which reformed the monastic abuses; and his Minister, who was much esteemed in Europe, had moreover the prudence to oppose the pretensions of the Court of Rome, which claimed a right to judge all the contentious disputes in Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, and to confer all their benefices.

These pretensions were derived, in the first place, from St. Peter, who, they say, was Bishop of Rome. Secondly, from the Countess Matilda; who had endowed Pope Gregory VII. with Parma, Placentia, and other great domains. But it has never been proved that St. Peter had ever been at Rome; and it is certain that he never conferred any benefice in Parma, Placentia, or Guastalla, and that he never judged any process in those territories.

As to the Countess Matilda, sister of the Emperor Henry III. and aunt to the Emperor Henry IV. whom the Popes had rendered so unhappy, this donation has ever been considered as null by all the Imperial Civilians, it not being permitted to dispose of any fief of the Empire without the consent of the Lord Paramount.

They were so much persuaded, even in the time of Charles V. of the invalidity of the pontifical claims, that this Emperor took possession of Placentia when the Bastard of Pope Paul III. to whom his father had given that city, was there assassinated on account of his vices and his violences. Charles V. retained Placentia till his death.

The Emperors have ever since claimed the dependence of Parma and Placentia, and at length it was solemnly accorded to them at the Congress of Cambray, and also at that of Soissons.

When it was made known to Pope Clement XIII. that the Duke of Parma, Don Ferdinand, was resolved to reign like other Sovereigns, he assembled a Council of Cardinals, who never in the least hesitated to pronounce the wise administration of the Duke of Parma and his Ministers to be a sacrilege. The Pope signed in St. Mary Major, the 30th of January 1768, a pontifical brief, which he began by declaring, that Parma and Placentia belonged to him in *Ducatu nostro*, and that

that the Duke of Parma and Placentia being a layman, and not a priest, every act of his Council was illegal. He excommunicated all those who had any hand in the edicts of the Duke of Parma, without exception; and forbade the administering of absolution to them in any case whatsoever.—This decree, sealed with the ring of the Fisherman, was posted up on the churches of St. John de Lateran, of St. Peter, and in the field of Flora.

Such a brief appears to belong rather to the twelfth century than to the present age. The Pope and Cardinals who involved themselves in this net, seem not to have been aware how much men's minds were enlightened in Europe. The absurdity of the Court of Rome was in judging of the present by the past. There were times when a Priest could dethrone a Prince by the means of prejudices; and there are others, when he would be obliged to disguise his weakness by his condescension. Never was Pope guilty of so gross an error. He insulted in the person of the Duke of Parma, the King of Spain Don Carlos his uncle, Louis XV. his grandfather and chief of the House of Bourbon, and the King of the Two Sicilies his cousin-german.

The Popes had never excommunicated any sovereign since the year 1630, and it happened to be a Duke of Parma, ancestor by the mother's side of the present Duke. This was only concerning some money-matter. The Pope had seized upon the Dutchies of Castro and of Ronciglione, belonging to Odoard Farnese, Duke of Parma.

In 1588, a more important ancestor of this Prince, the great Henry IV. King of France, was excommunicated by Sixtus Quintus. This pastor of the Marche of Ancona became Pope, and had the audacity to call him "a bastard, and detestable branch of the House of Bourbon."

Such for a long time was the superstitious frenzy and insolence of the Court of Rome, that a Priest of that country pronounced, on the part of God, the descendant of so many Kings incapable of inheriting not only the kingdom of St. Louis, but even a single acre of land.

Thus

This excess of absurd insolence was not punished as it ought to have been. The religious disputes and the ambitious politics of Philip II. then supported the pride of the Vatican; but the time is come, at length, when what was formerly forced to be tolerated is now repressed, and when the feeble is chastised for the ancient violences of the strong, which subsist no longer.

Clement XIII. was soon punished for his great ignorance in the affairs of the world. The Parliament of Paris began with condemning his brief of excommunication; but the Royal Council made use of arms more effectual, by issuing an order for taking possession of Avignon, and of all the County of Venaissin *. The concessions made formerly by the Kings of France of this Earldom to the see of Rome, are enveloped in that cloud of uncertainty in which great part of history is involved. Besides, the alienation of any domain of the Crown has always been reputed contrary to the laws of the kingdom by all Parliaments, and particularly by that of Provence, within which precinct Avignon and the Earldom are included.

Louis XIV. had twice taken possession of this domain, once in the papacy of Alexander VII. and the other time in order to mortify Innocent XI. who had declared against him; and having seized these territories as lands belonging to the Crown, he had restored them twice, without making the least declaration that might prejudice his right of re-assumption.

It should be observed, that when the Kings of France repossess themselves of the Earldom, 'tis in virtue of a Decree of the Parliament of Provence. The Minister of France thinks proper to establish the last Decree of this Parliament, which in 1688 had reunited Avignon and the Earldom to the Crown. This decree had never been specially revoked; so that it was put into execution, as subsisting in its full force.

A Territory of France, near Avignon, depending on the Pope.

The Count of Rochecouart appeared on the part of the King before Avignon *, attended by a few troops. He went directly to the Vice-Legate, who governed there in the name of the Pope, and said to him, according to the ancient precedent used under Louis XIV. "Mr. Abbé, the King has commanded me to replace Avignon in his possession, and you are requested to retire."

The First President of Aix, a Second President, and eight Counsellors, proclaimed the arret of re-union.—At the same time all the bells were set a-ringing, the populace lighted up bonfires, and they commenced from that day to insert in their public acts, "In the reign of our sovereign Prince Louis, by the grace of God, XV. of the name, King of France and Navarre, Earl of Provence, of the Town of Avignon, and of the Earldom of Venaissin."

The King of Naples, on his part, revenged his House and all the Catholic Sovereigns by seizing the town of Benevento, with that of Ponto-Corvo; and by declaring, "that these two towns and their territory were dependent on the Crown of Naples, and that they were now reunited for ever."

They threatened likewise to seize upon Castro and Ronciglione, but they proceeded no farther than threats; and even when the Court of Naples took possession of Benevento, which had belonged to the Popes about seven hundred and thirty years, it paid the tribute of vassalage, which amounted to seven thousand crowns, suspended from the neck of a pacing poney †.—They had not courage enough to emancipate themselves from this servitude. Men rarely do all that they may.—This tribute was still more ancient, by ten years, than the rights of the Popes over Benevento. This homage, which is paid no where else, and which could only have been a simple ceremony of piety, was not a

* June 11, 1768.

† Is the Calumet, or the String of Wampum of the wild Indians more ridiculous than this? *Translator.*

real feudal dependence. It took its rise from prejudice, and might easily have been abolished by reason. The Minister of the King of Naples, the Marquis Taulucci, a man the best instructed in this kind of difficult jurisprudence, did not think that the times were sufficiently ripe for casting off a yoke, which, tho' a scandal to crowned heads, was however imposed by religion.

If they did not yet despoil the Popes of all the rights they had usurped, they at least sapped the foundations of the edifice upon which all those rights are supported; they every where proscribed the famous bull *in Canâ Domini*, which they had fulminated every year at Rome, without discontinuance, ever since Paul III. A Cardinal Deacon reads it at the porch of St. Peter's on the day they call Holy Thursday, and the Pope throws a lighted flambeau into the public square to notify to all Christian people, that God will thus burn in hell whoever shall violate the laws enacted by the bull *in Canâ Domini*.

It is in this bull, article 14, that are excommunicated, by a major excommunication, "The Chancellors, Counsellors, ordinary and extraordinary, of all Kings and Princes whatsoever, the Presidents of the Chanceries, Councils, Parliaments, as also the Procurators-General, who pretend to sit in judgment upon ecclesiastical causes, or who obstruct the execution of the Apostolic ordinances, even when the preventing some violence may be the pretence."

By the same article the Pope reserves to himself alone "the power of absolving the aforesaid Chancellors, Counsellors, Procurators-General, and other excommunicated persons, none of whom, however, can be absolved 'till after they have publicly revoked their sentences, and have cancelled them out of their registers."

This bull had been before fulminated by the violent Julius II. but it had never been made a law to publish it every year. It was Paul III. who instituted this usage,

* The reader must be more ingenious than the Translator, if he can invent words sufficient to express his abhorrence of the stupid blasphemy and internal insolence of this whole passage. *Translator.*

and who had it printed in the Bullary *, with aggravated additions. It is strange that Charles V. who had sacked Rome and detained a Pope in prison, should yet suffer an absurd ceremony to subsist, which, though in reality despised, was nevertheless injurious to the majesty of the Empire, and of all the Kings.

The insult offered to the Infant-Duke of Parma, awaked all Catholic Europe out of a slumber of two hundred years standing. The Austrian Ministry, after the example of the Parliament of Paris, condemned and suppressed the bull in all its Estates. The Minister of Naples did the same. All the Councils of the Princes began to open their eyes. In fine, after having banished the Jesuits from so many States, it was every where seen of what importance it was to diminish the prodigious multitude of monks, who are in all Catholic countries the soldiers of the Pope, paid at the expence of the people. The wise Republic of Venice more especially signalized itself by laws which curbed the number of monks, and their rapaciousness.

This was what Pope Rezzonico drew upon the Court of Rome by having listened to bad counsels, and by not having properly considered that we are in the eighteenth century. This Pope, more virtuous than enlightened, died soon after: his death was attributed to chagrin, though that is rarely the malady of old age.

The Minister, as he is styled in France, for foreign affairs, and whom they named under Louis XIV. the Minister of the Strangers †, being seconded by Cardinal Bernis, had the interest at Rome to get a Pope nominated from whom was expected more circumspection. Cardinal Bernis to the artifice upon which the Italians pique themselves had joined a literary erudition, with a taste and a genius which the Sacred College no longer piques itself upon, and that was rarely possessed but by the late Cardinal Passionei. It was he

* The Registry of the Pope's Bulls.

† A strange title, indeed! Why change the first, which had some meaning in it? *Translator.*

who made Pope Clement XIV. and who formed his Council.

This Pope, who had been a Franciscan, was reputed a man of good understanding, and capable of sustaining by his wisdom the Colossus of the Pontificate, which seemed to be nodding to its fall.

C H A P. XL.

Of Corsica.

THESE little bickerings with the Court of Rome cost nothing but ink and paper; but it required gold and blood to subdue the Island of Corsica to the yoke of France.

It will be necessary to give some idea of this Isle. It certainly must be that the soil of it cannot be so barren, nor the possession of it of so little consequence, as has been generally said, when all its neighbouring Princes have always fought its dominion.

The Carthaginians had made themselves masters of it before their wars with the Romans. Cornelius Scipio made a conquest of it in the first Punic war, and the Romans continued its masters for a long time, and built several towns there. The Goths took it from the Romans, and the Arabs conquered it afterwards from the Goths.

Some Lords of New Rome drove the Saracens out of it, in the time of Pope Pascal II. The Popes began from thence to pretend that it was their prerogative alone to confer Kingdoms, in quality of Vicars of Jesus Christ, "whose Kingdom, however, was not of this world *." It is generally thought that Gregory VII. was the first who established the vain notion of a sacred

No; earthly Kingdoms were under the dominion of the Devil, rather, for he offered them all to our Saviour. *Mat. iv. 8, 9.* so that by this claim the Pope appear to be only Vicars of the Devil.—So much for Antichrist. *Translator.*

and universal monarchy, not recollecting that Eginhard himself, the Secretary of Charlemagne, said that Pope Stephen had deposed the King of the Franks Chilperic, and given the Kingdom of the Franks to the Mayor of the Palace, Pepin, father to Charlemagne. Pascal II. also bestowed Corsica on one of the conquerors of those times named Bianco, and reserved the homage to himself. The Island remained peopled with antient Romans, antient Carthaginians, the Arabs, and its original inhabitants. The Pisans and the Genoese disputed with each other the possession of it. Pope Urban II. granted it to the Pisans by a bull, the original of which remains, 'tis said, still at Florence. The Genoese, notwithstanding the bull, established themselves in a part of the Island in the twelfth century.

An Alphonso, King of Arragon, drove the Genoese out of it for some time, who in their turn drove him from it in 1354. The Corsicans then, of their own accord, submitted themselves as subjects of Genoa, because they were poor, and the others rich.

In the course of all these revolutions, the towns built by the antient Romans fell to ruin, and the people were sunk into barbarism and wretchedness. This is the portrait of all the Christian nations since the invasion of the Barbarians, except Constantinople and the towns of Italy, as Rome, Venice, Florence, Milan, and a very few others, which preserved the policy and the arts that were banished from every place else.

It was rather to be expected that the Corsicans would have conquered Pisa and Genoa, than that the Pisans and Genoese should have conquered the Corsicans; for these Islanders were more robust, and braver too than their conquerors: they had nothing to lose; a Republic of poor and fierce warriors might easily have overcome the merchants of Liguria, from the same reason that the Huns, the Goths, the Heruli, and the Vandals, who were masters of nothing but iron, had subdued the nations who were possessed of gold. But the Corsicans having been always disunited, undisciplined, and divided
into

into factions which were mortal enemies to each other, were ever subjugated through their own fault.

It was a mean condition for the people of a country which bore the title of a Kingdom to become the subjects of a Republic, which did not know itself whether it was free or not; for not only the Archives of the Empire have always enrolled Genoa as one of its fiefs, but when Genoa delivered itself up to the King of France, Charles VI.; when, having massacred the French, she bestowed herself in 1409 to a simple Marquis of Montferrat, and afterwards to a Duke of Milan; when she submitted to Charles VII. and to Charles VIII.; when she was among the number of the subjects of Louis XII. and even of subjects punished for disobedience; it was certain that the Corsicans were the subjects of subjects not less humiliated than themselves, which, after the condition of absolute slavery, is the most abject state that can be well imagined.

When the Genoese were really free in 1553, thanks to the ill conduct of Francis I. and to the gallant spirit of Francis Doria, a man who in modern Europe has the most illustrious name of Citizen! the Corsicans were then more slaves than ever; the weight of their chains became insupportable, and their sufferings roused their courage. The family of the Ornanos, which has since taken shelter and made a figure in France, attempted to do in Corsica what the Dorias had done in Genoa, restore liberty to their country; and this family of the Ornanos were worthy of so noble an undertaking. It did not, however, succeed; the greatest courage and the best measures must be seconded by fortune. The King of France, Henry II. who assisted the Corsicans at that time, in order to become their master perhaps, was killed in a tournament.

The Ornanos having now no longer the dangerous support of France, solicited a still more dangerous one, that of the Turks. But the Porte scorned to interfere in the quarrels of two insignificant nations fighting for a parcel of rocks on the coast of Italy. The Corsicans remained under the dominion of the Genoese; and

and the more these Islanders attempted to shake off the yoke, the heavier it was rendered by Genoa.

The Corsicans were a long time governed by a law which resembled the law *Veimique*, or Westphalian, of Charlemagne; a law by which the Judge Delegate of the Isle condemned to death or the galleys upon a private information, without trying the accused, or even inserting the least manner of formality in his judgment. The sentence was entered in these terms in a private record: "Being informed in my conscience that such " and such are guilty, I condemn them to death." There was no more formality in the execution than in the sentence.

It is inconceivable that Charlemagne should have established such a process, which subsisted five hundred years in Westphalia, and was afterwards imitated in Corsica. These Islanders were continually assassinating one another, and their Judges had the survivors assassinated in their turn, upon the information of their consciences. This, on both sides, was the utmost degree of barbarism. The Corsicans required civilization, and they crushed them; they were to be mollified, and they were rendered more intractable.

A savage and indomitable enmity was rooted between them and their masters, and became a second nature. There were twelve insurrections, which the Corsicans called efforts for liberty, and the Genoese termed crimes of high treason. Since the year 1725 there had been nothing but seditions, punishments, insurrections, depredations, and massacres of Corsican citizens assassinated by their fellow-citizens.

Can it be credited, that in a petition sent to the King of France by the chief Corsicans in 1738, it should be affirmed, that there had been twenty-six thousand assassinations during the government of the sixteen last Genoese Deputies, and seventeen hundred within the last two years? The petitioners added, that the Deputies of Genoa connived at these crimes, in order to enrich themselves by fines and confiscations.

This

This accusation seems to be exaggerated; but the result is, that the administration was bad, and the people still worse. Corsica cost the Senate of Genoa much more treasure and embarrassment than it was worth; and it might well be said of that people what Louis XI. said of Genoa itself, when she offered herself to him, "I'll make a present of her to the Devil."

From the year 1729 it was open war, as between two rival and irreconcilable nations. Genoa implored the succour of the Emperor Charles VI. in quality of a Lord Paramount who ought to protect his vassals. To this reason she added a certain sum, and the Emperor supplied her with troops. A Prince of the House of Wirtemberg, a brave officer and a man of liberality, obliged the Corsicans to lay down their arms, and negotiated an accommodation between them and the Genoese in 1732; but it was only a truce soon broken by the animosity of both parties.

The Corsicans began to have some very intelligent Chiefs, such as always arise in the course of civil wars; a Giasseri, a Jacintho Paoli, a Rivalora, and above all a Canon named Orticoni, who for some time possessed the principal influence. But these Chiefs were not able to establish a regular government in the place of that tumultuous anarchy which desolated and depopulated this Island.

The Corsicans, among whom assassination was at that time more common than it had been on the continent of Italy even in the fifteenth century, were also full as devout as the rest of the Italians, and many priests among them assassinated while they were mumbling over their beads. The Chiefs in 1735 convoked a general assembly, in which Council they dedicated Corsica to the Virgin Mary, who did not seem inclined to accept of this Sovereignty. They burned the Genoese laws, and proclaimed the penalty of death against whoever should propose the entering into any treaty with Genoa. Jacintho Paoli and Giasseri were declared Generals.

The Corsicans had scarcely placed themselves under the tutelage of the Virgin, when an adventurer of Lower Germany,

Germany came to make himself King of Corsica without ever consulting her. He was a poor Baron of Westphalia, named Théodore de Neuhoff, brother to a lady who had an establishment in France at the Court of the Dukes of Orleans.

This person having travelled into Spain, and having there made some acquaintance with an Envoy from Tunis, passed over into Africa, and persuaded the Bey that he could put him in possession of Corsica, if the Bey would only supply him with a sloop of war mounting six cannon, four thousand muskets, a thousand sequins, and some provisions.

The Regency of Tunis were weak enough to provide him with what he asked. He arrived at Leghorn in a ship which hoisted false English colours, sold the vessel, and wrote from thence to the Chiefs of the Corsicans, that if they would elect him for their King, he would engage to drive the Genoese out of the Island with the succours of the principal Powers of Europe which he had secured.

There must certainly be times when the heads of most men become giddy. His proposition was accepted. The Baron Theodore landed the 15th of March, 1736, at the port of Aleria; clothed like a Turk, and his head covered with a turban. He began by proclaiming that he had arrived with immense treasures, and by way of proof distributed among the people fifty sequins in brass coin. The muskets and the powder which he distributed were certificates of his power. He gave the natives shoes made of good leather; a magnificence unknown in Corsica. He bribed couriers who used to come to him from Leghorn in packet-boats, and bring him forged dispatches from several Powers of Europe and Africa. He passed among that people for one of the greatest Princes of the earth: he was elected King, caused brass money to be coined in his name, had a Court established, and Secretaries of State appointed him. And what raised his reputation and power still more was, that the Senate of Genoa had set a price upon his head. But in about eight months the principal Corsicans

Corficans having found out who he was, and the small sum he was master of being exhausted, he departed, as he pretended, to go in quest of more effectual succours.

Being a fugitive in Amsterdam, one of his creditors had him arrested; but this disgrace did not discourage him; he made new dupes, even in gaol. He resembled in this particular a Marquis d'Ammi de Conventiglio, who about the same time visited all the Courts, making gold for the Princes and Nobles who had occasion for it, and was himself thrown into prison in all the capitals of Europe.

In the mean time, the Genoese solicited in 1737 the good offices of France. Cardinal Fleury, who had pacified the troubles of Geneva, undertook also to be the arbitrator of the peace between Genoa and Corsica. He dispatched Count de Boissieux, nephew to Marshal Villars, with some troops and articles of accommodation. It was at this crisis that the malcontents sent to the King the supplication I have before mentioned, in which they complained of the seventeen hundred assassinations that had been perpetrated in their Island within the last two years; which, however, was no sort of apology on the side of the question.

This petition was further seconded by a natural wild sort of eloquence superior to all the arts of oratory, and by sentiments of liberty, so little known in Courts. "If your sovereign commands," said they, "should oblige us to submit ourselves to Genoa, let us first drink the health of the Most Christian King, and then die."

A plan was drawn up at Versailles, in the name of the Emperor and of the King of France, which was signed by the Minister of the King, and by Prince Lichtenstein, Ambassador from the Emperor. The articles of it appeared to be equitable. They utterly abolished the right that the Judges Delegates had assumed to themselves of condemning to the gallows or the galleys, on the sole testimony of their own consciences; but at the same time they framed an article to disarm all the inhabitants

habitants of Corsica. They would by no means submit to be disarmed, and resolved to die rather than drink "to the health of the Most Christian King."

King Theodore still promised them from his prison in Amsterdam, that he would go and deliver them shortly from the yoke of Genoa and the arbitration of France. In fine, he had the art to impose upon the Jews and foreign merchants settled at Amsterdam, as he had before deceived both Tunis and Corsica; he prevailed on them not only to discharge his debt, but also to freight a vessel with arms, powder, ammunition, and provisions, with a considerable cargo of merchandise; persuading them that they should be put into possession of the exclusive commerce of the whole Island, which he represented to be a trade of immense profit.

Their avarice made dupes of them, but Theodore was as great a fool as they were: he imagined to himself, that on landing in Corsica with arms, and appealing to have brought money with him, the whole Island would immediately resort to his standard, in spite of both French and Genoese. He was not suffered to disembark; he took shelter in Leghorn, and his Dutch creditors were ruined.

He fled soon after to England, and was thrown into gaol in London for his debts, as he had been imprisoned before at Amsterdam. There he remained till the beginning of the year 1756, when Mr. Walpole had the generosity to set a subscription on foot for his relief, by the means of which he compounded with his creditors, and released this mock Monarch from a gaol, who died miserably on the 2d of December in the same year. It was engraven on his tombstone. "That fortune had given him a King to n, and refused him bread *."

* Mr. Voltaire has told this part of the story imperfectly. When this singular man was in prison here, *de profundis clamavit*; but only Mr. Walpole heard him. He knew him not; but his benevolence being moved with the extraordinary circumstances of so extraordinary a character, he published a paper, No. 8 in *The World* (a popular work then carrying on after the manner of *The Spectator*) in which with a great deal of wit, humour, and compassion, he recommended

In the interval while Theodore was making his second attempt of reigning in Corsica, and when he had tried in vain to land in the Island, the Islanders made it sufficiently appear that they needed not his assistance to defend themselves. They had promised Boissieux to carry him their arms : they carried them indeed the 12th of December 1738, but it was to surprise a post of four hundred French, who were not able to resist them. Boissieux came to their assistance ; he was repulsed, and driven back with muskets at their breasts even into Bastia. The Corsicans called this day the Corsican Vespers ; tho' it was but a feeble imitation of the Sicilian Vespers.

Soon after a fleet was equipped, on board which some new battalions were embarked, which Cardinal Fleury sent out in order to pacify the Corsicans by the means of arms. This fleet was dispersed by a horrible tem-

the Monarch's situation to the consideration and munificence of the public, and at the same time directed a subscription to be opened for his relief at Mr. Doddsley's, bookseller, in Pall Mall.

When wit and genius are employed in the offices of humanity, the inspiration must come from above. The collection amounted only to fifty pounds. What portion of that sum the generous promoter of it himself supplied, is not known. The registry of charitable deeds is not kept on earth.

This sum was by no means sufficient to purchase any composition with his creditors, as M. Voltaire asserts, but only served to support him in his confinement till he was released by a general Act of Insolvency, soon after passed.

As soon as he was set at liberty, he sent to Mr. Doddsley to require him to open his subscription anew ; which the latter declined, because he did not apprehend it would produce any further effect : upon this, his Majesty threatened to prosecute him for having dared to debase his royal name, by employing it in so mean a business without his authority, and died the day after.

Mr. Walpole buried, and bestowed an inscription on him in St. Anne's, Soho. " If they ask for bread, will they give them a stone ?" Mr. Walpole supplied both, and made the latter a *living one*, by the following epitaph.

- " The Grave, great teacher, to a level brings
- " Heroes and beggars, galley-slaves and Kings.
- " But Theodore this lesson learnt ere dead ;
- " For he pour'd its lecture on his living head,
- " Bestowed a Kingdom, and denied him bread."

pest; two of the vessels were wrecked upon the coast; four hundred soldiers with their officers fell into the hands of those they came to conquer, and were stripped quite naked. The mortification that Boissieux was sensible of from so many disgraces, hastened that death with which his weakly constitution had threatened him a long time before. There scarcely ever was a more unfortunate expedition.

At length, the Marquis of Maillebois, an officer of great reputation, and who was soon after made a Marshal of France, was sent thither. This person, accustomed to prompt expeditions, conquered the Corsicans in three weeks, in the year 1739.

He began now to establish in the Island a sort of police which had not been known there before, when the fatal war of 1740 desolated the half of Europe. Cardinal Fleury, who engaged in it against his will, and whose character it was to conduct great enterprizes by little ways, introduced his usual œconomy into this important war. He withdrew all the forces from Corsica. Genoa, so far from being able to keep the Island in subjection, was herself overpowered by the Austrians, reduced to a condition of slavery, and was more unhappy than Corsica, because she fell from a greater height.

While Europe was desolated on account of the succession of the Estates of the House of Austria, and for so many different interests which were relative to the principal concern, the Corsicans strengthened themselves in the love of liberty and their hatred to their former masters. Genoa always kept possession of Bastia, the capital of the Island, and a few other places; the Corsicans held all the rest. They enjoyed their liberty, or rather their licentiousness, under the command of Giafferi, elected their General; a person famous for an intrepid valour, and also for the virtues of a good citizen. He was assassinated in 1753. The Senate of Genoa was accused of this act, who probably had no share in the murder.

Discord

Discord now divided the Corsicans. The enmities between the families terminated ever in assassinations; but they still reunited against the Genoese, their private animosities giving way to the general enmity. The Corsicans needed more than ever some Chief who might be capable of directing their fury, and of rendering it serviceable to the public good.

The old Jacintho Paoli, who had commanded them formerly, and who was then retired to Naples, sent them his son Paschal Paoli in 1755. As soon as he arrived, he was acknowledged for Commandant-General of the whole Island, though he was only twenty-nine years of age. He did not pretend to the title of King, like Theodore, but he was so in effect in many particulars, as placing himself at the head of a Democratic Government.

Whatever has been said of him, it is not possible but that this Chief must have possessed great qualities. To establish a regular Government over a Nation that was averse to it; to combine under the same laws a divided and undisciplined people; to form at once regular troops, and institute a kind of University which was capable of softening their manners; to establish tribunals of justice, to restrain the fury of assassination and murder, to civilize barbarism, to render himself beloved, while he exacted obedience; all this was assuredly a sufficient proof of no common man. He was not able to bring either of these two points to bear, to render the nation free, or himself absolute; but he did enough to acquire renown.

Two Powers very different from each other engaged in the contest between Genoa and Corsica. The one was the Court of Rome, and the other that of France. The Popes had formerly pretended to the sovereignty of that Island, and they are not apt to forget it at Rome. The Corsican Bishops having taken part with the Genoese Senate, and three of the Bishops having quitted their country, the Pope sent there a Visitor-General, which much alarmed the Senate of Genoa. Some of the Senators were afraid lest Rome should take advantage of these

these troubles to revive her ancient pretensions to a country which Genoa could no longer preserve; but this apprehension was as vain as the efforts of Genoa to subjugate Corsica.

The Pope who sent this Visitor was the same Rezzonico who since exclaimed so indiscreetly against the Duke of Parma. He was not a man to conquer kingdoms. The Senate of Genoa ordered that the Visitor should not be suffered to land in Corsica. He arrived there, notwithstanding, in the spring of 1760. General Paoli addressed himself to him, to try to gain him over as a Protector. He ordered the decree of the Senate to be burned under the gallows; but he remained still the master. The Visitor could only give his benedictions, and make ecclesiastical regulations for the priests, who possessed nothing but the name, and who sometimes used to go from mass and assassinate their brethren.

The Ministry of France, more active and more powerful than that of Rome, were solicited again to assist Genoa with its good offices. At length the Court of France sent seven battalions to Corsica in the year 1764, but not to act offensively. These troops were only charged to guard the places which the Genoese were yet in possession of. They came only as mediators. It was said that they should remain there, and in part at the expence of the Senate, for their provisions.

The Senate hoped that France having taken upon her the charge of garrisoning their forts, it might be able with its own forces to regain the rest of the Island. But it was mistaken. Paoli had both disciplined his troops, and redoubled in the people the love of liberty. He had a brother who had the character of a brave soldier, and who often discomfited the mercenaries of Genoa. This Republic lost in the space of four years its troops and its money, while Paoli augmented daily both his forces and his reputation. Europe regarded him as the legislator and the avenger of his country.

The four years station of the French in Corsica being expired, the Senate of Genoa began to find that it had
wasted

wasted itself in vain in a ruinous enterprize, and that it was impracticable to subdue the Corsicans.

It then surrendered all its rights in Corsica to the Crown of France, and the treaty was signed in the month of July, at Compergne. By this treaty the Kingdom of Corsica was not absolutely transferred over to the King of France, but only mortgaged to him, with a reservation of the equity of redemption to the Republic, on reimbursing him the immense expences he had been at in favour of the said Republic.

This was in effect to make over Corsica for ever, for it was not probable that the Genoese would ever be able to redeem the Kingdom; and it was still less probable, that if they should repurchase it, they would be able to preserve it against a Nation which had entered into a solemn oath to perish rather than live under the yoke of Genoa.

So that in surrendering the empty and fatal sovereignty of a count, Genoa made a direct good bargain; and the King of France made a better, because he was powerful enough to maintain his domination in Corsica, to civilise, to people, and enrich it, by making agriculture and commerce flourish there. Besides, there might come a time, when the possession of Corsica would be of material advantage in the interests that might in future be contested in Italy.

The question here is, whether any set of men have a right to sell other men? But this is a scruple that is never invelligated in any treaty.

They began by negotiating with General Paoli. He had to deal with the Minister of State and of War; he knew that the soul of this Minister was elevated above his birth, that he was the most liberal man in Europe, that he conducted himself with an heroic nobleness in all his private interests, and that he acted with the same greatness of mind in the interests of the King his Master. Paoli might certainly have obtained both honours and recompences, but he was intrusted with the liberty of his country. He had before his

eyes the judgment of Nations; and whatever was his design, he would not sell his own. Indeed, if he had been so inclined, it was not in his power. The Corsicans had been inspired with too great an enthusiasm for liberty, and he had himself augmented, in them this passion so natural to man, become now not only a sacred duty, but a sort of rage. If he had attempted only to have moderated its excess, he had risked both his life and his glory.

This glory was not in him a military one: he was more of a legislator than a soldier; his courage lay in his mind, and he directed all the operations of the war. In fine, he had the honour of resisting the King of France for almost a year. No foreign Power assisted him. Some English only, enamoured of that liberty of which he was the champion, and was likely to become the victim, supplied him with some money and arms; for the Corsicans were but ill provided with the latter: they had no muskets armed with bayonets; and even when they received them from London, the greater part of the Corsicans knew not how to manage them; they therefore preferred their common muskets and hangers: their principal arms was their courage. This courage was so great, that in one of their battles near a river named Gaulo, they made a rampart of their dead, to gain time to charge behind it, before they were to make a necessary retreat; and even the wounded were thrown into the heap to complete the pile. Valour is found every where, but such actions as this are never seen except among a free people. But in spite of all their courage, they were overcome at last. The Count de Vaux, seconded by the Marquis de Marbœuf, subdued the whole Island in less time than Marshal Maillebois had conquered it before.

The Duke de Choiseul, who directed all this enterprize, had the glory to give the King his Master a Province that might easily, if well cultivated, support two hundred thousand men, furnish brave soldiers, and in a short time establish a very beneficial commerce.

It

It may be observed, that if France gained under Louis XIV. Alsace, Franche Comté*, and part of Flanders ; it was augmented under Louis XV. with Lorraine and Corsica.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Laws.

ME N S' understandings were more enlightened in the Age of Louis XIV. and the following one, than in all the ages before. It has been already seen how the Arts and Letters were perfected ; the nation opened its eyes upon the Laws, an article hitherto neglected. Louis XIV. had signalized his reign by a code which was wanting in France ; but this code related rather to the uniformity of the procedure, than the investigation of the laws, which ought to be common to all the Provinces, uniform, invariable, and without any thing arbitrary. The criminal jurisprudence appeared, above all, to retain somewhat of the ancient barbarity. It was directed rather towards detecting the guilty, than defending the innocent. 'Tis an immortal honour to the President De Lamoignon to have so often opposed himself, in the execution of sentences, to the cruelty of the proceedings ; but his voice, which was that of humanity, was stifled by the voice of Puffort and the other Commissioners, who were all for rigour.

Persons the best acquainted with these latter ages, have been sensible of the necessity of softening our laws, as we have at length softened our manners. It must be acknowledged, that in our manners there was as much ferocity, as of lightness and ignorance in our minds, 'till the happy days of Louis XIV. To be convinced of this sad truth, we need only reflect upon the execution of Augustin de Thou and of Marshal Marillac ; upon

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the assassination of the Marshal d'Ancre; upon his widow condemned to the flames; upon above a score of assassinations, either purposed or attempted against Henry IV. ; and upon the murder of that excellent King.

The times preceding these were still more shocking: we may rise from the horrors of the civil wars, and of St. Bartholomew, up to the calamities of the age of Francis I. ; and from thence, as high as Clovis, all is savage. The other nations were not any thing more humane. But there never were a people more infamous for assassinations and other great crimes than the French. Punishments were for a long time redeemed at stated prices*; but afterwards the laws became as atrocious as the manners of the people.

And what made these hardships more severe was, that the methods of proceeding were almost all taken from the ecclesiastical jurisprudence. This may be judged of from the criminal process of the Knights Templars, who, to the shame of the country, as well as of reason and equity, received all their instructions from priests nominated by a Pope. Men having been so long governed like wild beasts, except, perhaps, a few years under St. Louis, under Louis XII. and under Henry IV. the more their minds became civilized, the more they held in horror that barbarity, of which even still there remain so many traces.

The Torture, which no subject of either Greece or Rome had ever undergone, appeared to compassionate and considerate Civilians a punishment worse than death, and which ought to be reserved for the Chatels and the Ravaisfacs, or whom a whole Kingdom is interested in the discovery of their accomplices. It had been abolished in England and in part of Germany; it has lately been proscribed in an Empire of two thousand leagues extent; and if there are not more great crimes committed

* These Tables for Fines, so much for murder, so much for parricide, so much for crimes too shocking to name, present us with a sad view of human nature. *Translator.*

in that country than there are among us, it is a proof that the torture is as much to be censured as the vices it was meant to prevent, and which it certainly does not restrain.

Their minds revolted also against confiscations. They held it to be unjust to punish the children for the faults of their parents. 'Tis a maxim received at the bar, "Who confiscates the body, confiscates the goods;" a maxim in force in the countries where custom holds the place of law. So, for example, they there suffer children to die for want of bread, whose fathers have voluntarily destroyed themselves, equally with those of murderers; and thus an entire family is punished in every case for the fault of one man.

So that when the father of a family had been condemned to the galleys for life by an arbitrary sentence *, whether for having harboured a preacher, or for having listened to his sermon in a cave or desert, the wife and children were reduced to become beggars for their bread.

That kind of jurisprudence which consisted in robbing orphans of their sustenance, and giving to one man the property of another, was unknown during the whole period of the Roman Commonwealth. Sylla introduced it indeed in his proscriptions; but it must be confessed, that a rapine invented by Sylla was not an example to be made a precedent: and therefore this law, which seemed to be dictated either by inhumanity and avarice, was not followed either by Cæsar or the good Emperor Trajan, or by or the Antonines, whose names all nations still pronounce with respect and esteem. In fine, under Justinian confiscation was appropriated solely to the crime of high-treason.

It appears, that in the times of the feudal anarchy the Princes and the landed Nobles, not being very rich, fell upon methods of augmenting their revenues by the condemnations of their subjects, and contrived to raise

* See the Edict of 1724, 14th May, published at the solicitation of Cardinal Fleury, and revised by him.

an income out of crimes. The laws among them being arbitrary, and the Roman jurisprudence unknown, cruel or capricious customs prevailed. But now that the power of Sovereigns is founded upon immense and certain opulence, their treasuries stand not in need of being supplied by the trifling spoils of an unhappy family. They are generally bestowed on the first who applies for them. But does it become a Citizen to enrich himself with the remains of another Citizen?

Confiscation is not admitted in those countries where the Roman Law is established, except in the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Toulouse. Neither is it used in some Customary Provinces *, as in the Bourbonnois, Berry, Maine, Poitou, and Brittany, where at least it spares the landed estate. It was formerly established at Calais, but the English abolished it when they were masters of the place. It is very extraordinary that the inhabitants of a Capital should submit to a law more severe than those that are of force in smaller towns. So true it is, that jurisprudence has been frequently established by chance, without regularity, without uniformity, as cottages are built in villages.

Who could believe, that in the year 1673, in the most glorious age of France, the Advocate-General Omer Talon should have expressed himself thus in full Parliament, on the case of a Mademoiselle de Camillac †?

“In the thirteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, God said, If thou shouldst find thyself in a city or in a place where idolatry prevails, put all to the edge of the sword, without exception of age, of sex, or of condition. Gather together in the public places all the spoils of the city, and burn both the spoils and the city entirely, so that there remain nothing but a heap of cinders of this place of abomination. In fine, make a sacrifice of it to the Lord, and retain nothing in thy hands of the goods of this anathema ‡.

* Countries governed by usage, by the Common Law, and not by statutes. *Translator.*

† Journal of the Courts, Vol. I. Page 44.

‡ Accused or devoted thing. *Translator.*

“ So in the crime of high-treason, the King is master of the goods, and the children are deprived of them. A process having been obtained against Naboth *because he had spoken evil against the King*, King Ahab possessed himself of his inheritance. David having been informed that Mephibosheth was engaged in the rebellion, gave all his possessions to Ziba, who gave him the intelligence. *These* be all that belonged to Mephibosheth.”

The question was to know who should inherit the assets of Mademoiselle de Canillac; effects which had been before decreed to confiscation in the possession of her father, granted by the King to the Keeper of the Royal Treasury, and restored afterwards by the Keeper to the Testatrix. And it was upon this process of a girl of Auvergne, that an Advocate-General referred the case to Ahab, King of a part of Palestine, who confiscated the vineyard of Naboth, after having assassinated the proprietor with the poignard of the law; an action so abominable, that it has passed into a proverb, to inspire mankind with a horror against usurpation. The murder and the confiscation of the goods of Mephibosheth, grandson of the Jewish petty King Saul, and son to Jonathan, the friend and protector of David, had not much affinity with the testament of this young woman*.

It was with such pedantry, with such a madness for quotations foreign to the subject, with such an ignorance of the principles of human nature, with such prejudices wrongly conceived and as ill applied, that jurisprudence has been treated by men who have borne some reputation in the profession. We shall leave to the readers to think what it is unnecessary to tell them.

If, in future times, laws more humane should soften in France some usages too rigorous, without however

* M. Voltaire seems to rejoice in every opportunity of shewing his virulence against the Scriptures. He here speaks with contempt of the Empire of Saul, and with reprobation of this act of David. *Tout pour.*

giving a greater latitude to crimes; it is to be hoped that they will also reform the procedure in those articles where the Digesters of the Codes appear to have been prompted by too severe a zeal. Should not the criminal laws be as favourable to the innocent as formidable to the guilty? In England, a simple imprisonment illegally inflicted, is repaired by the Minister who has compelled it. But in France, the innocent person who has been plunged into a dungeon, and who has sustained the rack, has no manner of consolation to hope for, no damages to recover against any one, when it is the public Minister who has prosecuted him. He remains for ever branded in society. The innocent branded! And why? Because his bones are broken! He ought rather to excite pity and respect.

A scrutiny into crimes requires rigour; 'tis a civil war waged by human justice against vice; but there is a generosity and a compassion even in war. The soldier is merciful; need the lawyer be cruel?

Let us here only compare in a few points the criminal process of the Romans with that of the French.

Among the former, the witnesses were publicly heard in the presence of the accused, who might answer them, examine them himself, or employ an Advocate to do it. Such a procedure was frank and noble, and breathed the magnanimous spirit of the Romans.

Among us, every thing is carried on clandestinely. A single Judge, with his clerk, receives the depositions of each witness separately. This practice, which was first established by Francis I. was afterwards authorized by the Commissioners who digested the Ordinance of Louis XIV. in 1670.[†] This was owing solely to a mistake.

They took into their heads, in reading the *Code de Testibus*, that these words, *testes intrare judici secretum*, signified that the witnesses should be examined in secret. But *secretum* here signifies the Judge's chamber. *Intrare secretum*, meant for speaking in private, is not Latin.

[†] See Bornier, title 6, article 11, Of Informations.

It was therefore a solecism which established this part of our jurisprudence. Some Civilians, indeed, affirm that Contumacy * ought not to be punished, if the crime is not clearly proved. But other Civilians, less enlightened, and perhaps more followed, hold a contrary opinion; having the conscience to pronounce, that the flight of a person accused was a proof of his crime; and that the contempt he shewed for justice, in refusing to appear, deserved the same chastisement as if he had been proved guilty: so that, according to the sect of Civilians which the Judge inclines to, an innocent person may be either sentenced or absolved.

There is yet something more in this matter. The inferior officer of a Court often leads an ignorant villager into saying what he has a mind he should: he makes him depose according to the ideas he has himself conceived; and dictates his answers, without the witness being sensible of it. I have known more than one example of this. If on the confrontation the evidence should contradict any part of the testimony, he is punished; so that he is obliged to "bear false witness against his neighbour," for fear of suffering the penalty of perjury: and we have seen innocent persons condemned, because weak and timid witnesses could not at first explain themselves, nor afterwards dared to retract their blunder. The French criminal jurisprudence lays snares continually for the accused. It looks as if Puffort and the Chancellor Boucherat had been the enemies of mankind.

'Tis, besides, a great abuse in the French jurisprudence, that the reveries, and the errors, sometimes cruel ones, of uncommissioned authors, who have written their own comments on the laws, have been frequently taken for the laws themselves.

The life of man seems to be too much abandoned to caprice. When out of thirty Judges there are ten who are not for passing sentence or death, ought the other

* The non-appearance, or refusal to plead, of a person accused.
Translator.

twenty to over-rule them? It is plain that the crime has not been sufficiently proved, or that it did not deserve so capital an infliction, if one-third of any number of rational men shall declare against such severity. Some voices more should not suffice to put a subject to a cruel death. In general it must be confessed, that we too often slay our fellow-citizens with the sword of justice. When Judges condemn an innocent person, 'tis but a legal assassination, and of the most horrible kind. When they punish with death an offence to which lighter chastisements are annexed in other countries, they are both cruel and impolitic. A good Government ought to render penalties useful. It is wise to oblige criminals to labour for the service of the public; their deaths are of no advantage, except to the hangman.

Under the reign of Louis XIV. there were two ordinances made, which are uniform throughout the Kingdom. In the first, which relates to civil proceedings, the Judges are forbidden to decree in any civil matter, upon default, when the demand has not been proved. But in the second, which regulates the criminal process, it is not said, that for want of proof the accused shall be dismissed. A strange thing! The law says, that a man who has been cited for a debt shall not be condemned for default of appearance, unless the demand be proved due; but if the question affects his life, 'tis a matter of controversy at the bar, whether the accused is to be condemned or not, without being convicted. They pronounce sentence generally without trial: his absence is construed into guilt. They seize his effects, and stigmatize him.

The laws seem to have more consideration for money than for lives: they permit an extortioner or a fraudulent bankrupt to defend themselves by their Counsel, when very often an honest man is denied that aid! If there could be proved a single case where an innocent person was vindicated by his Counsel, must it not be clear, that the law which deprives him of it is unjust?

The first President de Lamoignon said against this law,
 " That the Advocate or Counsel which it is customary
 " to

“ to allow to the accused, is not a privilege granted
 “ by the ordinances, nor by the laws; ’tis a liberty ac-
 “ quired by natural right, which is more ancient than
 “ all human laws. Natural reason teaches every man
 “ that he should have recourse to the sense or know-
 “ ledge of others, when he is not himself sufficiently
 “ possessed of them to conduct himself, and to borrow
 “ succour when he does not find himself strong enough
 “ for his own defence. Our ordinances have debarred
 “ the accused of so many advantages, that it is but just
 “ to continue to them what remains; and principally
 “ the Advocate, which is the most essential part of it.
 “ That if a comparison was made of our proceedings
 “ with those of the Romans and other Nations, we
 “ should find that there is not any one so rigorous as
 “ that they observe in France, especially since the or-
 “ dinance of 1539*.”

This procedure is still more rigorous since the ordi-
 nance of 1670. It would have been more mild, if the
 greater number of the Commissioners had thought like
 Mr. Lamoignon. The more they were formerly igno-
 rant and absurd, the more merciless and barbarous they
 became. Absurdity condemned Marshal d’Ancre to
 the flames: it has dictated a hundred other such sen-
 tences. It was absurdity which was the first mover in
 the massacre of St. Bartholomew. When reason is per-
 verted, man becomes of course a brute; society is then
 only a forest of wild beasts of different species, which
 prey upon each other by turns; or a parcel of apes
 that judge the wolves and foxes. Would you meta-
 morphose these brutes into men, you must begin by
 suffering them to recover their reason.

The feudal anarchy no longer subsists, yet many of
 its laws still remain, which incumber the French legis-
 lation with an insufferable confusion.

Do they not judge the same cause differently in Pro-
 vence and in the capital? Can the same man have
 right in Brittany, and be in the wrong in Provence?

But why confine the argument? There are as many jurisprudences as there are towns; and in the same Parliament the maxims of one Chamber are not those of the next*.

They abide by the Roman laws in the countries of statute law; and in the Provinces they are governed by custom, though this usage has no precision. But these Roman laws are to the amount of forty thousand; and upon these forty thousand laws there are a thousand voluminous commentaries, which contradict one another.

Besides these forty thousand laws, some of which they quote generally at hazard, we have five hundred and forty different customs, reckoning the lesser towns, and even some of the larger ones, which differ from the usages of the principal jurisdiction; so that a man who rides post through France, changes laws oftener than he does horses, as has been said before; and an Advocate who might be an able lawyer in his own town, may be a mere Ignoramus in the neighbouring one.

What an amazing contrariety between the laws of the same Kingdom! In Paris, a man who has kept a house in the city for a year and a day, is deemed a citizen of the place. In Franche-Comté, a freeman who has resided a year and a day in a mort-main house, becomes a slave. His collateral relations inherit not any property he might have acquired elsewhere; and his own children are reduced to beggary, if they have passed a year at a distance from the house where their father died. This Province is named free, but what kind of freedom is this!

And what is still more deplorable is, that in Franche-Comté, in Burgundy, in the Nivernois, in Auvergne, and in some other Provinces, the Canons, the Monks possess slaves in mort-main. One often sees officers wearing the military order of St. Louis, and covered with wounds, die mort-mains of a priest equally intolent and useless to the world.

* See upon this head the President Bouhier.

This term, of mort-main, they say, arose from the following circumstance: that formerly when one of these mort-main bondmen died without leaving any personal effects which his Lord could appropriate to himself, they carried him the right hand of the deceased: a worthy origin of such a denomination!

There have been many edicts to abolish this custom, which is a disgrace to human nature; but the Magistrates who possess lands with this prerogative, elude the laws, which were only made for the public good; and the Church, which possesses bondmen, opposes these wise laws still more than the Magistracy. The Estates-General in 1615 in vain petitioned Louis XIII. to renew the edicts elude in the reigns of his predecessors, and enforce their execution. The President Lamoignon drew up a scheme for putting an end to this usage, and for compensating the proprietors; but this project was neglected.

In our times the King of Sardinia has destroyed this servitude in Savoy; but it remains still established in France, because the oppressions in the Provinces are not felt in the capital. Whatever is at a distance from our observation never sufficiently interests us.

When we would mark the limits between the civil power and the ecclesiastical usages, what endless disputes arise! Where are the bounds? Who can be able to conciliate the eternal contradictions between the King's Exchequer and the Jurisprudence? Finally, Why in criminal cases are not the minutes of the trial written down? Is there any shame in giving a reason for their judgments? Why do not those who sit in judgment in the name of the Sovereign present him with their sentences of death, before they put them into execution?

On what side soever we turn our eyes, we perceive nothing but contradictions, cruelty, uncertainty, and arbitrariness. In fine, the venality of the Magistracy is a scandal with which France alone throughout the whole world is polluted, and from which she has ever wished to be purged. We have always regretted ever since Francis I. the times when the upright Civilian, grown grey in the study of the laws, arrived through
his

his merit to the seat of justice, which he had defended by his labours, knowledge in the laws, and by his credit. Cicero, Hortensius, and the first Mark Antony did not purchase their seats in the Senate. In vain has the Abbé Bourzey in his book of errors intitled, "The Political Testament of Cardinal Richelieu," attempted to justify the sale of the dignities in the law; in vain have other authors, more courtiers than patriots, and more actuated by personal interest than by the love of their country, pursued the traces of the Abbé Bourzey. One proof that this purchase is an abuse is, that it took its rise from another abuse, from the dissipation of the finances of the State. This is a sort of simony, far more injurious than the sale of a Church perferment. For if an unconnected ecclesiastic purchases a simple benefice, there results neither good or harm from it to the country in which he possesses no jurisdiction. He is not responsible to any one; but the Magistracy has the honour, the fortune, and the lives of men in its hands. We are attempting in this age to bring every thing to perfection; let us then endeavour to perfect the laws.

CHAP. XLII.

Of the Progress of the Human Understanding the Age of Louis XV.

A WHOLE order abolished by the secular power; the discipline of others reformed by this power; the divisions also between magistracy and the episcopal authority, plainly discover how much prejudices are dissipated, how far the knowledge of Government is extended, and to what degree our understandings are enlightened. The seeds of this knowledge were sown in the last century; in the present they are every where sprung up, even in the remotest Provinces, with that true eloquence which was scarcely known except in Paris,

Paris, but, which has suddenly flourished in many country-towns; witness the discourses* that have been delivered both from the bar and the Assembly-Chambers of some Parliaments; discourses which are master-pieces of sentiment and expression, at least in many respects. Since the times of the Dagueffeaus, the only models were found in the capital, and these very rarely. A superior reason has extended itself in our days, from the foot of the Pyrenean hills to the north of France. Philosophy, by rendering the mind more just, and banishing the absurdities of far-fetched conceits, has made more than one Province the competitors of the capital.

In general, the bar has best understood that universal jurisprudence, drawn from nature, which raises itself above all the laws of convention, or of simple authority; laws often dictated by caprice, or by the want of money; dangerous resources, rather than useful laws, which are continually jarring, and forming rather a chaos than a body of legislation, as we have said before.

The Academies have been extremely serviceable, by accustoming young gentlemen to reading; and by exciting their genius as well as emulation, through premiums.

Pure natural philosophy has illustrated the necessary arts; and these arts have already begun to heal the wounds of the State, caused by two fatal wars. Stuffs are manufactured in a cheaper manner, by the ingenuity of one of the most celebrated mechanics†. An academician‡, still more useful by the objects that he has embraced, has brought agriculture to a much greater perfection; and a discerning Minister has at last permitted the exportation of corn;—a necessary commerce forbidden too long a time, and which ought to be limited, perhaps, as well as encouraged.

See the discourses of M. de Montclar, La Chalotais, De Castillon, De Servant, De Pâti, &c.

† Mr. Vauchanson.

‡ Mr. Duhamel.

Another academician * has shewn the most advantageous means of furnishing all the houses of Paris with water, which was much wanted;—a project which could only be rejected either through poverty, negligence, or avarice.

A physician † has at last found out the secret, so long time sought for, of making sea-water potable: so that there remained no more but to render this experiment so easy, that it may at all times be serviceable, without too much expence.

If any invention can supply the want of knowledge of the longitude, which is withheld from us, it is that of the most ingenious watchmaker of France ‡, who disputes this invention with England. But we must wait, 'till Time puts his seal to all these discoveries. For it is not with an invention that has its utility and inconveniencies, a discovery which can be disputed, or an opinion which may be contested, as with those great monuments of the fine arts in poetry, eloquence, music, architecture, sculpture, and painting, which at once engaged the approbation of all nations, and insured that of posterity, by an éclat which nothing can obscure.

We have already spoken of the celebrated repository of human knowledge which has appeared under the title of the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*. It is an everlasting honour to the nation, that the officers of war both of sea and land, ancient magistrates, physicians well-skilled in nature, the truly learned as well as nominal doctors, men of letters whose taste has refined their knowledge, geonetricians and natural philosophers, have all contributed to this work, as useful as it is difficult, without any view of interest; without even seeking after fame, since many of them conceal their names; in short, without communicating their intelligences to each other, and consequently exempt from the spirit of party.

But what is yet more honourable for the country is, that in this immense collection, its merits triumph over

* Mr. Deparcieux. † Mr. Poissonnier. ‡ Mr. Le Roi.

its imperfections, which has never before happened. The persecutions it has undergone, are not altogether so honourable for France. The same unfortunate spirit of forms, mixed with pride, envy, and ignorance, which occasioned the suppression of the Art of Printing in the time of Louis XI. public shews in the reign of Henry IV. the beginnings of sound philosophy under Louis XIII. and even emetics and inoculation; this same spirit, I say, an enemy to all instruction, and to every thing that can elevate the mind, gave almost mortal blows to this memorable undertaking. It has even been the means of rendering it not so perfect as it might have been, in putting on those shackles with which reason must never be confined, because temerity only should be reprov'd, and not liberal investigations, without which the human understanding can never make any progress. It is certain, that the knowledge of nature, the disbelief of the ancient fables honoured with the name of history, and sound metaphysics free from the impertinences of the Schools, are the produce of this age, and that human reason is improving every day.

It is true, that all undertakings have not been equally fortunate. Voyages to the farther end of the world to confirm a truth that Newton has demonstrated in his closet, have left doubts upon the exactness of measures. The experiment of rough iron forged or converted into steel, that of breeding animals in the Egyptian manner in climates very different from Egypt, and many other efforts of the like nature, have been the means of losing much precious time, and even ruined some families. Too hazardous systems have disgraced those works which would have been very useful. A reliance has been made on deceitful experiments, to revive the ancient error, that animals could be produced without seed; from whence issued imaginations even more chimerical than those of the animals. Some have pushed the abuse of Newton's discovery upon attraction even so far as to say, that infants are formed in their mother's womb by attraction; others have invented the organical molecularæ, and have carried themselves so far in thier vain ideas,

ideas, as to affirm that mountains have been formed by the sea. There would be as much truth in saying, that the sea had been formed by mountains.

Who could believe that some geometricians have been wild enough to imagine, that in the exaltation of the soul, we may possess the gift of foreseeing the future as if present; yet more than one philosopher, as I have already remarked, took it into his head, from the example of Descartes, to put himself in God's place, and create a world with a word: but now, all these philosophical follies are reproved by the wise; and even these fantastical edifices, overthrown by reason, have left in their ruins materials, of which reason itself has made some use.

A like extravagance has infected the moral world. There have been known understandings so blind as to undermine the very foundation of society, at the time they thought to reform it. They have been mad enough to maintain, that the distinctions of *meum & tuum* are criminal, and that one ought not to enjoy the fruits of one's own labour; that not only all mankind are upon a level, but that they have perverted the order of nature in forming societies; that men are born to be separated from each other like wild beasts; and that beavers, bees, and pismires, confound the eternal laws by forming a republic among their kind.

These impertinences, worthy of an hospital of madmen, have been for some time in fashion, as apes are made to dance in fairs.

This atrocious phrenzy has been carried to such an incredible point of absurdity, that I do not know what savage mountebank it was who had the impudence to say, in a project of education, "That a King should not hesitate to give a hangman's daughter in marriage to his son, if their tastes, humours, and characters, agreed †."

* *Emilius*, vol. iv. page 138. J. J. Rousseau well deserved this contemptuous stricture, for this and some other reprehensible passages in his writings. *Translator.*

Theology has not been screened from these excesses. Works whose nature is to be edifying are become defamatory libels, and have even provoked the censure of Parliaments, and ought to be condemned by all Academies, for the vileness of their composition.

More than one such abuse seems to have infested literature. A crowd of writers have wandered into a laboured stile, either violent and unintelligible, or in a total neglect of all grammar. Absurdity has been carried so far as to render Tacitus ridiculous. Much has been written in this age, but genius belonged to the former. The French language was carried, in the time of Louis XIV. to the highest point of perfection, in all kinds; not in using terms new or unuseful, but in employing with art all the necessary words which were in use. It is at present to be feared, that this fine language will degenerate, in consequence of that unfortunate facility in writing which the last age has handed down to posterity; for models produced a crowd of imitators, and these imitators always endeavour to make up by words what they want in genius: ---the language which they cannot embellish, they disfigure. France was particularly distinguished in the flourishing reign of Louis XIV. by the singular perfection to which Racine raised the theatre, and by the charms of expression, which he brought to such a degree of elegance and purity as had been before his time entirely unknown: notwithstanding, after him, writings were applauded, as barbarous as they were ridiculous in their construction.

It is against this decay that the French Academy is continually opposing; it preserves good taste from total ruin, by agreeing to bestow rewards upon such pieces only as are written at least with some degree of purity, and in reproving such as offend in point of style.

It is true that the Fine Arts, which have given France such a superiority over other nations, are much degenerated; and the Kingdom would be now without glory of this kind, if it was not for a small number of works of genius, such as the Four Seasons, and the fifteenth

chapter of Belisarius, if it may be permitted to place prose by the side of the most elegant poesy:

But finally, literature, altho' often corrupted, occupies almost all the youth who are well brought up; it has even spread into those classes of life which were before ignorant of it. It is to this we are indebted for the banishment of gross debaucheries, and the preservation of the politeness introduced into the nation by Louis XIV. and his mother.

This literary knowledge, useful in all conditions of life, soothes public calamities, by directing the mind to agreeable objects, which would otherwise be too much depressed by the contemplation of human miseries.

F I N I S.

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